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John W. Smith

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THE
MODERN PART
OF THE
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS;

BY THE

AUTHORS of the ANTIENT.

Which will perfect the WORK, and render it

A Complete Body of HISTORY,

FROM THE

EARLIEST ACCOUNT of Time, to the PRESENT.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν
ἐγκόπως.
Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

V O L. VIII.



L O N D O N :

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M.DCC.LXI.

MODERN HISTORY:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXIII.

CHAP. I.

The history of Spain.

SECT. VII.

The history of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, from the accession of St. Ferdinand, to the union of all the Christian monarchies in Spain (except Portugal) in the persons of their catholic majesties Ferdinand and Isabella.

^a **T**HE conjunction of the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Castile* was an event not at all more agreeable or more glorious for the sovereign, than it was advantageous to the people, which the wiser and better part of the nobility very well knew; and therefore preferred the justice and the conveniency of the king of *Castile's* title to the will of their late prince, who, contrary to reasons of state, his own solemn act, and the oaths of his states, would have disinherited his son, merely because he was a king in his life-time*. But though *Don Ferdinand* very well knew his disposition, and that he might, without any danger, have trusted the tranquility of his kingdom of *Leon* to the affection of his subjects, yet he very punctually kept the appointment made by his mother queen *Berengara*, and repaired to *Benevente* with his family, at the time fixed.

^b Thither also came the queen dowager *Theresa*, and the two infantas; and the mutual sincerity of the whole royal family appeared not only in exterior marks of kindness and respect, and in the king's confirmation of large annual pensions, which had been promised, but from their maintaining a perfect and good correspondence while they were together, and from the resolutions taken when they came to part^b.

It was then agreed that the infanta *Donna Sancho* should be left behind with queen *Berengara*, and reside, for the future, in the court of *Castile*; and that the king should accompany queen *Theresa* and the other infanta, her daughter, into *Portugal*, which he accordingly did^c. The king, *Don Sancho*, quitted his dominions to go and meet them, and the two kings had a long interview at *Sabugal*; where *Don Ferdinand* took great pains to persuade *Don Sancho*, how much it was their common interest to live in the strictest terms of friendship and peace,

^a RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.

^c RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

^b Chron. S. FERNAND.

Lib. Bib. Jac. Sur. Edin.

that they might carry on the war with greater success against their common enemy, the *Moors*; and, to convince him that this was the language of his heart, he restored the important fortress of *St. Stephen de Chaves*, which his father had taken from him^d. At his return from this interview, *Don Ferdinand* marched with a good corps of troops into *Galicia*, where the lords, who pretended to espouse the cause of the infantas, were endeavouring to render themselves independent, despising the youth and want of experience in their new king. He reduced some, punished others, and obliged the rest to quit their country. Amongst these was *Don Lorenzo Suarez*, who retired into the territory of the *Moors*^e. Towards the close of the year arrived a bull from pope *Gregory IX.* ratifying the treaty between him and queen *Donna Theresa*, by which the settlement of the kingdom of *Leon* was rendered complete^f.

Many places taken from the *Moors* granted to the archbishop of Toledo. As the king's attention was, for the present, wholly employed about civil affairs, *Don Roderic*, archbishop of *Toledo*, was intrusted with the care of the frontiers; and his zeal induced him to carry on the war very briskly against the *Moors*, from whom he took several places, and some of the most considerable were, for this reason, granted by the crown to his diocese^g. In order to comprehend the reason of this more clearly, it will not be amiss to observe, that it very frequently happened, when the monarchs of *Castile* recovered places on the frontiers which they could not immediately either fortify or repopulate, the *Moors*, upon the retreat of the army, took advantage of this, and got them again into their power; to prevent which, no method could be found so effectual as granting them to a prelate, who, by his influence, filled them speedily with inhabitants, and, in consequence of annexing them to his see, preserved them to the kingdom.

The royal infant gains a glorious victory over *Aben-Hut*, king of *Seville*. THE next year, however, the Christian army on the frontiers was commanded by the infant *Don Alonso*, the king's brother, and *Don Alvaro Perez*. The young prince, being desirous of signaling his courage, marched into the territory of *Cordova*; and, having ravaged it without opposition, advanced into that of *Seville*, and passed the *Guadiana* at *Xerez*. The *Moorish* monarch, *Aben-Hut*, having certain intelligence of the small number of forces the Infant commanded, and having received a large reinforcement from *Africa*, under the command of a general who acted from no other motives than religious zeal, resolved to lay hold of so favourable an opportunity to give a check to the Christian power; and having accordingly taken his measures with as much secrecy as possible, he advanced, with a numerous army, in order to surprise the Christians: but, notwithstanding this, the Infant *Alonso* might have retired, if his piety and courage had not induced him to risque a battle, from a persuasion that, with the divine assistance, many may be vanquished by few. His little army was ranged in two lines, the first commanded by *Don Alvaro Perez*, the second by the Infant in person; they both observed a close order, and received the charge of the *Moors* with great firmness and intrepidity. The battle was obstinate and bloody, but, in the end, the Christians were victorious, and the *Moorish* general from *Africa* slain upon the spot, by a young gentleman of *Toledo*, who had received the honour of knighthood that morning in the field^h. A prodigious number of *Moors* were killed upon the spot and in their flight, *Aben-Hut* himself escaped with difficulty, and most of the *Spanish* historiansⁱ are themselves persuaded; and would persuade their readers, that *St. James* was visibly present in the battle, in which there fell but one man on the side of the Infant. The archbishop of *Toledo* is silent upon this head: and though the bishop of *Tuy* mentions the victory, and ascribes it to the wonderful power of God, yet he says nothing to the presence of *St. James*^k. The care of the finances being about this time in the hands of the *Jews*, the pope wrote to the archbishop of *Compostella*, to remonstrate to the king against a method that subjected his Christian subjects to great inconveniences, and put them too much under the power of their implacable enemies^l.

Death of *Donna Beatrix*, queen of *Castile*, and an account of her children. AT the very opening of the ensuing year, *Don Ferdinand* took the field in person, having several points of importance in view. In the first place he ordered the bishop of *Placentia* to make himself master of *Truxillo*, a place of great consequence, at the distance of ten leagues from *Merida*, which he performed. He next charged *Don Pedro Gonzales*, grand master of the order of *St. James*, to reduce *Montial*; with its district: this likewise being performed in time, the king appointed those detachments to join his army, at a certain place, and, when the *Moors* least expected it, invested *Ubeda*, a city which had been often attempted, but in vain, and which commanded a country as fertile in wine, corn, oil, and fruits, as any in *Spain*. The *Moors* made a long and gallant defence, in hopes the king of *Seville* would have relieved them; but he was so humbled and so disabled by his late defeat, that he could do nothing; so that, on *Michaelmas* day, that valuable city was surrendered^m. While the king lay before this place, he lost his dear consort *Donna Beatrix*, who died at *Toro*, and left

^d BRANDAON. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA de las Historias y Portuguesas. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. vi. § xiii. ^e RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. ^f RAINALDUS. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. vi. sec. xiii. ^g MORALES, MARIANA, FERRERAS. ^h Annal Toletan. Chron. S. FERNAND. ⁱ FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. vi. sec. xiii. ^k Chron. Mundi. ^l RAINALDUS, FERRERAS. ^m Annal Toletan. Chron. S. FERNAND.

a behind her six sons; viz. the Infants *Alonso, Frederic, Henry, Ferdinand, Philip*, and *Sancho*; he had by her also the Infanta *Maria*, but she died some small time before the queen her motherⁿ. A. D. 1234.

THIS loss seems to have affected the king so much, that he was not in the field all the next year, and there was but little done for that reason; but a great design was contrived, ^{The great scheme formed for reducing the city of Cordova, and its consequences.} which the next year was carried into execution. In the course of various expeditions, the *Castilians* had taken prisoners a considerable number of those soldiers, who, by their own countrymen, were stiled *Almogaraves*, i. e. Invalids, who were generally put into garrisons; and this might probably be one reason why their places were so well defended. But no care being taken to ransom them, these old men took it so ill, that they began to insinuate to some of the Christian officers, that the great city of *Cordova* had but a small garrison, the care of it being chiefly trusted to the inhabitants, who were very remiss, and that consequently it might be easily surprized. Measures for this purpose being concerted, a small body of horse and foot marched in a dark and rainy night, being that of the eighth of *January*, scaled the walls, and possessed themselves of one of the suburbs, in which they barricaded themselves, and kept it in spite of all that the *Moors* in the city could do, notwithstanding they were often attacked^o. Don *Alvaro Perez* no sooner received news of their success, than he marched to relieve them, with all the troops under his command, which prevented the *Moors* from driving them out of the posts they had taken, but was of no consequence towards reducing the city, which was both strong and populous^p. The king, Don *Ferdinand*, apprized of their situation, and of the great importance of this bold attempt, set out immediately from *Benevente*, with a few of the nobility that were about him, ordering troops to be sent after him as fast as they could be raised, and took post at the bridge of *Alcala*.

THE *Moors* in *Cordova*, having an exact account of these proceedings, sent deputies to *Aben-Hut*, requesting him to lose no time in marching to their relief, as the king's army was very inconsiderable, and that, upon his retreat, those in the suburbs must be obliged to surrender. This monarch, well knowing the value of *Cordova*, assembled the whole force of his dominions, and, if he had marched with them, must have done his business without striking a blow; but, by using too much caution, he lost his opportunity, and soon after his life^q (A). As soon as the season would permit, the troops of the prelates, nobles, and of the several military orders, gradually arrived in the camp of Don *Ferdinand*, by which he quickly found himself strong enough to quit the post he had taken, and to invest *Cordova*; the inhabitants of which city, finding themselves much straitened for provisions, intimidated by the death of king *Aben-Hut*, and having no succour to expect, at length desired a capitulation, and, upon being permitted to march out freely, and go where they pleased, surrendered on the feast of *St. Peter and St. Paul*, on the twenty-ninth of *June*, in the year one thousand two hundred and thirty-six^r (B). The settling every thing that regarded

ⁿ RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. FRANCISCE TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. p. iii. ^o Chron. S. FERNAND. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. ^p Annal Toletan. Annal. Compottell. ^q Chron. S. FERNAND. RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. ^r Annal Toletan. Annal Compottell. RODERIC TOLETAN. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. S. FERNAND.

(A) This *Moorish* prince was an able statesman, and a good officer; but the situation of his affairs, at the time that the people of *Cordova* demanded his assistance, embarrassed him extremely. He could not conceive how so potent a monarch as the king of *Castile* could advance so far into an enemy's country, with so small a body of troops; and therefore he sent for Don *Lorenzo Suarez*, who had served him from the time that Don *Ferdinand* expelled him out of *Galicia*, and proposed to him that he should go and examine the Christian camp in the night, and bring him such an account as he could depend upon. Don *Lorenzo* accepted the proposal; went privately into the camp, and sent the king word that Don *Lorenzo Suarez* had somewhat of importance to communicate to him. He sent for him, and asked him sternly how he durst appear in his presence? Don *Lorenzo* answered him, that he hoped the service he was about to render him would cancel his former faults. He then informed him what force *Aben-Hut* had about him, and to how great danger himself was exposed; promised to report his army much more numerous than

it was, and advised him to keep a very strict guard for the future. On his return, *Aben-Hut* received very pressing letters from *Zaen*, king of *Valentia*, whose capital was on the point of falling into the hands of the king of *Arragon*. Upon the report, therefore, of Don *Lorenzo*, he chose to march first to the relief of this prince, and, with the assistance of his forces, to attempt the relief of *Cordova*. In his march, he was invited by *Aben-Ramin*, his favourite, whom he had made governor of *Almeria*, to honour that place with his presence. There he was splendidly feasted, after which, retiring to the bath, he was there stifled by *Aben-Ramin's* order. As soon as his death was known, the army disbanded, which gave Don *Lorenzo Suarez* an opportunity of going away with his squadron of horse to the Christian army (1). The death of *Aben-Hut* at this juncture was attended with the most fatal consequences to the *Moors*, and seems to have been the principal cause of the heavy losses they sustained.

(B) Amongst other things found in *Cordova*, were the bells that had been carried away when *Almanzor* plun-

(1) Chron S. Fernand. Mariana Historia general de España, lib. xii. c. 18. Ferreras, Historia de España, p. vi. sect. xiii. Mayerne Turquet, Histoire de Espagne, liv. xi.

garded this important conquest, cost the king so much time, that it was the month of *September* before he found himself at liberty to return to *Toledo*, where he found the good old archbishop *Roderic* just arrived from *Rome*, where he had been to solicit the rights of his church against that of *St. James of Compostella*, the popes having very wisely declined to determine the long depending suit between these sees for the primacy; which, as it served to flatter the power, so it turned likewise to the profit, of these ecclesiastical sovereigns; and therefore we need not wonder that they proceeded at leisure, and would precipitate nothing in a matter of such consequence.

Marries a second time the daughter of the Count de Ponthieu.

A. D. 1237.

THE queen mother, *Donna Berengara*, reflecting very prudently on the inconveniencies that might attend the king's remaining a widower in the prime of his age, by the advice of her sister the queen of *France*, negotiated a marriage for him with the lady *Jane*, daughter to *Simon* count de *Pontbieu*, merely on account of the great reputation she was in for the purity of her manners and the sweetness of her temper. This marriage, which was celebrated at *Bourdeaux*, and the renewing the league with the king of *Navarre*, took up the whole of this year, in which the forces of *Castile* remained in winter quarters and garrisons, without undertaking any thing of importance, and this without any prejudice to the affairs of the Christians, those of the *Moors* being fallen into such confusion, that they were in no condition of seizing even a greater advantage (C). The next year, in all probability, would have been remarkable for action, if a famine had not broke out at *Cordova*, which might have had fatal consequences, if the king, who kept his *Easter* at *Valladolid*, had not taken care to send a large supply of provisions, together with a considerable sum in ready money. In the autumn he made a tour himself to *Toledo*, and from thence to the frontiers, from whence he made some excursions into the territory of *Jaen*, to which city, if he had not found it so strong, he intended to have laid siege.

1238. AT the opening of the ensuing spring died *Don Alvaro Perez de Castro*, grandson of *Don Don Diego de Haro* *revolts* *Pedro Fernandez*, of the same family, who had been expelled *Castile* by *Don Alonso*; and

* Annal Toletan. Chron. S. FERNAND.

* RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

u Chron. S.

FERNAND. w Chron. general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO.

dered *Compostella*, brought thither upon the shoulders of Christian captives, and which had been used as lamps in the *Turkish* mosque. These *Don Ferdinand* obliged his prisoners to carry back upon their shoulders, cleansed and purified that stately building, and caused divine service to be celebrated there, to the glory of God, and to the inexpressible joy, not only of his own subjects, but of all the Christians in *Spain* (2). The bishop of *Tuy*, who concludes his chronicle with this great event, assures us, that it was chiefly owing to the activity and spirit of *Don Ferdinand*, who came thither at first with no more than 100 men; and finding that the city received continual supplies over the bridge, passed the rapid river of *Guadaluquivir* with the utmost hazard of his person; and taking post on the other side, cut off those supplies. He likewise observes that unusual rains falling in that season, raised the rivers and brooks so high, that the troops marching to his assistance from different parts of his dominions were exceedingly delayed; so that, as he very prudently remarks, it ought to be ascribed to the special providence of God, that an enterprise, so well contrived and so vigorously executed, did not from these sinister accidents become abortive; which if it had, the consequences might have proved no less dangerous to the Christians, than, as they fell out, they proved destructive to the *Moors* (3). This prelate was a man of sincere piety, and of very extensive learning, for the times in which he lived; in his youth he had travelled through *Italy* and the *Holy Land*; and in the latter part of his life was highly esteemed by that pious and prudent princess queen *Berengara*, at whose instance he composed several large works, and amongst the rest his chronicle (4), to which we have been so much obliged.

(C) The respite which the king of *Castile* gave to the *Moors*, after the recovery of *Cordova*, turned almost as much to their disadvantage as the blow given to their power by depriving them of their place; but before we explain this, it may not be improper to mention the reason which induced *Don Ferdinand* to make a tour into

the northern parts of his dominions at this time. The bishop of *Palencia*, it seems, had discovered certain hereticks in his diocese, proceeded against them with that violence which was just come into fashion, and condemned such as could not be frightened into dissimulation to the stake (5). This was thought a point of such importance, that the king was present; and, to shew his profound submission to the flaming zeal of the church, he condescended, as the *Spanish* historians say, to light the fire, by which they suffered, with his own hands; and for this, the only cruel action of his life, they pretend he was reputed a saint. But let us now return to the *Moors*. The death of king *Aben-Hut*, the loss of *Cordova* to the king of *Castile*, and *Valencia* to the king of *Arragon*, threw them into grievous confusions, as their being now detached from the *Moors* of *Africa* left them, in a manner, without resource. The inhabitants of *Seville* formed themselves into a republic, and appointed one *Tasar* for their chief magistrate; nor is there any thing improbable in supposing that other cities would have taken the same step, if *Mohammed Al-hamar*, by his superior abilities, had not prevented it (6). His history is inserted in its proper place; and therefore here we shall conclude with observing, that the *Moors* had still strength enough to have made a great stand, and to have preserved the most fruitful and pleasant part of *Spain*, if they could have united under this prince; and, on the other hand, if he had remained only master of the town of *Aronja*, which was the place of his birth, and the first that he seized, they could never have made any stand at all, but must have been presently over-run by the armies of *Castile*, *Arragon*, and *Portugal*. The true, though concealed, source of their ruin, was the universal corruption of their manners, that spirit of ambition and perfidy which reigned amongst the great, and that giddiness among the people, which was diffused by the pernicious practices and base examples of their chiefs, who made no scruple of sacrificing the public interest to their private advantage.

(2) Annal Toletan. Chron. var. antiq. Historia de Espana, lib. xii. Cave Hist. Liter. tom. ii. p. 297. vi. § xiii.

(3) Chron. Mundi, ap. Scot. Hispan. illustrat.

(4) Mariana

(5) Rainald, Ferreras Historia de Espan. part

(6) Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

- a not long after him died Don *Lopez de Haro*, governor of *Baeza*, whose son, Don *Diego*, ^{from the king of Castile, and is quickly reduced.} because the king did not give him his father's government, took up arms, was reconciled to the king by the Infant Don *Alonso* his son, broke out into rebellion again, and, being beat in the field by that young prince, and reduced to great straits, fled privately to the king, and threw himself at his feet, with such visible marks of sincere repentance, that the king restored him to his favour, and to his former employments, to which he added the government of *Alcaraz**. There happened this year, on *Friday* the third of *June*, as all the antient chronicles of *Spain* agree, a great eclipse of the sun[†]. The old archbishop of *Toledo* was in the field all the autumn, or at least the troops in his pay, who repelled the *Moors* that were attempting to creep into possession again of most of the places that prelate had taken. The next spring the king was early at *Cordova*, took the field with a numerous army, and made many conquests, but they were such as cost no blood; for the people, being afraid of his forces, and seeing none of the *Moorish* princes strong enough to defend them, submitted upon the promise of being well used, moderately taxed, and allowed the free exercise of their religion[‡].

A. D. 1239:

- THE great extent of country which had been added to his dominions, in the space of a few years, obliged Don *Ferdinand* to act with much caution, and hindered him from being so alert in his expeditions as in times past. He saw that it was to no purpose to waste his troops in subduing places which he must be afterwards forced to abandon, and leave his successors subject to the trouble of taking them again; for which reason he laboured all that in him lay to preserve a line of regular fortifications, and, by the promise of lands, immunities, and other advantages, drew multitudes from all parts to settle in the towns and villages that were behind that line[§]. The *Moors*, during that space of time, in which he was thus employed, neglected nothing that might contribute to restore their affairs, except the only method that could have been effectual, which was a general confederacy. This was at length perceived by the king of *Granada*, who invited his neighbour the king of *Murcia* to enter into a league with him, offensive and defensive, which that king, however, declined; and gave this reason for it, that very probably this might incense the king of *Castile*, who was infinitely more able to conquer than the other was to protect his dominions; which answer, tho' well founded, gave such offence to the king of *Granada*, that he began to raise forces, and to think of making war upon the prince who had rejected his alliance; of which the sovereign of *Murcia* had no sooner intelligence, than he dispatched ambassadors to Don *Ferdinand*, and desired to be taken under his protection^{||}. The king of *Castile* doubted of the sincerity of this proposition, and therefore ordered the ambassadors to return to their master, and to bring his final resolution to the young prince Don *Alonso*, who, with a corps of troops, should advance to the frontiers, to support him if there should be occasion. Upon their return and repeating the same demand, Don *Alonso* prosecuted his march into the kingdom of *Murcia*, of which and of the capital he took possession, in the name and on the behalf of his father, who assembled a good army at *Toledo*, where his son joined him as soon as this service was performed[¶].

1240.

The king of Murcia submits and pays homage to Don Ferdinand of Castile.

- c THEY returned early the next year to the field, the king repairing to the frontiers of *Andalusia*, and the infant *Alonso* into *Murcia*. The king of *Granada* beat a corps of troops commanded by a *Castilian* officer, but was not able to prevent Don *Ferdinand* from ravaging all the country as far as his capital, to which he laid siege, but without effect; the *Moors* receiving a great supply from *Africa*[‡]. The old archbishop *Roderic* went this year again to *Rome*, to solicit his suit. The city of *Jaen*, once the seat of a *Moorish* monarchy, but now dependent upon that of *Granada*, had been long the object of the king Don *Ferdinand*'s attention, which, tho' he laboured to disguise, could not, however, be hid from its present possessor, who always took care to keep it in a good state of defence, with a numerous garrison, and well supplied with provisons. The king of *Castile* ravaged all the country about it this spring, with a full resolution to besiege it before the close of the year. From this expedition he returned to *Cordova*, and from thence went to meet his mother queen *Berengara*, who came to confer with him on the affairs of *Castile*[¶]. Upon her return to *Burgos*, the king went back to the frontiers; and as soon as his forces were assembled, in the autumn invested *Jaen*, and, contrary to the opinion of most of his generals, continued the siege through the winter.

That monarch, after laying waste the country about it, besieges the city of Jaen. 1244.

The place made a vigorous and obstinate defence, and the king of *Granada* was often in the field with his forces, in order to relieve it; but Don *Ferdinand* was so much upon his

* Chron. S. FERNAND. † Annal Toletan. Annal Compostell. ‡ Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. § Chron. S. FERNAND. Annal Toletan. || Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. ¶ Chron. S. FERNAND. Annal Toletan. ¶ Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. ¶ Chron. S. FERNAND. Annal Toletan. ¶ Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO.

king of Granada becomes his vassal.

guard, and took care to have his army so well supplied, that the Moor, notwithstanding all his vigilance, met with repeated disappointments; which, though he was a wise and brave prince, humbled him so much, that he came at length to a sudden and strange resolution^f. He sent a person of distinction to the king, Don Ferdinand, and offered to become his vassal, in case they could agree upon the terms; upon which he proposed to confer with him in person, in case he would send him a safe-conduct. Don Ferdinand accepted the proposition; upon which the Moorish monarch, *Aben-Albamar*, came to his camp, kissed his hand, which, according to the ceremonial of those days, was a mark of vassalage, consented to deliver up *Jaen*, to pay him an annual tribute of fifty thousand pieces of gold, and to serve in his armies with a corps of auxiliaries, whenever it should be required. On the other hand, the king of *Castile* stipulated his protection in all cases, and against all persons, together with the guarantee of whatever he possessed. These articles settled, the city of *Jaen* was delivered into his hands: the king took possession of it about the middle of *April*, after a siege of eight months^g. This glorious success of his arms excited in the monarch of *Castile* a fervent desire, attended with a strong hope, of reducing *Seville*; an enterprize, however, of great difficulty, and which demanded therefore much circumspection (D). In order to facilitate this, the king took the field in the autumn, ravaged all the country adjacent to that city, and reduced several places, *Albamar* king of *Granada* serving in his army. At the close of the campaign he had the melancholy news of the death of his mother *Donna Berengara*, which happened at *Burgos* November the 8th, in the year 1246, which gave him very great and very just concern^h.

Don Ferdinand of Castile resolves to form a considerable fleet.

THE king being fully satisfied that treasure was as necessary as troops in the execution of great projects, demanded of the pope a bull for levying the third of the tenths of his clergy throughout his dominions, for the carrying on this war against the Infidels, which he obtainedⁱ. He passed the interval of time, between the putting his troops into winter-quarters and bringing them again into the field at *Cordova*, in seeing all the necessary preparations made under his eyes, and, amongst other precautions, he took that most necessary step of having a good fleet, at least for those times, without which he could have done nothing. This was built and equipped under the direction, and put to sea under the orders, of *Raymond Boniface*, an officer of note in those times, and whom, for this purpose, the king took into his pay^k.

Besieges the city of Seville by land, and at the same time blocks it up by sea.

THIS fleet of his, for so it might be well called in those days, consisted of thirteen large ships, and of several of a small size, with which he repaired to the mouth of the river *Guadalquivir*, and found in the port of *St. Lucur* a stout fleet from *Barbary*, with supplies of all kinds on board. The king, Don Ferdinand, having a numerous army, part of which was composed of Moorish troops under *Albamar*, was very active all this time by land, made himself master of several towns and fortresses, and had, by degrees, blocked up the place^l. As soon as he heard, therefore, that his fleet was at the mouth of the river, he sent a strong detachment to facilitate its coming up; but the Moors sallied with so superior a force, that the troops were obliged to return without attempting any thing. *Raymond Boniface*, trusting then entirely to his own strength, attacked the African fleet with great spirit and resolution, and having beat and destroyed them, entered the port, and passed up the river^m. The king, Don Ferdinand, then disposed every thing to attack the Moors encamped upon

^f Annal Toletan. Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. ^g Chron. S. FERNAND. Annal Toletan. ^h Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. S. FERNAND. ⁱ RAINALD, MARIANA, FERRERAS. ^k Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. ^l Chron. S. FERNAND. ^m Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO.

(D) We propose in this note to say somewhat of that famous prelate, Don Roderic Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, to whom all Spain was so much obliged while living, and whose writings will be a lasting monument to the glory of his countrymen, as long as any regard for history shall remain (7). He was by birth of a very noble family in the kingdom of *Navarre*, received, in consequence of that, a liberal and learned education, which raised him to the archbishoprick of Toledo, A. D. 1208 (8). In his station he acted with great dignity, piety, and firmness. He was often in the field against the Moors, particularly in the great battle of *Toloso*. He was immoveably attached to the royal family, and exceedingly tenacious of the rights of his church, which disposition is thought to have hastened his death; for, in his contest with the archbishop of

Tarragona, for the primacy of Spain, who went once so far as to excommunicate him, he found himself obliged to apply himself to pope Innocent IV. in the council of Lyons, whither, though bending under a load of years and infirmities, he actually went; but being seized with a grievous distemper in his return, he died on board a vessel that carried him down the *Rhone*, August 9, 1245 (9). His history of the Spanish affairs, in nine books, ends with the king's second marriage: he wrote, besides, the history of the Ostrogoths, of the Huns, Vandals, &c. the history of the Arabs, from A. D. 570 to 1150; as also the history of the Romans, from the reign of Janus to the year A. U. C. 708 (10). All of them in great esteem, but more especially his history of Spain and of the Arabs (11).

(7) Cave Hist. Lit. tom. ii. p. 282, 283. Mariana Hist. general de Espana, lib. xiii. 1545.

(8) Mariana Hist. Gen. de Espan. lib. xi. (9) Annal. Toletan. (10) All his works were printed together in folio at Granada, an. 1545. (11) Gaspar. Oudin Commentar. tom. iii. p. 184. Du Pin, Hist. Ecclesiast. vol. ii. p. 60.

a the mole; but they abandoned their posts, and retired into the place, which was completely invested. The king began the siege in form, on the twentieth of *August*, and it lasted all the winter, which shews how much the manner of making war was altered from what it had been; for it is particularly recorded, that the army was so regularly disposed, so thoroughly secured from the injuries of weather, and so amply supplied with all sorts of provision, that it seemed rather the suburbs of a vast city, than the transitory station of troops in the fieldⁿ.

At the opening of the spring, the queen came to pay her husband a visit: in the month of *March* arrived the Infant Don *Alonso*, his son, Don *Lopez de Haro*, with the flower of the troops of *Biscay*, and, last of all, the archbishop of *Compostella*, with the forces of *Galicia*, in excellent order^o. On the first of *May* Don *Raymond Boniface* broke the bridge of boats between *Triana* and *Alfarach*, which cut off the communication they had with places on the other side of the river, as the king had before put an end to their communication through the mountains. On the twenty-third of *November* the place surrendered, upon condition that the people should retire out of it with all their effects; and the king made his public entry with the Infant Don *Alonso*, his brother, on one hand, and the Infant Don *Alonso*, his son, on the other^p. The remainder of that and part of the next year was spent in purifying the churches, repairing the city, and in all possible endeavours to repeople it. About this time also, it is probable, that the Infant Don *Alonso* espoused Donna *Roland*, daughter to the king of *Arragon*, and the progress of the war seemed to have been suspended^q.

The reduction of that important place, and of all the country about it.

1248.

c But in the succeeding year, the king, though his health began to be impaired through a long series of fatigues, caused his army to take the field early, and swept all the places that still remained to the *Moors*, between *Seville* and the fall of the *Guadalquivir* into the sea; which was not barely with a view to extend his territories, but to facilitate a glorious enterprise he meditated, and which, if it ever entered into the thoughts, was never in the power, of his predecessors. This was no less than a hostile descent upon the coast of *Africk*, for which Don *Raymond Boniface* had orders to augment the fleet, and was supplied with every thing necessary for that purpose^r. The Infant Don *Alonso*, the king's eldest son, about this time, took the cross, on the news of St. *Lewis's* misfortunes in the *Holy Land*, and this notwithstanding the king his father was about to attack the Infidels in their own dominions^s.

Don Ferdinand entertains thoughts of invading the continent of Africa.

A. D. 1250.

d He was so much in earnest in this design, that it appears from the testimony of an eminent *English* historian, who quotes his own letters, that he warmly solicited *Henry* the third to concur with him in that expedition, which, he believed, would be equally honourable for the Christian cause, and for the *Spanish* and *English* nations^t. His younger brother, the Infant Don *Sancho*, with the consent of the pope, was this year chosen archbishop of *Toledo*^u. The preparations for the designed invasion were vigorously carried on, though the increase of the king's infirmities delayed the execution; at length Don *Raymond* failed to reconnoitre the coast of *Africk*; and in his passage met the *Moorish* fleet that cruized upon the coast, in order to protect it, and, after a smart engagement, in which there was considerable loss on both sides, he sunk several of the enemy's ships, and obliged them to retire in disorder into their own ports, for which, at his return, he was highly carested by the king, to whom this success at sea was particularly pleasing^v.

1251.

e But though the satisfaction arising from this victory might, in some measure, calm the mind and raise the spirits of the king, yet it could not cure the dropfy, under which he laboured, and which gradually brought him so low, that he plainly perceived he was drawing towards his end; for which he made such preparations as equally became a great king and a good Christian. He settled all the affairs of state in the best manner he was able; recommended his queen, his brother, and his children, to the Infant Don *Alonso* his successor; exhorted him to govern with moderation, and not to load his subjects with taxes^w. When he had done this, he ordered all ensigns of royalty to be removed, and commanded that he should be no longer treated as a king, but as an humbled Christian, employed in the great and necessary work of making his peace with his Creator^x; and, in this excellent disposition of mind, breathed his last, on the 30th of *May*, in the year 1252. His body was soon after buried with great solemnity in the cathedral church of *Seville*^y. He was,

But a dropfy carries him to his grave, while he meditated this design.

ⁿ Annales Ecclesiasticas y Seculares de la Ciudad de Sevilla, par D. DIEGO ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA. Chron. S. FERNAND. ^o Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. Annal Compostel. ^p Annales Ecclesiasticas y Seculares de la Ciudad de Sevilla, par D. DIEGO ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA. Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. Annal Toletan. Annal Compostel. ^q Chron. S. FERNAND. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iii. ALPHONSI A CASTRO reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. ^r Chron. S. FERNAND. Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. ^s RAINALD. Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. FERRERAS ^t MAT. PARIS. ^u Annal Toletan. ^v Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. Chron. S. FERNAND. ^w Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO. ^x Chron. S. FERNAND. ^y RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iii. ALPHONSI A Carthagina reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. Chron. S. FERNAND.

from the very time of his demise, considered as a saint, and so stiled by the people of *Spain* ^a in general, but was not canonized at *Rome* till the year 1672, by pope *Clement* the tenth, at the earnest request of his catholic majesty, and the states of his several kingdoms ^a.

Don Alonso
X. surnamed
the wife, suc-
ceeds to all his
father's do-
minions.

Don *Alonso* the tenth, who, for his learning and love of learned men, was surnamed *the wife*, succeeded his father, with the general approbation of the people, who considered him as a prince of great qualities, and remarkable generosity ^b. *Aben-Alhamar*, king of *Granada*, and *Aben-Afon*, sovereign of *Niebla*, which lies at no great distance from *Seville*, and is at present a place of little or no consequence, became his vassals, and sent their ambassadors to do him homage ^c. He broke in the first year of his reign with *Henry* the third of *England*, upon pretence of his having a better right than that prince to *Gascony*, into which country he sent an army, under the command of Don *Gascon*, count of *Berne*, who was excommunicated by the pope for troubling a prince who had already taken the cross ^d. At the same time Don *Alonso* prosecuted, at a large expence, that expedition which his father had in view against the *Moors* in *Barbary*, and these expences exhausted his coffers to such a degree, that he was obliged to debase his coin; which, as it usually happens, raised the price of all things, to such a degree, as occasioned great murmuring amongst the people ^e. The next year king *Henry* of *England* sent the bishop of *Bath* and Dr. *John Mansell*, his chaplain, to negotiate a peace, which was soon after concluded, on condition that prince *Edward*, son and heir apparent of the king of *England*, should marry Donna *Eleonora*, the king of *Castile*'s sister, in consideration of which the king would recede for the future from his claim to *Gascony* ^f. The preparations for the expedition to *Barbary* still went on, and the pope, in order to facilitate it, granted a crusade, and the same bull for levying an aid upon the clergy which had been granted to his father ^g (E). Don *Alonso*, king of *Portugal*, having committed some hostilities against *Mohammed Aben-Afen*, king of *Niebla*, the monarch of *Castile* interposed on his behalf, and, in a short time also, this quarrel was compromised.

A. D. 1253.

Prince Ed-
ward of Eng-
land espouses
the princess
Eleonora,
Infanta of
Castile.

1254.

HITHERTO Don *Alonso* had continued in *Andalusia* and on the frontiers, but he now thought proper to visit *Toledo*, where the king of *Granada* did him homage ^h; and, after conferring great privileges on the university of *Salamanca*, he proceeded to *Burgos*, where the marriage between prince *Edward* of *England* and the Infanta Donna *Eleonora* was celebrated with all imaginable solemnity, and at a vast expence; and, at the same time, he conferred on that young prince the order of knighthood ⁱ. The king likewise bestowed in marriage his natural daughter Donna *Beatrice de Guzman* on the king of *Portugal*, and with her, by way of dowry, he gave the country of *Algarve* ^k. The *Moors* upon the frontiers shewed a general inclination to revolt, but those who were intrusted with the care of that country quickly reduced them. It was the misfortune of this king, that he was equally ready in forming great enterprizes and slow in the execution of them. The preparations for his *African* expedition went on, and with it the diminishing of the coin, tho' it produced daily new confusions; and tho' this was sufficient to embarrass the monarch of *Castile*, yet he embarked soon after in schemes that brought him into farther difficulties ^l. He was desirous of availing himself of the claim derived from his mother of the duchy of *Suabia*; and having, on this account, some negotiation with the princes of *Germany*, he was induced to aim at the imperial dignity, in which he had for his competitor *Richard* earl of *Cornwall*, brother to king *Henry* the third of *England*; which vain pursuit of both princes cost

^a FERRERAS Historia de Espana, part vi. sect. xiii. OCAMPO. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

^b Chronica general de Espana, par FLORIAN DE

MAT. PARIS. ^c Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^d RAINALD.

^e Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^f MAT. PARIS, p. 884.

^g RAINALD.

^h Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

ⁱ RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica del

FERRERAS. ^k EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA de las Historias Portuguesas. MARIANA.

^l Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

(E) The *Spanish* historians are ready enough to commend their princes; and it may be said of them in general, that they are at least content to do them justice: but, however, there are some few instances of the contrary; and we find the author of the chronicle of this prince's reign, one of the most remarkable in that respect. He charges this monarch with an inclination to repudiate his queen, under colour of sterility, and with contracting a marriage with a princess of *Denmark*, who actually came to *Spain*, but just as she came, the queen proved with child; upon which, the king, to make the princess some amends, married her to his brother the Infant Don *Philip*, who had been archbishop of *Seville*; all which we have good reason to believe were downright calumnies. For it is certain, that the queen Donna *Toland* had an Infanta before this time, which excludes all pretence of barrenness; that *Christopher* the first king of *Denmark* had no such daughter; and that the Infant Don *Philip* was archbishop, and unmarried

A. D. 1257: the same author says, that the king Don *Alonso* had had disputes with his father-in-law, the king of *Navarre*, of which no traces are to be found elsewhere, and is repugnant to the current of history. To all this he adds, that he had in view the conquest of the kingdom of *Navarre*. This notion certainly arose from his marching troops through that kingdom, which, for want of knowing the occasion, this writer concluded a mark of hostility, whereas, in fact, the king of *Castile* demanded a passage for these forces into *Gascony*, where they were to act against the king of *England*, in support of Don *Alonso*'s claim to that country, which he afterwards relinquished, upon the marriage of prince *Edward* with the Infanta Donna *Eleonora*. These points, though important enough in themselves, would scarce have deserved notice here, if they had not, upon the credit of this author, and without due examination, found a place in the general histories of *Spain*, and imposed thereby upon posterity.

them

a them immense sums of money, and involved them in endless scenes of trouble, without any other advantage than that of bearing the lofty title of emperor amongst the princes of their own party^a.

It was in prosecution of this quarrel, that he postponed the expedition to *Africa*, and turned his views to *Italy*, where, by the help of that money for which he ransacked his subjects, he had gained several princes and states to approve his title; but, after all his trouble and expence, this new expedition was laid aside, on account of some domestic disturbances. These at last rose to such a height, that the Infant Don *Henry* took up arms against his brother, and drew in *Mohammed Aben-Afen* to join with him; but the Infant being defeated in a battle by count *Nugnes de Lara*, found himself under a necessity of seeking refuge in *Africa*, where, for some years, he remained at the court of *Tunis*.¹²⁵⁷ As for the little king of *Niebla*, Don *Alonso* besieged him in his capital; and, though the place was very strong, and he made a long and obstinate defence, yet he was forced at length to have recourse to a capitulation; and, to preserve his liberty, parted with almost all his dominions^o. ^{The Moorish prince of Niebla reduced by Don Alonso, and deprived.}

AMONGST other great and noble designs of the late Don *Ferdinand*, there was one which remained incomplete at his death; and this was making a general collection of the laws made by himself and his predecessors, and digesting them under proper titles, which was completed by his son, and is that celebrated code, intituled, *Las Partidas*^p. He also redressed that confusion in law proceedings, which was occasioned by the intermixing *Latin* with the vulgar tongue; which he corrected, by obliging his subjects to use their own language in pieces of that kind (F). His love for learning, and his desire of promoting the science of astronomy, of which he was passionately fond, engaged him in an intercourse with the Soltan of *Egypt*, to whom he sent, and from whom he received, an ambassador^q. But while his thoughts were wholly occupied by things of this nature, and the prosecution of his claim to the empire, he found himself on a sudden involved in a scene of troubles, A. D. 1260: so much the more perplexing, as they were wholly unexpected; this was occasioned by the intrigues of the *Moors*, who, finding themselves under far greater hardships, and, at the same time, observing that measures were not conducted with that steadiness as in the former reign, meditated a general revolt. Though this required much deliberation, and extensive communication of councils, yet it was managed with so great secrecy, that Don *Alonso* had scarce any intelligence of this contrivance till it broke out^r. ^{The king's care of justice and great affection for learning.}

THE chiefs were *Mohammed Aben-Hut*, king of *Murcia*, and *Mohammed Alcadila Albamar*, king of *Granada*: these had privately demanded the assistance of *Aben-Joseph*, king of *Fez* and *Morocco*, who willingly consented to their request, upon condition that some ports were put into his hands for the security of the auxiliaries that he undertook to send^s. The king of *Murcia* declared first, by making inroads into the Christian territories, and recovering most of his castles which were garrisoned on the behalf of the king of *Castile*; and soon after the monarch of *Granada* took his share in the war, which, though Don *Alonso* had great reason to resent, yet he laboured to reclaim him by negotiation, if it had been practicable; for he had still the *German* election at heart, which was the true source of all his misfortunes, and, for the sake of the empty title of king of the *Romans*, he would not take those vigorous measures that would have made him a great king in *Spain*. At length, however, having taken the necessary steps to engage his father-in-law, the king of *Arragon*, to concur in repressing the *Moors*; and having dispatched ambassadors to solicit pope *Urban* the fourth on his darling point of the election, he set out for the frontiers; and, having

^a RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. MARIANA. FERRERAS. ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^o RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^p Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^q Annales Ecclesiasticos y Seculares de la Ciudad de Sevilla, par D. DIEGO ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA. ^r RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^s Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

(F) It is believed, that the original design of the king Don *Ferdinand*, in assembling so many persons learned in the laws in his court, was with a view to this great and important work; neither is it at all improbable, that the first notion of it might proceed from the excuses of inferior judges, when questioned for their decisions in superior courts, that they proceeded according to the customs established in their province. For the reader, to have a just idea of these regulations, must understand that, before the institution of the royal audience at *Castile*, the chief tribunals in every province received appeals from inferior jurisdictions. Upon the representation therefore of these superior courts, those able

lawyers might be summoned by Don *Ferdinand*, and directed to frame a body of laws; and this being a work of time, might be likewise charged to hear and decide appeals from the superior courts. At this time, though they were completed and received by Don *Alonso*, yet they had not the royal sanction, but some space was allowed for reviewing and considering them, that, in a matter of such vast consequence, there might be nothing of hurry, or any speedy necessity of amendment, which the king very prudently foresaw would destroy their credit, and defeat the end of this learned and laborious collection.

assembled a numerous army at *Alcala Real*, he fell into the kingdom of *Granada*, which he a
wasted with fire and sword^t.

Don Alonso
defeats the
Moorish mo-
narchs and
brings them
very low.

1263.

THIS obliged the two *Moorish* princes to join their forces, which, when they had done, they marched towards Don *Alonso*, and gave him battle. But that prince, who wanted none of the qualities requisite to adorn a crown, except steadiness only, disposed his forces with so much judgment, gave his orders with such presence of mind, and distinguished himself with such acts of personal courage, that the *Moors* were totally defeated, obliged to abandon the field, and shut themselves up in their strong places^u. In the winter he appointed commissioners to settle with those of the king of *Arragon* the limits between the two kingdoms, that no future grounds of dispute might arise between themselves or successors^w. This year the pope, in the plenitude of his power, thought fit to impose a b
heavy tax upon the clergy of *Spain*, for the support of the emperor of *Constantinople*; upon which they sent an agent to *Rome* to let this successor of St. *Peter* know, that, being engaged in a war with the *Mohammedans* at home, they desired to be excused from so heavy and so extraordinary a burthen, with which the pontif was not a little displeased^x. The next spring the king was early in the field, with an army superior to that which he commanded the year before; upon which the *Moors* sent to *Aben-Joseph* king of *Morocco*, to let him know, that if his succours did not speedily arrive, the *Mohammedans* in *Spain* were for ever undone; upon which he sent over immediately ten thousand horse; which considerable supply did not, however, enable these princes to take the field to cover their own dominions, much less to act offensively^y.

Besieges the
town of Xerez,
and after a
gallant defence
grants the peo-
ple terms.

ON the contrary the king Don *Alonso* invested *Xerez*, and after a long siege, upon intel-
ligence that *Aben-Joseph* meant to come in person into *Spain*, with a prodigious army, the
king granted them a favourable capitulation, to retire where-ever they thought proper^z.
This capitulation being punctually performed, the inhabitants at *Bejar*, *Sidonia*, *Rota*, *St.*
Lucar, *Lebrija*, and *Arcos*, saved the king the trouble of coming before them, and left all
those places empty, which in a manner swallowed up the king's army, as it scarce sufficed
to settle all these places and *Porte St. Mary's*, which the king ordered to be repaired^a. The
next year the limits between *Castile* and *Portugal* were adjusted, to which crown Don *Alonso*
yielded *Algarve* intirely, except reserving a band of fifty lances to be sent to his army when-
ever it took the field^b.

The king of
Granada sub-
mits and offers
to renew his
homage to Don
Alonso.

As the *German* empire had suffered extremely (though perhaps particular princes might
be gainers) by its having nominally two heads, though being in effect without any, great
pains were taken to engage them both to resign, which Don *Alonso* would not endure, for
the title of emperor had great charms for him, and notwithstanding all the money and
trouble it had cost, he would not hear of quitting it^c. The two alcajds of *Malaga* and
Guadix, taking offence at the great complaisance of the king of *Granada* to the officers who
commanded the *African* troops, revolted, and put themselves under the protection of the
crown of *Castile*, and in conjunction with Don *Nugnez de Lara*, distressed their old master
to such a degree, that he caused it to be intimated to Don *Alonso*, that he was willing to
return to his allegiance, if his submission might be received upon easy terms. The king e
sent him word, that if he was in earnest he should meet him at *Alcala Real*; and, which
shews how high the character of this prince stood, the *Moor*, upon his bare promise, not-
withstanding all that had passed, went thither, and submitted to the terms he prescribed,
and abandoned his confederate the king of *Murcia*^d. In the mean time, the king of
Arragon made an absolute conquest of that kingdom, or at least of the greatest part of it,
not for himself, but on the behalf of his son-in-law, to whom he immediately gave advice
of his success, and desired him to send thither a corps of troops sufficient to secure it.
Don *Alonso* marched in person from *Seville* with his army, and on the frontiers met the
king of *Murcia*, who threw himself upon his knees at his feet, and sued to him for his
pardon^e. The king told him, that, for his life or liberty, he had nothing to fear, but that f
he could not expect he should put into his hands a second time the power of hurting him.

All Murcia re-
duced and re-
peopled by
Christians from
different king-
doms.

THE king then left the Infant Don *Manuel* governor of *Murcia*, and obliging the *Moors*
to quit all the strong places, repeopled them with subjects of his own, or with those of the
king of *Arragon*; and thus, in a short time, and with as little effusion of blood as possible, he
put an end, at least for the present, to a very formidable conspiracy, and might, if he
would have declined all thoughts of *Germany*, have recovered his former reputation, restored

^t RÓDERIC SANTII Hist. Hisp. part iv. ^u MARIANA. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^w ZURIT.
Annal Arragon. ^x RAINALD. ^y Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^z FERRERAS Historia
de Espana, p. vi. sec. xiii. ^a Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^b BRANDAON. EMANUEL
DE FARIA Y SOUSA. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^c RAINALD. RÓDERIC SANTII Hist.
Hisp. part iv. ^d Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^e MARIANA. FERRERAS. MAYERNE
TURQUET.

- a the grandeur of his crown, and peace to his subjects^f. The same year the Infant Don Ferdinand of Castile espoused, by proxy, the princess *Blanche*, daughter to St. Lewis, on the eighth of September, at St. Germain en Laye^g. The cause between the two kings of the Romans was still depending at Rome, where Don Alonso laboured by every method possible to support what he called his right, and this at a vast expence, notwithstanding that his ambassador, the bishop of *Silves*, had been murdered in his passage by some banditti, who took his papers from him^h; on the other hand, the princes of *Germany*, sick of their own schemes, and perceiving the real necessity of having a chief, had agreed with the king of *Bohemia* to proceed to a new election; but this the pope, who pretended a right to declare which of the two was the true king of the Romans, vehemently opposedⁱ. The next year
- b was signalized by the most pompous marriage that till then had been seen in Spain; prince Philip, heir apparent of the crown of France, conducted his sister the princess *Blanche* to Burgos, where she espoused the Infant Don Ferdinand, in the presence of all the royal family of Spain^k, the king of Arragon, and, as some say, prince Edward of England, and the empress of Constantinople; but those who are best acquainted with the history will be perhaps of opinion, that these great names are only brought to fill up the scene^l.

- THE Infant Don Sancho of Arragon, being consecrated archbishop of Toledo, soon after celebrated his first mass with great ceremony, in the presence of the two kings, his father, and his brother-in-law^m. After these fine shews, both monarchs, as if it had been by concert, entered upon schemes diametrically opposite to the prudence for which they were both famous. The king of Arragon, though much in years, would needs go to the Holy Land, though Don Alonso did all that was in his power to dissuade him. On the other hand, this monarch himself was as much bent on a voyage to Italy to as little purpose; but in the end both their schemes proved abortive. The king of Arragon met with a storm at sea, which drove him to France, from whence he returned into his own dominions, and was content to stay thereⁿ. As for Don Alonso, the states of Castile interposed, when he was ready to set out, and represented the inconveniences that would attend his leaving the kingdom at that juncture in so strong a light, that he wisely, though unwillingly, dropped his design^o. He persisted, however, against all advice, in remitting, as some Spanish historians say, the homage due from the crown of Portugal to that of Leon, out of affection for his grandson, the Infant Denis, which excited, or at least gave a plausible colour to, those discontents that produced so many and so great troubles, and even shook the throne upon which he sat^p (G).

- THE king Don Alonso had still his voyage to Italy in his head, with a view to which he laboured, by every method he could devise, to raise money; but when he imagined that he had at length brought all things to bear, he was informed that many persons of the first rank, amongst whom were the Infant Don Philip, Don Nugnez de Lara, Don Lopez de Haro, Don Ferdinand de Castro, Don Lopez de Mendoza, and several others, had met together at the castle of Lara, in order to consider of grievances arising from his administration; the king, still fond of his journey, from which one would have imagined these news would have diverted him, instead of taking measures to chastise the malecontents, sent to know their demands, and promised to comply with whatever should be reasonable^q. Their answer was very artificial, and perfectly calculated to serve their purpose; for though

^f Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^g P. DANIEL Hist de France.

^h RAINALD. MARIANA

FERRERAS.

ⁱ RAINALD.

^k Chronica general de Espan. par FLORIAN DE OCAMPO.

^l FERRERAS

Historia de Espana, part. vi. sec. xiii.

^m ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

ⁿ Chronical del Rey Don Alonso

el Sabio, & ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

^o MARIANA. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^p RODERIC

SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^q MARIANA. FERRERAS.

(G) This is one of those dark points in history which can never be so thoroughly settled as to leave an inquisitive and critical reader entirely free from doubts. It is admitted on both sides, that homage was due from the crown of Portugal to that of Leon, for the country of *Algarve*, which kingdom Don Alonso of Castile bestowed upon the monarch of Portugal, at the request, or at least with the consent, of pope Innocent the fourth, without considering that the princess was but twelve, and the king her husband upwards of forty, years of age. There was besides another untoward accident; the king of Portugal had another wife, *Matilda*, countess of *Bloigne*, and children also by her, which, though overlooked by one pope, drew upon the king an excommunication from another. He would not, however, part with his young wife, by whom he had his successor the Infant Denis, who, at this time, repaired to his grandfather, and begged of him a boon which he received. Here it is the historians differ. The Portu-

guese assert, that Don Alonso remitted the band of lances which he had reserved as a kind of homage for *Algarve*. On the other hand, the Spaniards as positively affirm, that this had been released before; and from thence infer, that the favour now done was relinquishing the homage due from the crown of Portugal, or at least that part of the kingdom which had been given to count Henry, who was the first sovereign of it. Ferreras urges it as a strong argument, and, in truth, so it seems to be, that this concession was the principal grievance alleged by the malecontents, and therefore must have been a matter of great importance. To this the only answer that can be given is, that malecontents do not always speak the truth, and therefore might possibly exaggerate the king's concession, and charge him with giving, upon this occasion, what, perhaps, he had never claimed. This is all we can tell the reader; and, having briefly stated the merits on both sides, he must decide for himself.

they

they had laid the scheme of their operations, they were in great want of money to carry a them into execution; they therefore informed the king that they had no intention to disturb his government or depart from their duty, but that they met together to concert the means for obtaining their appointments; and, upon this, the king weakly imagining that this would make them quiet, paid each of them the sum he demanded, which money they no sooner received, than they employed it in levying troops¹.

Breaks out, and
the malecon-
tents retire to
the Moors.

THE next thing they did, was to endeavour to engage the king of *Navarre* to enter into their league, in which they failed; but Don *Nugnez de Lara* persuaded the king of *Granada* to dispose all things for a rupture, and to demand succours from the king of *Morocco*. *Alonso* being informed of this, sent to them Don *Juan de Lara*, and the bishop of *Cuenca*, to let them know that he meant to summon the states at *Burgos*, and that if they had any complaints to make they would do well to appear there. The confederate lords accordingly met the king at *Lerma*, each at the head of his troops; but behaved towards him with all the exterior marks of duty and respect, and accompanied him to *Burgos*, but would not enter the city. There Don *Alonso* held the assembly of the states, and made new propositions to them, which they rejected, and, as the custom was in those times, demanded leave to quit his dominions, which they accordingly received². They then began to defile with their troops towards the kingdom of *Granada*; and though the queen sent the Infants Don *Ferdinand* and Don *Sancho* her sons, and the Infant Don *Sancho*, archbishop of *Toledo*, her brother, to persuade them to desist from this strange enterprize, it was in vain, and they continued their route; the king of *Granada* attacked the two governors of *Malaga* and *Guadix*, and Don *Alonso* declined supporting them, being still in hopes of making peace³. His competitor, *Richard*, earl of *Cornwall*, was dead, and his mind ran as strongly as ever upon the empire, though there was never less probability of his attaining it⁴.

1271.

1272.

Don Alonso
calls an assem-
bly of the states
at Almagro,
and reduces
taxes.

At the request of the queen, he sent the grand master of *Calatrava* once more to the malecontents, with an offer to forget what was past, and to restore them to their employments and his favour. To this they answered, that before they could treat, he must do justice to their friend and king of *Granada* against his rebel governors. The king made a short and cool reply, that subjects had no right to prescribe to their sovereign whom he should protect⁵. In the mean time, the king of *Granada* attacked and beat the two alcaides; upon which Don *Alonso* disposed all things for a war, and having assembled the states at *Almagro*, he remitted some and moderated other taxes, which disposed them to make such returns of submission and loyalty, as left him no room to doubt that he should be able to do himself justice⁶. But at this juncture, having intelligence that *Rodolph* of *Hapsburgh* was elected emperor of *Germany*, he suddenly changed his measures, and renewed the peace with the king of *Granada*, notwithstanding all that was passed⁷.

1273.

In the mean
time the Chris-
tian malecon-
tents make a
new king of
Granada.

THE king of *Arragon* behaved upon this occasion like a wise prince and a faithful ally. He ordered the prince, his son, to assemble an army on the frontiers of *Murcia*, sent the bishop of *Segorba* to advise the malecontents to return to their duty, and to embrace the kind offers that had been made them by their sovereign; and upon their rejecting this proposition, he acquainted Don *Alonso*, that he would punctually perform his treaties, and act against all his enemies⁸. In this critical situation of things died *Mohammed Abcadilla-Alhamar*, which had like to have produced disturbances in *Granada*; but the Christian malecontents, and particularly Don *Lopez de Haro*, advanced his son *Mohammed Albadic* to the throne, and supported him, notwithstanding there was a strong faction formed against him in favour of one of his brothers⁹. Don *Alonso* was no sooner informed of this, than he sent a person of quality to make fresh propositions to the new king and to the malecontents, who received them civilly, and seemed to be out of countenance at the consideration of their own behaviour. The queen and the Infant *Ferdinand* being informed of this, invited them to a conference at *Alcala*, where all things were compromised, upon an assurance that the king would receive them kindly; and that, in consideration of a considerable sum of money, he would accept the new king of *Granada*, upon the same terms that his father had held the crown¹⁰.

The malecon-
tents with
much difficulty
reconciled to
the king Don
Alonso.

THIS agreement being signed on both sides, was transmitted to the king, who ratified it with difficulty; and the king of *Granada* going to pay his respects to him at *Seville*, he not only performed punctually all that had been stipulated, but likewise conferred on him the order of knighthood with his own hand, which was then esteemed the highest obligation¹¹. At *Burgos* a general assembly was held of the states, where the Infant Don *Philip* and the malecontents were restored to favour; and at this time it was that the king caused the body of his predecessor *Wamba* to be removed from the obscure place where it was

¹ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

² MARIANA. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET.

³ Chro-

nica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

⁴ RAINALD.

⁵ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

⁶ SALAZAR, tom. iv. p. 650.

⁷ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

⁸ ZURIT Annal Arragon.

⁹ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

¹⁰ MARIANA. MAYERNE. TURQUET.

¹¹ Chronica del

Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

- a buried, and to be interred in a manner suitable to his rank, at *Toledo*^d. But he had still the empire at heart; and this induced him to send ambassadors to the pope and council at *Lyons*, to dissuade that assembly from confirming the election of the emperor *Rodolph*. This had no effect; on the contrary, the pope not only confirmed the election, but wrote to the king of *Castile* to desist from all farther disturbances about his title; and, by way of gilding this bitter pill, he sent the king at the same time a bull, by which he permitted him to take the third part of the tenths of his clergy for six years^e. All this did not hinder the king from desiring an interview, which the pope could not now civilly decline, though he had done it before; and upon this, the king left his son the Infant Don *Ferdinand* regent, set out as soon as the assembly of the states separated for *France*, by the way of *A. D. 1274*.
- b *Arragon*, and kept his *Christmas* at *Barcelona*, with the king his father-in-law, who received him with great affection, and paid him all imaginable honours.^f

THE departure of Don *Alonso* was no sooner known, than *Mohammed Alhamir-Alboadic* Mohammed, sent to *Aben-Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, a representation of the state of things, to shew how favourable an opportunity they had of recovering, at least, all *Andalusia* out of the hands ^{king of Granada, invites the Moors over from Africa.} of the Christians, since the king, who was incontestably the best officer in *Spain*, had withdrawn himself, which none of his predecessors ever did, conferring the regency on a young prince of no experience, and trusting the best fortresses in his kingdom in the hands of those who had been lately in rebellion, and in confederacy with him^g. *Aben-Joseph*, who was zealous for his religion, willingly promised him all that he demanded, on condition

c that the ports of *Tariffa* and *Algezira*, in the bay of *Gibraltar*, were put into his hands, directing him to dispose every thing for opening the campaign early, which he did with such profound dissimulation, availing himself therein of his former acquaintance with the *Castilian* officers, that the Christians had little or no suspicion of his design^h.

- In the spring, *Aben-Joseph* entered the bay of *Gibraltar* with his fleet, and 17,000 fine ^{Aben-Joseph} troops on board; and the king of *Granada*'s alcaides, according to the orders they had ^{lands in Spain, and seats Don} received, put the places that were promised him into his handsⁱ. The troops were no ^{Nugnez de} sooner debarked, than *Joseph* sent a detachment to join the king of *Granada*, who imme- ^{Lara, who is} diately began his march towards *Jaen*, at the same time that the emperor of *Morocco* ^{Spain.} advanced to *Cordova*. Don *Nugnez de Lara* commanded in the little city of *Ecija*, from
- d whence he dispatched a courier to the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, who was at *Burgos*, and at the same time drew together what forces he could, with whom he took the field; *Aben-Joseph* immediately attacked him, and having a great superiority, routed the handful of men under his command; but Don *Nugnez* himself, and most of the gentlemen who had followed his party in the late troubles, were killed upon the spot. The king having caused the body of Don *Nugnez* to be carefully sought out, cut off his head, and sent it in triumph to the king of *Granada*, who remembering his former friendship with that nobleman, and that to his assistance he owed the crown he wore, returned it to the Christians, that it might be buried with his body at *Cordova*^k. But notwithstanding this victory, the king of *Morocco* found his troops so roughly handled, that he spent the rest of the campaign in
- e ravaging the country about *Seville*, without undertaking any siege.

- THE forces of the king of *Granada* were at this time employed in plundering ^{The troops of} the country about *Jaen*, and against these marched the Infant Don *Sancho*, arch- ^{the king of} bishop of *Toledo*, with the bands of *Madrid*, *Talavera*, *Alcala*, *Guadalaxara*, *Hueta* and *Guenca*. On his arrival at *Martos*, he had intelligence that the *Moors* were at no great ^{Granada, rout} distance; and that, tho' they were very numerous, they were excessively fatigued, and embar- ^{the Castilians} rassed with a great booty of cattle, which induced him to follow them with his cavalry, without ^{and kill the} waiting for Don *Lopez de Haro*, who would have joined him the next day. This rashness cost him dear, his forces being defeated and himself killed^l. Don *Lopez*, who followed him with all imaginable expedition, met and preserved the flying remains of his army, and with
- f them and his own forces attacked the *Moors*, and recovered the cross of the archbishop out of their hands, but with difficulty, and so great loss, that he was able to undertake nothing more^m. The Infant Don *Ferdinand* began his march from *Burgos* with a small body of troops, and proceeded slowly, that the nobility might have time to join him, till he received an account of what had befallen Don *Nugnez de Lara* and the Infant Don *Sancho*, upon which he marched so hastily to *Ciudad Real*, that he contracted a fever, of which he died in a few days, recommending to his favourite Don *Juan de Lara*, the princess *Blanche*, and his two sons Don *Alonso* and Don *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, both very young, with whom, and the body of their father, Don *Juan* returned to *Burgos*ⁿ.

^d Annal Toletan. FERRERAS.^e RAINALD^f ZURIT.

Annal Arragon.

RAINALD.

^g Chro-

nica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^h MARIANA Historia general de España, lib xiii.ⁱ Chronica del

Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^k FERRERAS Historia de España, p. vi. sec. xiii.^l Chronica del Rey Don

Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^m MARIANA. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET.ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don

Alonso el Sabio, &c.

A stop put to
the success of
these Infidels by
the Infant Don
Sancho.

THE Infant Don *Sancho*, the king's second son, on the news of his brother's misfortune, repaired to *Ciudad Real*, did all that could be expected from him to encourage the forces, and was quickly joined by Don *Lopez de Haro*, to whom, in the midst even of that confusion, he communicated the designs he had already formed of seizing the throne. He proceeded from *Ciudad Real* to *Cordova*, from whence he dispatched Don *Lopez de Haro* to *Ecija*, and the grand masters of *St. James* and *Calatrava* to *Jaen*; then leaving a good garrison in *Cordova*, under Don *Ferdinand de Castro*, he marched in person with the rest of his forces to *Seville*, where he equipped a strong fleet, which cruizing in the streights of *Gibraltar*, so alarmed the king of *Morocco*, that he retired with his army to *Algezira*. While things were in this state in *Spain*, the king Don *Alonso* was treating with the pope at *Baucaire*, where he endeavoured to persuade him that the election of the emperor *Rodolph* was void; and that, as he was ready to resign the kingdom of *Castile* to his son the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, there was nothing to hinder his going directly to *Germany*, and taking upon him the government. The pope being of quite another opinion, the king fell next on his pretensions to the duchy of *Suabia*, in right of his mother, to which the pontif was equally deaf. While the negotiation was in this awkward condition, came the news of the death of the two Infants, which so far awakened the king from his dreams, that he resolved to return immediately into *Spain*. He at the same time remitted money into *Italy*, for the use of his partizans there, and wrote to the king of *Bohemia*, and to the princes of *Germany*, desiring them to remain firm to his interest, and to rest assured that he had no thoughts of dropping his claim; and that, as soon as the affairs of *Castile* were settled, they might depend upon his coming amongst them; in which letters, he continued to use the imperial stile. This done, he returned with as much haste as possible into his dominions, by the same road he came into *France*, having spent immense sums of money, and obtained nothing.

A. D. 1275.
Don Sancho
claims the
crown against
the children of
his elder brother.

THE king, Don *Alonso*, being arrived at *Alcala de Henares*, and hearing wherever he passed prodigious encomiums of the Infant Don *Sancho*, sent for him from *Seville*; but that prince excused himself, under pretence that the then state of affairs made it improper for him to quit the frontiers; whereas, in reality, he was negotiating, by the assistance of Don *Alonso de Guzman*, a peace with the *Moors*, which he conceived absolutely necessary to the conducting his designs. Accordingly a truce being concluded, he set out for *Toledo*, to which city his father was come to meet him, and there the first proposal was made, that he should be declared heir apparent to the crown. It does not appear that Don *Alonso* was at all averse to this; but foreseeing the miseries that must attend a divided title, he was unwilling to act precipitately, or without good advice; and therefore directed an assembly of the states to be held at *Segovia*, to determine the right of succession, according to the laws of *Spain*. This assembly was accordingly held, and upon mature deliberation, and with the advice of the best lawyers of those times, the Infant Don *Emanuel*, the king's brother, pronounced the judgment of that assembly to be, that the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, dying in the life time of his father, the right of succession was clearly in the Infant Don *Sancho*.

The crown of
France inter-
poses in support
of those chil-
dren.

THE king, Don *Alonso*, seems to have been passive in this matter, or at most did no more than acquiesce in the judgment of the states. When that assembly broke up, he proceeded to *Burgos*, where he met with an ambassador from *Philip* the hardy, king of *France*, who demanded the restitution of the portion given with the princess *Blanche*, and that the right of her sons to the crown should be well secured. To this Don *Alonso* made a short answer, that the princess should enjoy her portion and dowry in *Castile*; that the states had adjudged the right of succession to the Infant Don *Sancho*; and that he did not conceive it by any means expedient, that the princess and her children should leave his dominions; on which the ambassador departed in great discontent. At his return to *France*, king *Philip* was so much offended at the report he made of his negotiation, that he began to dispose every thing for obtaining by the sword what had been refused to his intercession. It happened very fortunately, that at this time cardinal *Julian*, a native of *Lisbon*, being elected pope, and assuming the name of *John* the twenty-first, interfered warmly between the two kings, and even threatened with excommunication and interdict the king and kingdom of *France*, in case that monarch committed hostilities on the king of *Castile*. He also interposed with *Edward* the first, king of *England*, to whom *Philip* had sent an ambassador to represent the injustice done to the Infants *Alonso* and *Ferdinand de la Cerda*; and it is agreed, that, by his means, the war was hindered from breaking out. The king of

* Annales Ecclesiastiques y Seculares de la Ciudad de Sevilla, par D. DIEGO ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA. P RAINALD.
† Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. † MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. xiii.
FERRERAS Historia de Espana, part vi. sect. xiii. † GUL. DE NANGIS. † RAINALD, MARIANA.
FERRERAS.

- a *Castile* flattered himself with the hopes of great things in other respects, from this pontif, who had a great affection for *Spain*; but he was unfortunately killed by the fall of a new apartment, built by his own direction, in the spring of the ensuing year, and so the king's hopes of favour at *Rome* vanished^u.

THE monarch of *France*, if we may credit the best of the historians of that country, *Donna Yoland*, resented so highly the ill usage and injustice done to the princess his daughter, and her children, *or Violante*, that, without respecting any interpositions, he was for attacking the dominions of the king, *queen of Castile*, without delay; but it seems his nobility and general officers were not so much inclined to a war, which, at its very entrance, would put them to greater labour in passing *the Pyrenees*, than any in which they had been engaged; and therefore, under colour of making the necessary preparations, they delayed things for many months^w. In the mean time, *Donna Yoland*, or *Donna Violante*^x, queen of *Castile*, being very much offended with the setting aside of the children of *Don Ferdinand*, her eldest son, made an overture to the king of *Arragon*, her father, to receive her, together with her daughter-in-law and her grand-children, into his protection; which he had no sooner promised, than, by the care and assistance of *Don Juan de Lara*, who remained unalterably fixed in his fidelity to his master's family, the queen of *Castile*, the princess *Blanche* her daughter-in-law, and the two young Infants, retired into the dominions of *Arragon*^y, which gave great displeasure to *Don Alonso*, and much more to the Infant *Don Sancho*, who finding that the Infant *Don Frederick*, and *Don Simon Ruez de los Cameros*, were not intirely ignorant of the queen's retreat, he caused the former, though his uncle, to be either strangled or beheaded, and the house of the latter being set on fire, he perished in the flames^z. Before the close of the year war was declared between *France* and *Castile* in form^a. A.D. 1277.

- POPE *Nicholas* the third was to the full as earnest as his predecessor, in his endeavours to compromise the difference between the crowns; in order to which he employed two cardinals, with the titles of legates; but finding a backwardness in the king of *Castile*, he proceeded with him in that round manner, which the notions of those times put in his power. He sent him word, that, for the support of his wars against the Infidels, his predecessor had permitted him to levy a tax upon the clergy, for which reason he expected that he should immediately renew the war against the Infidels, or discontinue the tax^b. Upon this, he was constrained to break the truce he had made, and to send an army, commanded by his sons *Don Pedro* and *Don Alonso*, to besiege *Algezira*, and he likewise fitted out a fleet with instructions to block up that place by sea^c. The quarrel in the royal family was by this time composed, the queen consented to return to her husband, the princess *Blanche* was allowed to go into *France*, and the two Infants were kept by the king of *Arragon*^d. This, one would have imagined, must have been attended with favourable circumstances, but it happened otherwise. The queen thought it beneath her to return into *Castile*, without discharging the debts she owed in *Arragon*; the king's finances were so low, and the demands of the public upon him so pressing, that he could not spare her that sum; but the Infant *Don Sancho* went to *Seville*, seized upon a Jew who was treasurer at war to the army commanded by his brethren, and taking the sum requisite from him sent it to his mother^e. This proved the ruin both of the army and the fleet. The former was exceedingly weakened by famine, the latter beat by the *Moors*, being but very indifferently supplied; so that *Aben-Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, coming over, forced the two young princes to raise the siege with great loss; and observing afterwards that their camp was in a much better situation than that of the town, he caused the place, which now bears the name of *Algezira*, to be erected there, and directed the old one to be demolished^f. Towards the close of the year, the king, who had rejected *Thoulouse*, when proposed by the pope, for the place of a congress, in which the differences subsisting with the crown of *France* might be determined, because it was in that prince's dominions, yet readily approved of *Bordeaux*, which was in the hands of the king of *England*; and where, under the mediation of the pope, a negotiation was begun^g. The *French*, notwithstanding this, began their march towards *Navarre*, upon notice of which, *Don Alonso* sent an army into that country likewise, which advanced within three leagues of *Pampeluna*, but could not prevent the *French* from becoming masters of that city, where, under various pretensions, which will be metioned in another place, they committed great excesses.

THE conferences held at *Bordeaux*, at the request and under the mediation of the pope, were opened on the first of *May*, but without producing what was expected from them; for the *French* plenipotentiaries, insisting that the Infant *Don Alonso de la Cerda* should be

^u MARTINUS POLONUS CHR. PTOL. LEUENSIS, Hist. Eccl. lib. xxiii. c. 24. ^w P. DANIEL Histoire de France. ^x MEZERAY. ^y ZURITA Annal Arragon. ^z Chronica general de Espana. ^a Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^b RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de Espana. ^c Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^d ZURIT Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^e Chron. general de Espana. ^f FERRERAS Historia de Espana part vi. sect. xiii. ^g Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^h Chron. var. antiq.

to attack the
monarch of
Granada.

A. D. 1279.

Negotiations
with the
crown of
France, and
secret alliance
with that of
Arragon.

1280.

The Infant Don
Sancho pre-
vents the con-
clusion of a
peace with the
crown of
Granada.

1281.

declared heir apparent of the crown of *Castile*, the commissioners on the part of Don *Alonso* ^a alleged they had no powers to treat upon that point; and this stopped all proceedings for the present^h. In the mean time Don *Alonso* prepared for chastising the king of *Granada*; antecedent to which, he found it necessary to settle all disputes between him and the king of *Morocco*, which he at last brought to bear, and a truce was actually concludedⁱ. It grew from hence into a received opinion amongst his subjects, that he meant to leave the *Moors* in quiet; and therefore the clergy complained loudly of his applying the revenues of vacant sees, and of part of the tythes due to the clergy, to the uses of the state; upon which they applied themselves to the pope, who wrote in very strong terms to the king, and to the Infant Don *Sancho*, to forbear such practices, and not to violate the immunities of the church. However, the king and his son, knowing their own intentions best, proceeded notwithstanding; ^b and having engaged the king of *Arragon* to remain strictly neutral, in respect to their differences with the crown of *France*, caused a very numerous army to assemble in that part of *Andalusia*, which was already subject to the crown of *Castile*^k.

The king, Don *Alonso*, early in the spring, repaired to *Seville*, and being afflicted with a distemper in his eyes, the Infant Don *Sancho* commanded the army this campaign against the *Moors*, but without any considerable success^l. On the other hand, a proposition being made for a personal conference between the kings of *France* and *Castile*, at *Auch* in *Gascony*, Don *Alonso* began his journey through the kingdom of *Arragon*, where he had a long interview with the king; and, as some say, very important resolutions were formed, in consequence of what passed at these conferences^m (H). But however that may be, it is certain that the other interview did not take effect, for reasons that are no where clearly explained; but the negotiation between *France* and *Castile* went on; and, as some say, an agreement was at length concluded, by which the Infant Don *Alonso de la Cerda* was to have the kingdom of *Murcia* for himself and his heirs, for which, however, he was to do homage to the Infant Don *Sancho*, when he should become king of *Castile*ⁿ. About this time began those heart-burnings between the king and the Infant who was to succeed him, by which afterwards both the court and the kingdom suffered severely. ^c

THE war against *Granada* was prosecuted with much bloodshed, but little success. Don *Sancho*, who piqued himself upon an unreasonable and extravagant bravery, exposed himself during the campaign in such a manner, that if the king had not sent him a timely reinforcement of cavalry, he and those who were about him must have been either made prisoners or cut to pieces; which rash and indiscreet conduct, instead of lessening, raised his credit with the army^o. A negotiation followed the campaign, but to no effect; for Don *Sancho* insisted upon such terms without a victory, as would have been thought hard, if the king of *Granada* had been at his mercy. Before the troops quitted the field, there happened a very remarkable event. A considerable body of banditti, who had enriched themselves by their booty, ^d

^h Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ⁱ RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de Espana. ^k ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. Chronica general de Espana. ^l Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^m Chron. var. antiq. ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^o Chronica general de Espana. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, part vi. sec. xiii.

(H) In respect to the secret history of this court and these times, it falls very little within our province; and yet without some little attention to it, what is delivered in the text will hardly be understood. Donna *Yoland*, or *Violente*, by which last name she is commonly mentioned in all but the *Spanish* historians, was a princess of none of the clearest characters (1). She had retired to the court of her brother the king of *Arragon*, out of affection, as she pretended, to her daughter-in-law and her grand-children, which provoked the king, who was passionately fond of her, to the last degree; and it was from their having a share in her secrets, that the Infant Don *Frederick* and Don *Simon de los Cameros* were put to death, some say by the king's order, others by the Infant Don *Sancho*'s (2): certain it is, that the latter charged the former with it, to make him odious to his subjects, as Don *Alonso* himself affirms, in the instrument by which he disinherited his son (3). Yet, after all this, there appears to have been very close connections between the Infant Don *Sancho* and his mother, and, through her intrigues, between the same Infant and her

brother, Don *Pedro* of *Arragon* (4). It was in consequence of these, that, under pretence of doing honour to his uncle, Don *Sancho* accompanied him back to *Terrafona* from this interview, in which, as the two kings had stipulated to act in concert for the recovery of *Navarre* out of the hands of the *French*, upon condition that it should be equally divided between them, the Infant went farther, and undertook, that when, by the death of his father, he should be in possession of the throne, he would relinquish the whole of *Navarre* to that monarch, and give him likewise the town of *Requena* and its dependencies, which extended on one side to the frontiers of *Murcia*, and on the other to the kingdom of *Valencia*; in consideration of which the king of *Arragon* was to keep the Infants *de la Cerda* closely confined in the castle of *Xativa*, so that they might not be able to give Don *Sancho* any trouble (5); which contrivances, as will be seen hereafter, proved altogether ineffectual, and therefore *Ferreras*, for the honour of his country, passed them over in silence.

(1) Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. xiv. (2) Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. (3) Zurita, Indices rerum ab Arragoniae regibus gestarum, lib. ii. p. 171. (4) Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio. (5) Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. xiv. Ferreras Historia de Espana, part vi. sec. xiii. Mayerne Turquet. P. d'Orleans. Abbé l'ayrac.

a intreated the king to pardon them a little before the campaign, with which the king complied, upon condition that they should serve all that year at their own expence; but after doing this, and behaving gallantly, they demanded a compensation, and threatened, if they had it not, they would return to their old trade. Don *Alonso* temporized with them a little, till a body of horse fell into their rear, and then caused them to be surrounded and cut to pieces ^p.

In order to reduce the distracted state of his affairs into some order, the king appointed an assembly of the states at *Seville*, which was accordingly held, and was more numerous than usual. The king told them that he was sensible of the heavy load of taxes under which they laboured; that, notwithstanding, money must be raised for reducing the king of *Granada*; and instead of an additional tax, he advised the giving a currency to copper money, not as an eligible measure, but as an expedient dictated by necessity. The states, though very unwilling, yielded their assent ^q. The king then opened to them the agreement which he had concluded in respect to the kingdom of *Murcia*, in order to put an end to the disputes with *France*. Upon this, the Infant Don *Sancho* withdrew with his dependents and the rest of the members, repenting what they had done; and being cajoled by that ambitious prince, who told them that age and infirmities had rendered his father incapable of government, and that for the future he would take the administration upon himself, withdrew likewise ^r. In the next place, as if he had been already king, he made a treaty with the monarch of *Granada*, and accepted a sum of money instead of those hard terms which he had before prescribed. His brethren, the Infants *Juan* and *Pedro*, concurred with him in these measures, and abandoned their father in his old age ^s.

Don *Sancho* spent the winter in labouring by himself, his brothers, and his adherents, to engage the people every where in his party; and in this he succeeded so well, that in the month of *April*, when the states assembled at *Valladolid*, they were inclined, upon the motion of Don *Emanuel* his uncle, in the presence of his mother, to give him the title of king; but that, with great appearance of modesty, he refused: however, he made no difficulty of accepting the regal power with the title of regent ^t. His brothers, either repenting what they had done, or being disappointed in their expectations, left him; and though he could not but foresee that troubles must ensue, he engaged in a marriage that seemed calculated to excite them; for he espoused Donna *Maria*, the daughter of Don *Alonso de Molina* his great uncle, and then went in great state to *Cordova* ^u. The king Don *Alonso* was no sooner acquainted with what had passed at *Valladolid*, than he wrote to most of the nobility, and to the magistrates of all the great cities, to espouse his cause, and relinquish all connection with the Infant Don *Sancho*. The town of *Badajos*, singly, paid that obedience which was due to the orders of their sovereign; who finding himself abandoned by the kings of *France*, *Aragon*, and *Portugal*, and not knowing which way to turn, demanded assistance of the king of *Morocco*, who in a short time came over with an army into *Spain*, and joined Don *Alonso* with the handful of troops he had about him ^v. In the mean time the Infant Don *Sancho* advanced with his forces towards *Badajos*, which he summoned, but the inhabitants remained firm, and prepared for a siege: this, however, was prevented, by the appearance of Don *Alonso* at the head of a numerous body of *Moors*. The two kings besieged *Cordova* without effect, after which they returned to *Seville*, where *Aben-Joseph* took his leave of the Christian monarch, who in a transport of rage, by a solemn act dated *November* the 12th, disinherited his son, and bequeathed his curse to him and all his adherents ^w.

The pope exerted all his influence in favour of the king, and obliged the grand masters of the military orders to declare for him, and to secure all the places in their power; at the same time he threatened the Infant Don *Sancho* on account of his marriage, which he declared null ^x. The Infant Don *Sancho* brought back his brother Don *Pedro*, partly by force, partly by rewards. But he found all methods vain with respect to Don *Alvaro de Lara*, who seized the city of *Palencia*; and when the Infant demanded for whom he held it, answered plainly, "for Don *Alonso*, my master and yours." However, finding himself pushed by a superior force, he offered to leave the kingdom; which being accepted, he retired into *Portugal* with his followers; and, having increased their number considerably, he repaired to Don *Alonso* at *Badajos* ^y. The Infant, Don *James*, who had been always dutiful, seized some places on the frontiers of *Navarre*; in which, however, he had been forced, if Don *Juan de Lara*, who had followed the fortunes of the Infants *de la Cerda*, and who was then in the *French* service, had not marched to his relief ^z. The king of *Morocco* returned about this

^p Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^q Chron. var. antiq. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^r Chron. var. antiq. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^s Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^t Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^u Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^v Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^w Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^x Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^y Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

^z Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c.

¹ Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don

² Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don

³ Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don

⁴ Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don

⁵ Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don

⁶ Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don

⁷ Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don

⁸ Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don

⁹ Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don

¹⁰ Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don

¹¹ Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don

¹² Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don

¹³ Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don

¹⁴ Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don

¹⁵ Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don

time with great forces; and having conferred with Don *Alonso*, resolved to open the war by a reducing the king of *Granada*. Upon this occasion the king of *Castile* sent him a corps of about a thousand men, under the command of Don *Ferdinand Perez*, who, because he would not incorporate them with the *Moors*, was so much suspected by *Aben-Joseph*, that he found it requisite to quit the camp, and retire towards *Seville*. The people of *Cordova*, having intelligence of this, attempted to surprize and surround him; but Don *Ferdinand* and his forces behaved so gallantly, that they were totally routed, with very considerable loss, and amongst them many persons of distinction were slain or taken. This troubled Don *Sancho* very much, and, which is singular, he thought fit to declare, that they had met with no more than they deserved, for being wantonly the aggressors against their king and his father; as if his own want of duty had not excited theirs^b.

The king by his last will disinherits the Infant Don Sancho, and calls to the succession the Infants de la Cerda.

THE whole Christian power in *Spain* was now involved in discord and confusion; in *Portugal*, the king was excommunicated, and the kingdom threatened with an interdict; Don *Pedro*, king of *Arragon*, was engaged in a war with *France*, about *Navarre*, in which the *French* had the assistance of the partisans of Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, while the *Arragonese* were supported by the royal Infant Don *Sancho*. This afforded the *Moors* an opportunity of raising their heads, which, however, they overlooked; for *Aben-Joseph* having formed a scheme of conquering *Granada*, and finding little assistance therein from Don *Alonso*, returned in displeasure to *Africa*^c. The old king of *Castile*, finding himself indisposed, confirmed on the eighth of *November* his last will and testament, by which he solemnly disinherited the Infant Don *Sancho* for his ingratitude, and which was afterwards urged as the strongest proof of his title, and called to the succession, in his stead, the Infants *de la Cerda*, and, failing their heirs, the kings of *France*^d. In the mean time, the Infant Don *Sancho* acted quite another part; he assembled the nobility at *Palencia*; and having represented to them, that what he had done he did by their advice; that he meant to preserve, and not to destroy the kingdom; that he now expected they would name a person to go to his father and let him know that rebellion was far from their hearts; that therefore they desired he would preserve the kingdom entire, and suspend his applications at *Rome*, where the pope was on the very point of launching against them the thunders of the church. Accordingly Don *Gomez Fernandes*, a nobleman of great probity, and who had meddled very little in these affairs, was sent to *Seville*, with instructions to say and do every thing that could pacify the king, and engage him to forget, or at least to forgive, every thing that had passed^e.

Is prevailed on to pardon the royal Infant, and finishes his days at Seville.

ABOUT the same time that Don *Gomez Fernandes* arrived at *Seville*, Donna *Beatrix*, queen of *Portugal*, came thither, to comfort her father under his misfortunes, and Donna *Maria*, consort to the Infant Don *Sancho*, who had always preserved her interest with the king, had her agents there likewise. While these negotiations were going on, for both the princesses concurred with Don *Gomez*, the king added a codicil to his will on the 22d of *January*, by which he gave to the Infant Don *Juan* the kingdoms of *Seville* and *Badajos*^f. Yet by degrees he began to be softened; and upon the arrival of news from *Salamanca*, that the Infant Don *Sancho* was fallen dangerously ill there, and professed the most sincere grief for his conduct towards his father, it affected the old king so much, that it brought him to his grave on *Tuesday* the 4th of *April*, in the year 1284, after he had pardoned his son, and revoked all his curses^g. He had by his queen Donna *Yoland*, or *Violente*, five sons; Don *Ferdinand* who died in his life-time, Don *Sancho* his successor, Don *Juan*, Don *Pedro* who likewise died in his life-time, and Don *Jaques* or *James*. By his mistress Donna *Maria* he had Donna *Beatrix*, at the time of his demise queen dowager of *Portugal*; by another mistress, Don *Alonso* and some other children, of whom, however, we have no distinct accounts. He was buried in the cathedral of *Seville*, near St. *Ferdinand* and Donna *Beatrix*, and left behind him the character of being a learned man and a weak king^h (I).

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^b Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. Annal. Arragon. Chronica general de Espana. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. RAINALD. Chronica general de Espana. ^c Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. BRANDAON. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. ^d Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^e Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^f Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^g Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^h Chron. var. antiq. FERRERAS.

^c BRANDAON. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. ZURITA, ^d Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. RAINALD. Chronica general de Espana. ^e Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. BRANDAON. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. ^f Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^g Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, &c. ^h Chron. var. antiq. FERRERAS.

(I) The character of this great monarch is very differently represented, according to the various tempers of those who have undertaken to transmit his memoirs to posterity, and the several lights in which it might be considered. He is represented by those who lived in his own time as of a grave and serene aspect, majestic air, and very well made in his person. Affable and polite in his conversation, and naturally of a cheerful, open, and generous disposition. His faults were only virtues

in excess. He was much too learned for a prince; his magnificence bordered upon profusion; his own candour misled him into credulity. His subjects, however, reaped some great and lasting advantages, even from those qualities in him which were most censured; he augmented the privileges, and corrected many errors in the statutes made at the foundation of the university of *Salamanca*; he polished the *Castilian* tongue, caused a general history of *Spain* to be composed in that language; directed

- a As soon as the Infant Don Sancho was recovered from his indisposition, which had brought him to the very brink of the grave, and had an account of his father's death, he went to Toledo, where he was crowned by the archbishop Don Gonfales¹. He proceeded from thence to Andalusia, after having had a conference with his uncle Don Pedro, king of Arragon, at Ucles, where he renounced all claim to the town and fortrefs of Albarracin, of which Don Juan de Lara was then in possession, and made frequent excursions from thence, sometimes into the dominions of Arragon, and sometimes into those of Castile². On the arrival of the king at Seville, he found that his brother, the Infant Don Juan, had been labouring to engage the people to support his father's will, by which he was to hold that kingdom; but the nobility interposing, he had been constrained to desist; and perceiving that he could not take a wiser measure, came and did homage to the king Don Sancho, who received him very kindly, and who shewed a disposition to gratify him in every thing, except that of making him a king³. While he was there, *Aben-Joseph* sent an ambassador to him, whose name was *Abdalac*, who told him that his commission was to ask a plain question, whether his master was to consider him as a friend or enemy? To this Don Sancho made none of the plainest answers, he bid him tell the king of Morocco, that he held his bread in one hand and a good staff in the other. *Aben-Joseph* looking upon this as an affront, began soon after to ravage the Christian frontiers. Don Sancho marched immediately to cover them, and, with the assistance of the Genoese, sent a very formidable fleet to sea, by which the whole naval power of the Moors was thoroughly beaten, which induced *Aben-Joseph* to return into Africa, with a resolution, however, of being revenged, as soon as it should be in his power⁴. In the winter the king held an assembly of the states at Seville, where he told them he was resolved to preserve the kingdom entire, to curtail as few of his father's concessions and other acts of generosity as was possible, and to endeavour, by the frugality of his administration, to remove the inconveniencies introduced by the dissipation of his father's reign, of whose memory, however, he spoke very respectfully, intimating, that though his dominions were extensive, and his revenues large, yet they bore no proportion to the greatness of his mind⁵.
- b The beginning of the new reign did not pass without some disturbances; but they were very soon suppressed, or rather torn up by the roots; for Don Sancho, who had acquired the surname of *el Bravo*, or *the Fierce*, punished with extraordinary severity, and rewarded with great generosity⁶. King Philip of France sent ambassadors to desire that he would not assist the king of Arragon in the war between the two crowns. Don Sancho thereupon dispatched two prelates to the court of France, to let the king know, that, being engaged in a war with the Moors, it was not in his power to assist his uncle; but at the same time he directed those prelates to gain the clearest notions they could of the maxims and forces of that court, that he might be the better able to act when he should find it convenient⁷. In the mean time *Aben-Joseph* returned from Africa with a great fleet and a numerous army; and as soon as he had landed his forces, besieged the town of *Xerez de la Fronteira*. Don Sancho marched immediately with his forces from Toledo to Seville; and, when the Moor little expected it, the Christian fleet appeared in the streights of Gibraltar, consisting of a hundred sail: at the same time Don Sancho, with his army, advanced to the relief of *Xerez*, upon which *Aben-Joseph* raised the siege and retired in haste. The monarch of Castile would have pursued and forced him to a battle, but his brother the Infant Don Juan and Don Lopez de Haro opposed and

Don Sancho enters into the possession of all his father's dominions, notwithstanding his will.

Defeats the king of Morocco at sea, and afterwards concludes a peace with him.

¹ MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

Annal Arragon.

Sancho el Bravo.

SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

France. FERRERAS.

² RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. FERRERAS.

³ Chronica general de Espana.

⁴ Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo.

⁵ Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ZURITA.

⁶ Chronica del Rey Don

SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. RODERIC

⁷ P. DANIEL Histoire de

directed that body of laws to be compiled therein which we have mentioned in the text, that all ranks of people might be in a condition to understand the terms upon which their obedience was expected. Under his auspices also, and at an immense expence, those astronomical tables were drawn up which bear his name. He wrote a book entitled, *The Treasure*, comprehending treatises of rational philosophy, physics, and ethics. He is also said to have been deep read in astrology and chemistry, in which last science, we are told, there are two volumes of his yet remaining in his catholic majesty's library in cypher. He is, however, charged with prophaneness, and particularly with saying, that he could have contrived the universe in a better method than that in which we find it. A certain historian has given us a long account of the judgments brought upon him by this notorious act of impiety; but it does not appear that this account of his has met with much credit; and, if we may have leave to speak plainly, perhaps the fact on

which it is founded deserves as little; for as there are pieces enough of this prince come down to posterity, to prove incontestably that he was a man of great parts, uncommon peneetration, and very extensive knowlege, we may reasonably doubt of his impiety, more especially when we consider the occasion of this expression; from whence indeed it is pretty evident, that it regarded the Ptolemaic, and not the Divine, system; and was so far from being an insult upon, that it was really a vindication of, the divine wisdom; which, for all that, might be very shocking to pious ears in those ignorant times, but which ought not to leave a stain upon his memory in ours. As to his political administration, the reader will judge of it from the facts that are recorded; and we have not either room or inclination to enter into a discussion of those censures that have been passed upon this monarch by many great writers of different nations, more especially as we cannot affirm them to be without ground, since he was very unfortunate.

hindered

hindered it¹. The king then returned to *Seville*, to which city repaired ambassadors from *Morocco* and *Granada*. Don *Juan* and Don *Lopez* were for concluding a peace with the former, and continuing the war against the latter; the rest of the council were for a general peace. Don *Sancho* proposed a conference with *Aben-Joseph*, where, for two millions of marvadies in ready money, the king consented to withdraw his fleet and return to *Africa*².

A. D. 1285. The queen was delivered on the 6th of *December* at *Seville*, of her son the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, to the great joy of the king, who received this news in his journey to the kingdom of *Leon*, where, if he did not meet with the most joyful reception, he found at least perfect obedience, which, to a monarch of his disposition, was almost as acceptable³.

King Edward the first, of England, offers his mediation between France and Castile.

In the spring of the next year he sent for his young son from *Seville* to *Burgos*, and obliged the states of *Castile* to own him for heir apparent, though in his cradle⁴. He next sent the archbishop of *Toledo* and other ambassadors to *Bayonne*, in hopes of concluding a solid peace with *France*; but the plenipotentiaries of that power insinuated that the king's marriage was void for want of the pope's approbation, and that the first step to a peace must be his resolving to marry the sister of their king: *Sancho*, who was himself at *St. Sebastian*, was no sooner acquainted therewith, than he ordered his ambassadors to quit *Bayonne*, and to return into his own dominions⁵. He then went in pilgrimage to *St. James* at *Compostella*, and, under colour of devotion, regulated all the affairs of *Galicia*; then passing to the city of *Palencia*, he there held an assembly of the states of *Castile* and *Leon*, in which many excellent laws were made for the benefit of his subjects. About this time it was, that king *Edward* the first, of *England*, offered his mediation to facilitate the conclusion of a peace between the crowns of *France* and *Castile*, to which likewise the pope contributed as far as lay in his power, and actually named two cardinals, as his legates, to assist at the conferences⁶. The king, Don *Sancho*, endeavoured to prevail upon the king, Don *Alonso*, who had succeeded his father Don *Pedro*, in the kingdom of *Arragon*, to deliver up to him the Infants *de la Cerda*, which that king very wisely, though very civilly, declined.

Don Lopez de Haro becomes so great, that the king is jealous of him.

As the kingdom of *Castile* had been hitherto distracted by factions, so the intrigues that now broke out amongst the courtiers were attended with consequences no less fatal; Don *Gonsales Garcia*, bishop of *Sigüenza*, was the first who had the king's confidence, and was entrusted with the direction of the finances, and had been employed in a negotiation with the crown of *France*; but upon a discovery that it was he who suggested that the queen's marriage was illegal, the great employment he held was taken from him, and bestowed upon Don *Lopez de Haro*, who was now in as great credit with the queen as with the king; and being a man of boundless ambition, accumulated titles, posts, and revenues, which rendered him first envied by many, and then, through his own haughty behaviour, odious to all. He had the title of count, which had been for some time refused, was high treasurer and prime minister, while his brother Don *Diego de Haro* had the command of the forces in *Andalusia*, and his daughter Donna *Maria*, married, by the king's consent, his brother the Infant Don *Juan*⁷. The haughtiness of Don *Lopez*, to those who had been before his friends and equals, the loose he gave to his resentment in respect to such as he accounted his enemies, and that spirit of rapine which tempted him to oppress without distinction, brought numberless complaints to the king's ear. As for Don *Alvaro de Lara*, his patience being wore out, he retired with some of his friends into the dominions of *Portugal*, where he associated with the Infant Don *Alonso*, and other malecontents in that kingdom, and made some inroads into *Castile*⁸. This brought both monarchs into the field, who united their forces against these malecontents; but in the course of the campaign, Don *Sancho* of *Castile*, who piqued himself much upon his justice, received such certain information of the ill usage Don *Alvaro* had received, that, instead of pursuing him to destruction, as he might have done, he received him into his favour, which, however, he did not enjoy long, being carried off by a distemper soon after this reconciliation; upon which Don *Sancho* privately intimated to Don *Juan de Lara*, who had been so long an exile for acting against him, that, if he would return home, he should not only enjoy his brother's estates, but also his posts and appointments; which he accepted⁹. The king having now a minister he could trust, called an assembly of the states at *Toro*, where the Infant Don *Juan* and Don *Lopez* opposed the king's measures, and at last retired from that assembly without concealing their discontent, or the resolution they had taken of raising disturbances, if it was in their power.

The Infant Don Juan

THE king at first endeavoured to secure their persons, upon which the Infant Don *Juan* retired towards *Portugal* with his forces, as Don *Lopez de Haro* did into *Castile*¹⁰. The king

¹ Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ² Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ³ Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ⁴ Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ⁵ Chronica general de Espana. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ⁶ Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. RAINALD. FERRERAS. ⁷ Chronica general de Espana. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv. P. DANIEL. FERRERAS. ⁸ BRANDAON. Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. Chron. var. antiq. ⁹ Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ¹⁰ EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, de las Historias Portuguesas. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

- ^a did not think proper to march with an army against either, but sent for them both to come to him, promising them any satisfaction that was reasonable. The royal Infant rejected the proposition as unsafe, but Don *Lopez* came to the place appointed, with his friends in arms: upon his asking him what it was he aimed at, and by what authority he raised troops to disturb the public peace; he answered, by his own, to redress the injuries which the Infant Don *Juan* and himself had received. After many attempts towards a reconciliation, which ended in nothing, it was agreed, that the royal Infant and Don *Lopez* should meet the king at *Alfaro*, where all things were to be compromised. At this conference, when the king proposed that Don *Lopez* should evacuate all the fortresses which he had committed to his charge, that nobleman laid his hand upon his sword, as the Infant Don *Juan* likewise did. The nobility who were about the person of the king seeing this, killed the one and arrested the other. This threw the whole kingdom into a flame; and Don *Diego de Haro* the brother, and Don *Diego* the son; of the late Don *Lopez*, retiring into *Arragon*, persuaded that monarch to set the Infant Don *Alonzo de la Cerda* at liberty, whom they immediately proclaimed king of *Castile*: their adherents in several places engaged the people to acknowledge and arm in defence of his title; so that a second civil war was begun, with more alarming circumstances than the first^b (K).

Don *Sancho*, king of *Castile*, in the midst of these difficulties, supported himself with great firmness: he had a conference with the king of *Portugal*, from whom he demanded and received succours; but when he was about to have taken the field, he found himself pressed by Philip le Bel, king of *France*, to meet and confer with him; and as it was a point of great consequence to prevent a breach with that monarch at this juncture, he advanced with a strong corps of troops as far as *St. Sebastians*, leaving the command of his army to Don *Alonso de Molina*, the queen's brother^c. The king of *Arragon*, taking the advantage of Don *Sancho's* absence, entered the dominions of *Castile* with the Infant Don *Alonso de la Cerda*, who now used the regal title, at the head of an army, which some say fell little short of 100,000 men^d. Don *Alonso de Molina* advanced towards him, encamped advantageously, but declined fighting till the king should return. This he did sooner than was expected, for the king of *France* failed at the interview, and then proposed another, which the situation of Don *Sancho's* affairs would not permit him to expect. Upon his return, therefore, and joining his own army with a numerous corps of troops, the king of *Arragon* retired into his own country, to quell some disturbances that broke out in his absence; and the king Don *Sancho* following him, wasted all the country as far as the *Ebro*^e. For this fruitless attempt, Don *Alonso de la Cerda* made a cession to the king of *Arragon* of all *Murcia*; and, by a treaty of the like nature, gained the king of *Granada* to acknowledge his title^f. Don *Diego de Haro*, the elder, was more fortunate, for he beat a body of the king of *Castile's* troops, and ravaged the country about *Cuenca* and *Alarcon*^g. About this time the inhabitants of *Badajos* had a quarrel with the *Portuguese*, and Don *Sancho*, upon hearing the merits, decided in their favour.

^b Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ZURITA, Annal Arragon. Chron. var. antiq. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. vi. sec. xiii. ^c P. DANIEL Histoire de France. Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ^d ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. ^e Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. ^f Chron. var. antiq. ZURITA, Annal Arragon. ^g Chronica general de Espana. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

(K) We have a very large and circumstantial account of this affair in the *Spanish* histories, out of which it will be proper to give the reader a few particulars, that are absolutely necessary to set it in a proper light. When the Infant Don *Juan* first departed so far from his duty as to ravage the country about *Salamanca*, Don *Lopez de Haro* was at court, to whom the king complained of it with astonishment; upon which Don *Lopez* told him that he was in the right; that what the Infant did was by his advice; and that, if the king would go to *Valladolid*, he would undertake Don *Juan* should come to *Sigales* with his troops, in order to let him know his grievances. The king, Don *Sancho*, accepted this proposition; he went to *Valladolid*, and Don *Juan*, upon notice from his friend, came to him, as he had promised. At this interview the king behaved so mildly, and gratified the Infant in so many respects, that things seemed to be pacified. But afterwards, when they both attended the king, who went to confer with the monarch of *Arragon*, they disappointed his views, by the intelligence they gave to, and the influence they had over, that prince. When Don *Sancho* came to *Alfaro* in his own dominions, and saw both the Infant Don *Juan* and Don *Lopez* there without their usual attendants, he caused a great council to be held of the prelates and nobility; in which he told

them; that, since he found they were persons whom good usage could not move, or the greatest favours inspire, with any gratitude, he was resolved to dismiss them from his service, and expected they should render the places, that he had committed to their care, to such noblemen as he then named. While the king was speaking, Don *Lopez* laid his right hand upon his sword, wrapped his cloak round his left arm, and having called him a cruel, perfidious, and ungrateful tyrant, suddenly drew, and advanced towards him; upon which one of the nobles cut off his right arm at a blow, and the rest who were present pierced his body with a multitude of wounds. The Infant Don *Juan*, who had wounded several in defence of his father-in law, when he saw him extended upon the floor, fled to the queen's chamber, to which the king followed him with his sword drawn, and with an intention to have dispatched him; but the queen, putting herself between them, throwing herself upon her knees, by her tears and prayers so wrought upon the king, that he ordered him to be conducted to prison, with a design to prosecute him for this and other acts of treason, which did not hinder his living, as the reader will see, to owe his preservation a second time to the kind interposition of the same good princess.

But when the king's edict came to be put in execution; a new quarrel arose, in which the *Portuguese*, being unarmed, were cut to pieces. The people at *Badajos*, dreading the justice of their sovereign, seized upon the citadel, and declared for *Don Alonso de la Cerda*. The city, however, was quickly invested by the king's troops, and tho' the inhabitants defended themselves obstinately, they were at last constrained to surrender at discretion; but the troops, without any respect to the capitulation, put all they found in the place to the sword, without mercy ^h.

The king receives great disturbance from the jealousy of Don Juan de Lara. THE beginning of the next year, the kings of *France* and *Castile* had an interview at *Bayonne*, when it was agreed, that the infants *de la Cerda* should have the kingdom of *Murcia*, doing homage for it to the crown of *Castile*; that king *Philip* should use his interest at *Rome*, to engage the pope to confirm the king's marriage; and that both princes should continue the war against the king of *Arragon*¹. In the mean time *Don Juan de Lara*, being deceived by an anonymous letter, retired from the king's service, and went over to the king of *Arragon*, to whom he did great service. At length, however, the queen *Donna Maria* proposed to him the marriage of her niece, the heiress of *Molina*, for his son, and hostages for the security of his person; and upon receiving these he was content to return to his duty^k. Such at that time was the power of the nobility in *Spain*, and so feeble the authority of kings. In the space of a few months, notwithstanding all these assurances, and the marriage concluded with his son, *Don Juan de Lara* was again seized with new apprehensions. A nobleman of great rank came to him in the dead of the night in the royal palace at *Toledo*, and told him that a body of armed men had been secretly let in, and that he suspected there was some design against his liberty or life. *Don Juan*, upon this, attempted with a few of his friends to make his escape; but finding that impracticable, and having told them the source of his uneasiness, they advised him to apply to the queen; and she disclosing it to the king, he sent for him, and upon a solemn promise that he would do him no hurt, drew from him the name of the nobleman who had told him this story. The king did not indeed punish him, but he reproached him in the face of the whole court, told him he was a faithless knight and a lying traitor; which drew upon him such universal contempt, that he could never afterwards appear in public^l. *Don Juan* relapsed soon after into fresh inquietudes; and to draw him out of these, the king promised him, that his own son, the Infant *Don Alonso*, should marry his daughter, which made him quiet for a little time, and but for a little time; so that the king was forced to release his brother the Infant *Don Juan*, that he might oppose one faction to another^m. Affairs however went better abroad, for he not only concluded a new treaty with the king of *Granada*, but, *Don Alonso* being dead, *James* the new king of *Arragon* renewed the ancient treaty between the two crowns; upon which *Don Juan de Lara*, seeing he had no resource left in *Spain*, retired into *France*, though the king omitted nothing to have delivered him from his jealousies, and the queen still continued her kindness and protection to his familyⁿ.

Don Alonso victorious over the Moors by sea and land. ABEN-JOSEPH, king of *Morocco*, either considering the treaty which the king of *Castile* had made with the monarch of *Granada* as a breach of the peace made with him, or as preparatory to a war, began to assemble troops and shipping, of which the king of *Castile* had very early intelligence. Upon this, he immediately took into his pay the famous *Benedict Zachary*, a *Genoese* admiral, who had commanded his fleet in the former war; and being supplied with a large sum of money by the states of his several kingdoms, and auxiliary squadrons from the kings of *Arragon* and *Portugal*, he attacked the *Moors* by sea and land. His admiral had the good fortune to dissipate the enemy's fleet, and to destroy a great part of it; and the king, after a long siege, reduced *Tarifa*, and put a strong garrison into it; he likewise concluded a peace in quality of mediator between the crowns of *Arragon* and *Naples*, to their reciprocal satisfaction, and received the strongest assurances from the crown of *France*, that the late treaty should be punctually complied with, and no encouragement whatever given to any of his malecontents^o. *Donna Elizabeth*, the wife of *Don Juan de Lara* the younger, dying without issue, her husband became, from that circumstance only, one of the number.

The Infant Don Juan falls first into discontent, and at length into rebellion. THE Infant *Don Juan*, forgetting the clemency with which the king had treated him, entered into fresh cabals; and having drawn *Don Juan de la Lara* the younger into his party, they quickly assembled a great number of seditious and licentious persons, and with them broke out into open rebellion. The king marched against them with an army, and pressed them so hard, that the Infant was forced to take shelter in his town of *Valentia*, which from him is still called *Valentia*; *Don Juan* and his associate threw himself, with some troops, into *Castro-Torafa*, at no great distance^p. The king was no sooner informed of it, than he came

^h Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. BRANDAON. ⁱ P. DANIEL Histoire de France. Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ^k RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ^l Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ^m Chron. var. antiq. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. ^o Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ZURITA, Annal Arragon. BRANDAON. P. DANIEL. ^p Chronica general de Espana. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

- a and encamped between those two places, without besieging either ; but published an edict, forbidding any to supply them with provisions on pain of death. This quickly reduced Don *Juan de Lara*, and his people, to such distress, that he went to the king, and in the most humble manner desired his pardon ; Don *Sancho* received him kindly, bid him remember his distress, how he came into it, and by whom he was delivered ^a. The news of this brought his father back, whom the king entrusted with the command of his army against the Infant Don *Juan*, who had made his escape into *Portugal* ^b. The Infant invited Don *Juan de Lara* to a conference, under pretence that he had a mind to submit to the king, and then, in breach of his faith, made him prisoner ; but the king of *Portugal* set him immediately at liberty ; upon which he returned into *Castile*, adhered steadily to the king, and died the next year in his service ^c.

THE Infant Don *Henry*, son to St. *Ferdinand*, and uncle to Don *Sancho*, returned this year from *Italy*, to revisit his native country, after having run through a long series of strange adventures. The king received him very kindly at *Burgos*, and granted him such a settlement as was suitable to his high rank, and near relation to him ^d (L). Upon his application to the king of *Portugal* not to protect his brother, the Infant Don *Juan* transported himself to *Morocco*, and finding *Jacob Aben-Joseph* meditating a war, he offered, if he would give him 5000 horse, and some foot, to recover *Tarafa*, which his brother had taken the year before. His proposal was accepted ; and having embarked his forces in *Andalusia*, he invested *Tarafa* with a numerous army. The place was defended by Don *Alonso Perez de Guzman*, with such spirit, that the *Moors* began to be discouraged. The Infant Don *Juan* being informed that the governor had a little son at nurse in an adjacent village, he caused the child to be brought to him, and then bid the *Castilian* advanced guard tell the governor, that, if he did not immediately surrender the place, he would cut the child's throat before his eyes. This occasioning some commotion in the garrison, Don *Alonso* rose from dinner to know what was the matter, and coming upon the walls, saw Don *Juan* with his son in his hand, and heard him repeat his threats. Don *Alonso* immediately drew out his sword, and throwing it to the Infant, said, " If you, who were born a prince, and educated a Christian, dare to commit so execrable a villainy, know, that I dare both keep the place and furnish you with a weapon." This, though it struck both the *Moors* and the garrison with admiration, had no effect upon the monster to whom it was addressed, since, in the sight of both, he took up the sword and butchered the poor infant. The length of the siege gave Don *Sancho* time to come to its relief, with a numerous army, upon which the *Moors* raised the siege, and Don *Juan*, being afraid to go back to *Morocco*, deserted them, and retired to the king of *Granada*, to whom *Aben-Joseph* yielded *Algezira*, the only place he had left in *Spain*, that he might be rid of any connections with that country ^e (M). A resolution, however, to which himself and his successors did not always adhere.

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^a Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. FERRERAS. ^b Chron. var. antiq. BRANDAON. ^c Chronica general de Espana. BRANDAON. RODERIC SANTII, Hist Hispan. p. iii. ^d Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. ^e BRANDAON. RODERIC SANTII, Hist. Hispan. Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. vi. sec. xiii.

(L) It is requisite to say something here concerning the Infant Don *Henry*, because the course of the history will oblige us to say a great deal of him hereafter ; he was the son of St. *Ferdinand* by Donna *Beatrix*, who, as some writers say, was addicted to judicial astrology ; and infected her children with a propensity to that superstition (1). It is uncertain whether this was the cause or not ; for it is pretended that there was a prediction that Don *Alonso* would be deposed by a near relation, that prompted him to take up arms against his brother, in hopes, perhaps, of fulfilling it when he was defeated, as we have shewn in the history ; and, being refused shelter by the king of *Arragon* (2), fled to *Tunis*, and lived for some years under the protection of the *Moorish* prince who then governed there ; though *Mariana* says that he was but in a mean condition, and that his misfortunes did not contribute at all to his amendment, since he still maintained a correspondence with the malecontents in *Castile*. At length, growing weary of *Barbary*, he went into *Italy*, where he embraced the part of prince *Conradin*, grandson of the emperor *Frederick*, had a share in his fortunes and misfortunes, and made himself first considerable, and then odious there, for reasons that will appear in another place, and which brought upon him

excommunication and imprisonment ; he was absolved from the former, and released from the latter, upon a most humble submission to pope *Honorius* (3) ; and this afforded him an opportunity of returning to *Spain*, after an absence of twenty-seven years. The king Don *Sancho* had no personal knowledge of him ; for his rebellion against Don *Alonso* happened the very year after Don *Sancho* was born ; but he knew and pitied his misfortunes, and thought it his duty to relieve him as his uncle (4). As to his character, he was of a haughty, mutable, and turbulent disposition, cruel, avaricious, and perfidious to the last degree ; mean in adversity, insolent in prosperity ; and, with a multitude of vices, had as few good qualities as any man of those times : but he had a suppleness, and a kind of specious address, that rendered him capable of doing much mischief ; and he would have done still more if he had been endowed with better talents (5). The reader may possibly blame us for giving him so bad a character, but the sequel of the history will acquaint him with facts that must convince him that the Infant Don *Henry* has been here very gently dealt with :

(M) We have in some circumstances a different account of this matter in *Mariana*. He tells us, that this son of Don *Alonso Perez de Guzman*, was a youth grown

(1) *Mariana, Histoire general de Espana.*
(4) *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio.*

(2) *Zurita, Annal Arragon.*
(5) *Mariana, Ferreras, Mlayerne Turquet.*

(3) *Rainald, A. D. 1236.*

The death of
Don Sancho
the Fierce,
and the condi-
tion of the
kingdom at his
decease.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the king, whose health had been long declining, found himself so much worse, that he resolved to take the speediest and the properest method for settling his temporal and his spiritual concerns. In order to this he made his will, in the presence of the archbishop of *Toledo*, and of such other prelates and great lords as were near his person, by which he appointed the queen tutorefs and regent of the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, his successor, to whom the Infant Don *Henry*, and all who were present, took the oath of fidelity^w. He removed afterwards to *Toledo*, in hopes the change of air might have been serviceable to him; but in this he was deceived, for, soon after his arrival, he departed this life, on the 25th of *April*, in the year 1295. He left by his queen, the Infants Don *Ferdinand* (Don *Alonso* died before him), Don *Pedro*, and Don *Philip*; and two Infantas, Donna *Elizabeth* and Donna *Beatrix*^x.

Don Ferdi-
nand IV. pro-
claimed king
of Castile, and
owned by the
states at ten
years old.

Don *Ferdinand* the fourth succeeded his father in the tenth year of his age; and, as soon as Don *Sancho*'s funeral was over, received the homage of the nobility, and was inaugurated in the cathedral church of *Toledo*, with the greatest solemnity, and with the most universal applause^y; and yet, in the compass of this year, there arose as great troubles as ever perplexed a court, the beginning, progress, and issue of which, within this period, we will state as briefly as possible. The Infant Don *Juan* claimed the whole succession, under pretence that the king's marriage was illegal, and he was the only right heir of Don *Alonso* the wise, according to the system maintained by his deceased brother, and in virtue of which he had enjoyed the kingdom. As strange a title as this was, it found some abettors; the *Moors* promised him their assistance, for their own interest, and upon the same motive the king of *Portugal* became his ally^z. However, upon the queen's offering him the restitution of his honours and revenues, Don *Juan* came to court, and did homage to his nephew: Don *Denis*, king of *Portugal*, took up arms, to recover three towns which Don *Alonso* gave his mother; Donna *Beatrix*, the queen dowager, gave him those towns, and so there was an end of that quarrel^a. Don *Diego Lopez de Haro* assembled forces, in order to recover the country of *Biscay*; the queen sent for Don *Juan* and Don *Gonsales de Lara*, to whom the king in his last moments had particularly recommended her and his son, and having furnished them with a large sum of money, upon the strongest assurances of duty and fidelity, dispatched them to their own estates, in order to raise forces against Don *Diego*. They did accordingly raise the troops; but as soon as they were raised, they joined the rebels, against whom they were to have acted, and then sent a long list of demands for themselves and for him to the court; and these being granted, they came to *Valladolid*, and did homage in the assembly of the states^b. The Infant Don *Henry*, more modest than the rest, formed no pretensions against the king, but insisted upon having the government of the kingdom, with the title of regent, saving to the queen dowager the care of his person, and of his education, to which she was constrained to assent^c; lastly, the king of *Granada* entered the frontiers of *Andalusia*, with a very numerous army, and wasted the country with fire and sword; Don *Rodrigo Ponce*, grand master of *Calatrava*, with the forces of the military orders, gave him battle, and, not without great loss, compelled him to retire. A few days after, Don *Rodrigo* himself died of his wounds, and was succeeded in his command on the frontier by Don *Alonso Perez de Guzman*, who so gallantly defended *Tarifa*^d.

^w Chronica general de España. Chronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo.

^x MARIANA, FERRERAS,

MAYERNE TURQUET. ^y Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

^z RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de España. BRANDAON. Chronica de los Moros de España.

^a Chronica del Rey Don Fernando VI. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA.

^b Chronica general de España. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

^c Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. ^d Chron. de los Moros de España.

up, and taken prisoner in a sally; that the governor was at dinner when the Infant brought him before the fortrefs, and threatened to put him to death. Don *Alonso* being informed of it, threw the sword, and told him, he had rather lose a hundred sons, than forfeit his fidelity to his sovereign; and having said this, went back to his house, and sat down to dinner, but was quickly roused by the cry of the soldiers, on the sight of the young gentleman's head being struck off by order of the Infant Don *Philip*. Being told what it was that occasioned this emotion, he said, coldly, I thought the enemy had entered the town; went back to his house, and seated himself again at table. A most wonderful instance of heroic

courage, says our author, worthy the heroes of old; and than which antiquity proposes nothing greater to our imagination (6). As soon as the king Don *Sancho* received the news of it, he wrote a letter with his own hand to the governor, in which, having highly commended his behaviour, he bestowed on him the surname of *Bueno*, or the good, desired him to come to him at *Alcala*, and assured him, if his health would permit, that he would come out to meet him; which letter is said to be preserved in the archives of the dukes of *Medina Sidonia* (7); who had more reason to be proud of their being descended from this man, than of being, as they are, the first dukes in *Castile* (8).

(6) Mariana, Historia general de España, lib. xiv.

(7) Id. ibid. Mayerne Turquet Histoire generale d'Espagne.

(8) Etat présent de l'Espagne, par l'Abbe de Vayrac, tom. iii. p. 169.

- ^a THE prospect which seemed to be grown in some measure serene, grew on a sudden as gloomy as before, and clouds began to gather on every side. *James*, king of *Arragon*, sent to the queen dowager, and desired she would take back the Infanta Donna *Elizabeth*, his mind being altered with respect to the marriage; upon which, anxious for the safety of that princess, she prevailed upon the regent to go and receive her on the frontiers. It was not long after this, that the whole scene of foreign and domestic treachery disclosed itself. Don *Alonso de la Cerda* returned out of *France* into *Arragon*, where, having confirmed the cession he made of the kingdom of *Murcia* to that monarch, he furnished him with an army to march into *Castile*^c. The probability of his recovering that kingdom was indeed very great; the king of *Arragon* embarked the whole forces of his realm in his quarrel, the kings of *France*, *Portugal*, and *Granada*, were his allies; and, besides these foreign confederates, he had very good friends in the country to which he laid claim, such as the first queen dowager Donna *Yoland*, his grandmother, the Infant Don *Juan*, whom he had purchased with the promise of the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Galicia*, and Don *Juan de Lara*, who had formerly betrayed, and was now just reconciled to the queen and the regent^f. As soon as they were ready to act, the Infant Don *Juan*, with the lords of his party, sent to give the king and his mother notice, that they renounced their fidelity, and so went to join his competitor.

- THE first step was to put the Infant Don *Juan* in possession of the dominions promised him, which was performed without difficulty, and he proclaimed king at *Leon*^e. The army of the allies, as it was called, then marched to *Sabagun*, where Don *Alonso* was proclaimed king of *Castile*^h; the queen Donna *Maria*, in the absence of the regent, commanded Don *Diego Ramirez*, and Don *Garcia Fernandez de Soto Major*, to throw themselves with a body of good troops into the town of *Majorga*, which lies at the distance of five leagues from *Leon*. Don *Alonso de la Cerda* was for marching directly to *Burgos*, but the Infant Don *Juan* advised him not to leave *Majorga* behind him, upon which they laid siege to it. This advice was prudent, but it had a bad effect. The town was not well fortified, and therefore they attempted it by assault; failing in that, they were obliged to attack it in formⁱ. In the mean time the regent Don *Henry* went to put himself at the head of the troops in *Andalusia*, in order to cover that country from the king of *Granada*, who entered it with a powerful army, beat, and would have taken him prisoner, if he had not been relieved by Don *Alonso Perez*. Upon this, the regent made a peace with the *Moors*, but on terms so bad, that the queen refused to ratify them^k. Donna *Yoland* made an attempt upon *Valladolid*, which served only to shew her inclinations and her weakness; for the inhabitants shut their gates against her, and she was constrained to withdraw^l.

- AT length an epidemic disease, produced by the great heats, broke out in the army of the allies, and forced them to raise the siege of *Majorga*; the *Arragoneje* retired into their own country, with the dead body of the Infant Don *Pedro*, who had commanded them, and Don *Alonso de la Cerda* went with them^m. As for the Infant Don *Juan* and Don *Juan de Lara*, they retired to *Simancas*, where they joined the king of *Portugal*, who had taken some places in that neighbourhood. There a proposition was made to cut matters short, by besieging the king and his mother in *Valladolid*. The project was plausible and practicable; but Don *Juan de Lara* suddenly declared, that neither he nor any that belonged to him should act immediately against the persons of the king and queen, which put an end to the schemeⁿ. On the side of *Murcia*, the king of *Arragon* acted in person, and on his own behalf, which might perhaps be the reason that things took a different turn there; so that he reduced *Allicant*, and several of the most considerable places in that kingdom^o. The king of *Granada*, extremely irritated at the queen's rejecting the peace he had concluded with the Infant Don *Henry*, came with a numerous army in the autumn before *Tarefa*, which, however, he was not able to reduce, neither could his good friend the Infant Don *Henry* prevail upon the states, tho' he laboured it with great industry, to send their orders to Don *Alonso Perez* to deliver it. The very proposal hurt him with the *Castilians*, tho' he pretended to qualify the demand, by his desire to abate their heavy taxes; and his desiring the queen to give him the revenues of two considerable towns soon after entirely destroyed his credit, and put it out of his power to do the mischief that he intended^p.

^c ZURITA Annal Arragon. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de Espana.

^f ZURITA Annal Arragon. P. DANIEL BRANDAON. Chron. del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ^g Chronica general de Espana. FERRERAS.

^h RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ⁱ Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. ^k Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ^l Chronica general de Espana. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ^m Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

ZURITA. Annal Arragon. ⁿ BRANDAON. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. FERRERAS. Historia de Espana, p. vi. sect. xiii. ^o ZURITA. Annal Arragon. ^p Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

Don Ferdinand, king of Castile, makes a treaty with Don Denis, king of Portugal. ALL the true patriots who had the interest of their country, and that only at heart, studied how to restore the public tranquillity, and to deliver the state and themselves out of this distress. Don Juan Fernandez de Limia commanded on the frontier towards Portugal; and having framed in his mind a project which he thought might prove beneficial to both kingdoms, he desired an interview with Don Juan d'Albuquerque, who was the king of Portugal's favourite, to whom, when he had communicated his scheme, he promised to give it all the countenance that was in his power, which he executed with all the punctuality worthy of a man of his rank. The issue of this business was, that in an interview between the royal families at Alcanizas, a peace was concluded between the two crowns, upon condition that Don Ferdinand of Castile should marry the Infanta Donna Constantia of Portugal, as soon as a dispensation could be obtained from Rome; that the prince of Portugal, Don Alonso, should espouse the Infanta Donna Beatrix of Castile; and that, for certain reasons expressed in the treaty, and which would have been better expressed by the single word, necessity, several good towns, and a considerable district of country, should be yielded to the king of Portugal, who promised to assist Don Ferdinand with all his forces. On the conclusion of the treaty the two

A. D. 1297. Infantas were exchanged, and the queen dowager, Donna Maria, was in hopes, that, by the assistance of the Portuguese, the war might have been carried on with greater vigour: but in this she promised herself too much, for those succours amounted to no more than 300 horse, under Don Juan d'Albuquerque, and they could not do much; indeed history does not inform us that they did any thing⁹. The king of Granada was in the field some months, but we hear of no place that he took, except Alcaudeta, in the mountains, which was of no great consequence.

This measure fails of producing those great advantages expected from it. THE queen dowager, Donna Maria, found means in the spring to obtain a considerable supply from the states at Burgos; and having a pretty good army in the field, directed them to lay siege to Ampudia, in which Don Juan de Lara was with a small garrison; the queen heard with surprize, that though the place had been invested some days, the siege was not far advanced; upon which she went thither in person, suspecting, as the case really proved, that the fault was not in her forces, but in their generals. Upon her arrival in the camp, Don Juan quitted the place in the night, which surrendered the next day¹. Don Denis of Portugal, in pursuance of the late treaty, and at the request of the states, came with a considerable army to her assistance; yet he refused to act against the Infant Don Juan; and entering into the intrigues of the Infant Don Henry, proposed to the states, that the kingdom of Galicia should be left to the Infant Don Juan; but the states, apprized of the true ground of this proposal, viz. that the Infant Don Henry might be always necessary, and Castile a less formidable neighbour to Portugal, they rejected it; upon which the king sent assistance to Don Juan². The king of Granada had a superior army in the field, with which he was very near taking Jaen, the suburbs of which he burnt; and having amassed a large booty, and reduced the town of Quesada, he retired³.

Admirable conduct of the queen Donna Maria, by which the kingdom is preserved. THE prudence of the queen had removed many difficulties, and had hitherto kept the crown on the head of Don Ferdinand, her son; but so many new enemies arose, and the old ones continued so implacable, that it seemed scarce possible for her to proceed in the way she had hitherto done. She was, however, indefatigable; and, with the greatest probity of mind, was so affable in her behaviour, and had such a dexterity in framing and in executing expedients, as rendered her superior to all the trials she met with. Some of her enemies insinuated, that, her marriage being invalid, her children by the king were illegitimate. She took no notice of this at home, but directed the archbishop of Toledo, who was at Rome, to represent the matter to the pope in a proper light; and he did this so effectually, that he procured a bull to confirm her marriage, and a cardinal's hat for himself. She found a very mercenary spirit amongst many of the nobility who had hitherto adhered to her, but were continually wanting rewards for their loyalty; these she gratified as well as she was able, and returned them abundance of good words for their bad behaviour. But the Infant Don Henry exceeded them all in quality of regent; he was covetous and corrupt; he was, besides, very perfidious, and very susceptible of offence. The queen behaved to him with great respect herself, and engaged her son to do the like; but she took care that the people should know his true character; and this made him less dangerous, though not less deceitful. She found money difficult to be got, and yet, by managing it frugally, and laying the accounts punctually before the states, she obtained whatever she thought proper to ask. But what gave her more trouble than any other, indeed than all the rest, was, the intelligence that the malecontents had in almost all the great towns in the king's dominions. To balance this, she visited many of

⁹ BRANDAON. Chronica Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. de los Moros de Espana. Chron. general de Espana. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ¹ Chronica FARIA Y SOUSA. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. ² EmanuEL DE nica de los Moros de Espana. ³ Chro-

a them with him in person, and to those she suspected most she sent her children, which fully answered her intention; for the people, charmed with the confidence that the queen reposed in them, did, out of pride, what they ought to have done out of duty.

A GENERAL assembly of the states being held at *Valladolid*, the accounts given by the queen were so clear, and her necessities so pressing and so apparent, that they granted her thrice the usual sum at once, a great part of which the Infant Don Henry laid his hands upon, under pretence of going to take the command of the army against the *Moors*. The scheme of his campaign was to purchase a peace, by giving up *Tarifa*, that he might put most of this money in his pocket; but the queen took care to apprize the officers of the army he was to command of his sinister designs, which they took care to defeat^u. Don Juan de Lara, after making a journey to very little purpose into *France*, returned into *Navarre*, and from thence made an expedition into *Castile*, in which his troops were routed by Don Juan Alonso de Haro, and himself taken prisoner, which happened well for the queen, and better for him^w. Her army was then before *Palencuela*, into which he had thrown a garrison; but those who commanded the queen's army were so much his friends, that in all probability it had not been taken, if the queen had not sent for her prisoner into the camp, and prevailed upon him to give his orders for opening the gates. The Infant Don Henry, having thrust himself into this negotiation, was so taken with the beauty of Don Juan's daughter, whose grandfather he might have been, that he would needs marry her; which ceremony the queen graced with her presence, Don Juan being first set at liberty, who became once more the king's good subject, and rendered all his places into the queen's hands. Towards the close of this year, the old queen dowager, Donna Yoland, died, in her return from *Rome*, in the kingdom of *Navarre*^x (N).

THE king of *Portugal*, being very desirous to have the double marriage actually accomplished, desired an interview with the queen Donna Maria, to which she readily consented, and there all the measures necessary were concerted. Upon this, she summoned an assembly of the states at *Valladolid*, where every thing passed with such regularity, and such immense sums were granted for the support of the young king, that the Infant Don Juan, who hitherto had stiled himself king of *Leon* and *Galicia*, and was actually in possession of some part of both countries, thought it most for his interest to renounce those titles, to which indeed he had no just pretensions, and to make the best terms for himself he could; which, having done, he came to the assembly of the states, did homage to the king, and swore to the established succession^y. After all this, in conjunction with the Infant Don Henry, instead of obeying the queen's orders, he went to confer with the king of *Arragon*, with whom the two Infants made a secret and scandalous agreement, that, in consideration of his supporting them in their respective schemes, they would procure him the cession of the kingdom of

Strange behaviour of the Infant Don Henry, in public and private life.

The king of Arragon, in consequence of his intrigues with the Infants, invades Castile.

^u RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chron. var. antiq. ^w Chron. general de Espana. ^x Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. vi. sect. xiii. ^y Chronica del Rey Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.

(N) We have a very strong contrast in the characters of these two queen dowagers of *Spain*, than whom there could scarce be any two women more unlike; for Donna Violente had a great hand in exciting all the troubles that disturbed her husband's, her son's, and her grandson's reigns. A very judicious and well esteemed historian has branded her for her gallantries, which, without doubt, he would not have done, if they had not been very notorious (9). She had a particular kindness for the Infant Don Juan; though, of all her children, he was undoubtedly the most unworthy; and there is great probability, that it was for his sake, rather than for that of her grandchildren, that she attempted to increase the disturbances in *Castile*, by soliciting the people to revolt from the service of the king and his mother (10). It appears, however, that she had very little interest, and rather discovered an inclination to do mischief, than a capacity of doing it; though it is not impossible that she might put her son in possession of those places that were left her for her dowry. Whether she resided afterwards in that part of the kingdom of *Leon* that acknowledged the Infant Don Juan, or whether, notwithstanding what she had done, she returned again to the court of *Castile*, is not very clear; but we have good reason to believe that there was, at least, as much of discontent as of devotion in her journey to *Rome*, where, however, she was well received by pope

Boniface the eighth, who established the jubilee, and countenanced, at least, an opinion, which nothing but the superstition of those times could have rendered credible, that whoever visited the tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul, might obtain full and free pardon for all their sins (11). In this respect it may be the queen dowager Donna Violente might have her reasons, as well as other great personages who went thither the same year: but in all probability, the fatigue of such a journey was too great for a person so far advanced in years, and might occasion her falling sick as she passed the *Pyrennees* in her return, and after a short illness died at *Roncevaux*, where she was likewise interred, which is the reason that her death is not mentioned by several of the *Spanish* historians. The celebrated Bayle (12), following Mariana, who was misled by another historian, upon whom the greatest blame ought to lie, has made some severe reflections on the king Don Alonso's character, as to the usage of this princess, which are not at all founded in truth, as we have shewn in the text; and this is the more extraordinary, since he might easily have perceived the contradiction, even in his own account; for how is it possible for a prince to use his wife unkindly, and desire to be rid of her, and be at the same time uxorious to a ridiculous degree?

(9) Zurit. Annal Arragon. (10) Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. Ferreras. (11) Rainald. A. D. 1300. Villani, Hist. Florent. lib. viii. c. 36. (12) See the article of Alphonso of Castile, in his dictionary.

Murcia^a. In the mean time, the bishop of *Burgos*, whom the queen had sent to *Rome*, pro-
 A. D. 1301. cured, but not without a vast expence, the bulls and dispensations for which he was sent,
 which, upon his return, were publickly read in the cathedral church of *Burgos*^a. The king
 of *Arragon*, however, in pursuance of the intrigues between him and the two Infants, invaded
Castile; and though the people and the army were perfectly disposed to do what was fit for
 them to have done for the service of the king and kingdom, yet the private views of the
 nobility spoiled all. While the army of *Arragon* besieged *Lorca*, that of *Castile* remained alto-
 gether inactive, and this notwithstanding all the pains the queen took to prevent it^b.

Finds himself AFTER a siege of many months, the governor of *Lorca* entered into an agreement, that,
 obliged to make in case the place was not relieved in fifty days, he would deliver it to the king of *Arragon*.
 proposals of The queen pressed the Infants to march with the army to its relief, which they at first declined,
 peace, which and at last refused; upon this, she put herself at the head of the army, and the Infants were
 are rejected by obliged to follow her, though very unwillingly. They had, however, scarce taken the field,
 the queen. before they had intelligence that *Lorca*, tho' the time was not expired, was through treachery
 surrendered^c. This, tho' a very bad action, was much exceeded by the Infants Don *Juan*
 and Don *Henry*, who suffered the king of *Arragon* to retire when they had him much in their
 power. The queen knew, but could not prevent this act of infidelity. Providence soon after
 enabled her to return the injury in the same way; for, by countenancing the malecontents in
Arragon, she brought that monarch, of his own accord, to offer to evacuate *Murcia*, if she
 would grant him the single town and fortress of *Alicant*, which she refused, from a firm per-
 suasion that it would be very soon in her power to recover, for her son, all that had been lost
 during a minority full of confusion^d. Don *Alonso de la Cerda*, perceiving how desperate his
 affairs were grown, left *Arragon*, in order to solicit assistance in *France*, where he found it
 utterly out of the king's power, how much soever it might be his intention. The affairs of
 the church being in great disorder, Don *Gonsales Diaz Palomec*, archbishop of *Toledo*, held
 a council of his suffragans at *Penafiel*, in which many regulations were made, and, amongst
 the rest, it was intimated to the Infant Don *Henry*, that if he did not restore the places he
 had taken from the church, they would proceed to excommunicate him, and that they would
 do the same to any who should commit the like outrages for the future^e.

The Infant As the Infant Don *Juan* loved to fish in troubled waters, as he found a very ready associate
 Don *Juan* and his associates in Don *Juan de Lara*, and found no great difficulty in drawing the Infant Don *Henry* into
 prevail on the his projects, they, by the help of Don *Gonsales Gomez de Caldelas*, who was of his bed-cham-
 young king to ber, insinuated to the young king, that he was too much a man to live under the restrictions
 leave his mo- of a nursery; and that, if he meant to make his subjects consider him, or desired to live, as
 ther. a king, he ought to leave his mother, and live as he liked. The young king, like most
 other young kings, listened to these plausible offers, eloped, while the queen was gone to
Victoria, to prevent, by a conference with the *French* viceroy of *Navarre*, a war on that
 side, and went to the lords^f. It was not long before the Infant Don *Henry* found that he
 had mistaken his man; and that he had lost more by this revolution than the queen, to whom
 he returned, and exclaimed bitterly against those who had seduced their sovereign, and
 offered to have recourse to arms, on his own and her majesty's behalf. The queen, on the
 other hand, behaved herself, and, at last, taught him to behave, with moderation. The
 favourites engaged the king to celebrate his marriage with Donna *Constantia*, which the queen
 would not permit, till the king of *Portugal* restored those places he had taken from the
 kingdom of *Leon*, when the solemnity was performed with great magnificence^g. Thus far
 A. D. 1303. things went well; but when an assembly of the states came to be held at *Valladolid*, matters
 wore another aspect. The people of the town were for shutting their gates, if the queen had
 not prevented it; and the deputies refused to assist without her consent.

Are obliged to AFTER all this, the favourites attacked her conduct in that assembly; insisted upon the
 court her fa- restitution of the late king's jewels, which she had given to the Infanta Donna *Elizabeth*,
 vour to gain and upon having a strict account of what had been expended in the maintenance of her
 their demands household; she complied with both demands, and, when all things were at a stand, pro-
 in the assembly cured, by her influence, a free gift of two millions of marvadies, and four subsidies^h. Upon
 of the states. the dissolution of that assembly, and after holding the states of *Castile* at *Burgos*, where, by
 the like means, the like grants were obtained, the king went to *Palencia*, where Don *Alonso*,
 the son of the Infant Don *Juan*, married Donna *Teresa*, the sister of Don *Juan de Lara*ⁱ.
 After this he entered into a kind of league or confederacy with these great lords, which so

^a ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ^a RAINALD, Chron. general de Espana.
^b Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. ZURIT. Annal Arragon.
^c Chron. general de Espana. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ^d ZURIT.
 Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. ^e RODERIC
 SANTII Hist. Hispana, p. iv. ^f Chron. del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.
^g BRANDAON. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chronica general de Espana. ^h Chronica del Rey Don
 Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. ⁱ ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chron. general
 de Espana.

- a exasperated Don *Henry*, that he insisted upon the queen's entering into a like confederacy with him and Don *Lopez de Haro*, with which measure, for her own sake, she was obliged to comply; upon which the most considerable of the nobility resorted to her at *Valladolid*, from all quarters, to offer her their services^k. This alarmed the favourites to such a degree, that they prevailed upon the king to go thither to try to pacify his mother. The queen received him with great kindness, but spoke to him with the utmost freedom; shewed him how much she had done for him, and how much he had done against himself; and concluded with telling him, that he would do well to guard against the result of his own confederacy; but that he had nothing to fear, with respect to his person or authority, from that of which his follies had compelled her to become the head^l.
- b His favourites, being still in fear, pressed Don *Ferdinand* to confer with his father-in-law the king of *Portugal*, at *Badajoz*, under a pretence that he would give him a sum of money, by way of portion with the queen, which, at the conference, appeared to have no foundation; but however, the king, being acquainted with his son-in-law's expectation, gave him a million of marvadies, to prevent any coldness arising between him and his queen^m. This interview so alarmed the Infant Don *Henry* and Don *Diego de Haro*, that they made a treaty with the king of *Arragon*, into which they would have drawn the queen-mother; but she not only refused, but gave notice of it to her sonⁿ. Immediately after the Infant Don *Henry* died without heirs, and the king instantly seized on all his estates; and so little care was taken of his body, that it had scarce been decently interred, had it not been for the queen, who directed a funeral suitable to his rank as regent of the kingdom, at which she assisted in person, saying, upon this occasion, we ought to remember his birth, and forget his faults^o. By her endeavours Don *Diego de Haro* was detached from that league into which he had entered; and, if the king would have followed her advice in all things, his affairs might have been restored; but he resembled his grandfather in the unsteadiness of his temper, and, by the advice of his favourites, concluded an alliance with the new king of *Granada*, who took the advantage of these troubles, and, like a wise prince, neglected nothing that might contribute to the prosperity of his subjects, and the establishment of his own affairs^p. A. D. 1304.
- d THE king of *Arragon*, perceiving how prejudicial this scene of disturbance and confusion was to the interest of the Christians in *Spain*, proposed to the king of *Castile* concluding all differences between them by a solid and equitable peace, to which Don *Ferdinand* shewed himself very inclinable. Before any effectual measures could be taken on this head, Don *Diego de Haro*, after a very free expostulation with the king, by which, notwithstanding the interposition of the queen his mother, he could obtain nothing, broke out into an open insurrection, in conjunction with Don *Roderic de Castro*, a nobleman of great power in *Galicia*; but the latter being killed in one of his first exploits, the peace of the kingdom was, for the present, restored^q. The king then sent the Infant Don *John* to regulate matters with the king of *Arragon*, and by them it was agreed, that all differences should be referred to an arbitrator on behalf of each of the kings, and an umpire, who was to moderate things between the arbitrators. Upon this plan the Infant Don *John* was to act for the king of *Castile*, the bishop of *Saragossa* for the king of *Arragon*, and the king of *Portugal* was to be the umpire; of all which Don *Ferdinand* gave notice to the queen his mother, desiring her consent, which she declined, but promised him not to oppose it. In consequence of this agreement, the king of *Portugal* came into *Castile*, and was received every-where with all possible magnificence: he then repaired to the place of conference, which was *Campillo*, where things were quickly settled, at the expence, as the queen dowager foresaw, of the king her son; for it was agreed, that the river *Segura* should be the common boundary between the dominions of the two monarchs in the kingdom of *Murcia*; so that not only the town and fortress of *Alicant*, but also several other places, and all the country on the north of that river, was yielded to the crown of *Arragon*^r. This great affair decided, they proceeded to another, which was still of higher importance; for Don *Ferdinand* consented to refer the pretensions of the Infants *de la Cerda* to the kings of *Arragon* and *Portugal*, who determined that Don *Alonso de la Cerda* should have *Alba de Tormes*, *Bejar*, *Valdecarneja*, *Mançanares*, *Monçon*, *Gaton*, *Gibraelon*, *Aljaba*, and other places, the revenue of which altogether was esteemed at four hundred thousand marvadies; that Don *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, his younger brother, should have the revenue of an Infant of *Spain*; and, on the other hand, the few places that Don *Alonso* still held were to be evacuated, and both brothers were to render homage to the king, previous to their reaping any benefit by this decision^s. These great points over, all the three royal A. D. 1305.

^k Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. ^l RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chron. del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. ^m BRAND. Chron. var. antiq. ⁿ ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica general de Espana. ^o FERRERAS Hist. de Espana, part vii. sect. xiv. ^p Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ^q Chron. var. antiq. ^r ZURIT. Annal Toletan. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. BRANDAON. ^s Chron. del Rey Don Fern. IV. recopilada por MIG. DE HERRERA. BRANDAON, ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

families met several times, feasted each other, and parted with all imaginable testimonies of the most perfect friendship. a

Don Ferdi-
nand finds
himself obliged
to court Don
Diego Lopez
de Haro.

THE king, Don *Ferdinand*, began now to have a clearer notion of things, and to be able to form a better judgment of men; but he still had his favourites, though the Infant Don *John* and Don *Juan de Lara* were no longer such: he was also very desirous of power, though hitherto he had enjoyed but a very limited authority. In order to compass these points, he found it absolutely necessary to bring back Don *Diego de Haro* to his duty, for he began to perceive the truth of what his mother had often told him, that he was a person of greater honour, and more to be depended upon, than any of the rest. The point in difference was between him and Don *Juan*, who claimed to be the heir of *Biscay* in right of his wife, the daughter of Don *Lopez de Haro*, Don *Diego's* elder brother. On the other side, b
Don *Diego* insisted upon his right as the heir male, and also in virtue of an agreement made with the Infant Don *Juan* and his wife, by which an equivalent was stipulated, and to the strict performance of which they had sworn. For the decision of this dispute, an assembly of the states was called, but they rose without determining any thing, Don *Diego* being in possession of *Biscay*, and fully determined to keep it. Don *Juan de Lara* also, being offended with the Infant Don *Juan*, for not taking care of his interests in the treaty with the king of *Arragon*, entered into a close alliance with Don *Diego de Haro*, which offended the king extremely, as, through certain stories that had been told him, which, however, were false, he had conceived an extreme dislike to Don *Juan*, whom he seems to have fixed upon already for an example to the rest of the nobility, that, by his punishment, they might be taught c
obedience.

1306.
Attempts to
reduce Don
Juan de Lara
by force of
arms, in which
he fails.

THE king, Don *Ferdinand*, laboured first to detach Don *Diego de Haro* from that close alliance he had contracted with Don *Juan de Lara*; in order to which, he proposed making his son, Don *Lopez de Haro*, master of his household; which post his father did not hinder him from accepting, but refused entering into any engagements either to procure or preserve it. On the contrary, he brought Don *Jura de Lara*, after this, to court, and laboured all in his power to reconcile him to his master, which was also done in appearance. But, notwithstanding this agreement, the king, who could no longer bridle his temper, marched with a body of his own troops, and with another, commanded by the Infant Don *Juan*, though his mother laboured all she could to prevent it, against Don *Juan de Lara*, at *Aranda*. He d
was very hard pressed, but found means to escape; and, which must have astonished the monarch of *Castile*, passed through the midst of his camp with an escort of horse, in order to join Don *Diego* and Don *Lopez de Haro*, who were come, with a great body of forces, to his assistance. The king marched against them with his army, being extremely provoked at a message from the two lords, importing, that, as he made war upon them, he ought to release their allegiance. The king's army beginning to crumble away, and those that remained acting rather according to their own notions than in obedience to orders, the Infant Don *Juan*, by the king's command, began to reprove some of the gentlemen who served therein; upon which they told him, that it was not the king's quarrel but his; and that, since he was become weary of their company, they were very willing to leave him. As soon as the king e
observed this, he had recourse again to negotiation, and, by the interposition of the queen his mother, all things were at last adjusted upon these terms, that Don *Diego de Haro* should hold *Biscay* during his life, and that, upon his demise, that country, a very few places excepted, should belong to the Infant Don *Juan* and his wife, or to their heirs.

Detaches from
him Don Die-
go de Haro,
and makes
another at-
tempt to no
purpose.

THIS treaty, which had been made with a great deal of secrecy, did not become public till the assembly of the states, held in the month of *April* at *Valladolid*, was called upon to ratify and confirm it. This had such an effect on the temper of Don *Juan de Lara*, who considered it as a scheme laid for his destruction, that he quitted the place abruptly, after giving some public testimonies of discontent. The queen-mother was, for the first time, misled, and gave her son advice which he and she both had reason to repent; and this was, to carry things f
to extremity against Don *Juan*, as the most effectual means to restore some lustre to the royal authority. Don *Juan*, having early intelligence of this, threw himself into the fortress of *Torde hueros*, with a small body of good troops: the king quickly invested him, and, though he made a very stout defence, brought him so low, that he was obliged to demand a conference with the Infant Don *Juan*. At this meeting he put the Infant in mind of their former friendship; observed, that though himself might be the first, it was not probable he should be the last victim; and that it was very unnatural for wise men to be the authors of their own destruction. This had its effect; the Infant Don *Juan* proposed very high terms to the king, in the name of Don *Juan de Lara*, and, upon his rejecting them, as he expected, insinuated to all the nobility, that the king was bent upon taking Don *Juan's* life, who, tho'

* Chron. var. antiq. " ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS.
Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HEERERA. x Chron. var. antiq.

y Chronica del Rey Don
Espan. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv.

a a victim to justice in his eyes, ought to appear a martyr in theirs; upon which they unanimously shewed an inclination to change sides, Don *Diego de Haro* only excepted. The king, seeing things in this situation, desired him to interpose with Don *Juan*, and to advise him to come and ask his pardon, which he very readily did; and the king, having received him into favour, bent all his thoughts to the humbling the Infant Don *Juan*, who had been the principal author of all the disturbances during his reign². About this time the knights Templars, who were prosecuted throughout all *Europe*, surrendered all their possessions in *Spain* to the Infant Don *Philip*, till the suit against them should be determined; and this involved him in a quarrel with the Infant Don *Juan*, who pretended that some of his vassals had been oppressed and injured by the Infant Don *Philip*, for the redress of which he had recourse to arms.

1308.

b THE king, by the advice of his mother, neglected nothing that might engage that prince to return to his duty, which, however, was no very easy task; and, after a long negotiation, Don *Juan* prevailed, or, to speak with propriety, forced upon the king a change of measures and of ministers, whom he removed and replaced at his pleasure³. This done, the kings of *Castile* and *Aragon* had an interview at the monastery of *Huerta*, where it was agreed, that prince *James* of *Aragon* should marry the Infanta *Leonora* of *Castile*; that both monarchs should make war on the *Moors*; and that they should send ambassadors to *Rome*, to procure such bulls from the pope as might, in some measure, supply the necessary expence⁴. In pursuance of these resolutions, the king of *Castile* took the field with a very numerous army, after c he had dispatched Don *Juan de Lara* to *Rome* as his ambassador. He had also a good fleet at sea, which induced him to change the first plan of operation, and to besiege *Algezira*, which was become exceeding strong, and was considered as one of the most important places that belonged to the king of *Granada*. While this siege was carried on, the king's army made various expeditions by detachments from before the place; in one of which they became masters of *Gibraltar*, then of no great consequence, and in another they lost Don *Alonso Perez de Guzman*, who had done so many and so great services to the crown of *Spain*⁵. They might also have taken *Algezira*, if the Infant Don *Juan* had not abruptly quitted the siege, which induced many of the nobility to follow his example. Upon this the king of *Granada* offered Don *Ferdinand* a sum of money, together with *Quesada* and *Bedmar*, which had been d recovered by the *Moors*, if he would conclude a separate peace, with which, finding himself unable to carry on the war, he complied⁶.

1309.

THE king, in his return from this campaign, meditated a strange design, which he thought requisite to his own safety, and this was removing out of the world the Infant Don *Juan*, from whom he had received so much vexation. He began with attaching Don *Juan de Lara*, who was returned from his embassy, to his service, by bestowing upon him the important post of master of his household; though, in order to do this, he was obliged to remove the Infant Don *Pedro* his brother⁷. The marriage of his sister the Infanta Donna *Elizabeth* with *John* duke of *Bretagne*, which was to be celebrated at *Burgos*, seemed to offer the king a fair opportunity of executing a design that nothing could justify. The queen-mother invited the e Infant Don *Juan* to that solemnity, who was so cautious as to demand a safe-conduct, which the queen readily granted: the king, notwithstanding this, directed those, who had his orders to kill the Infant, to post themselves in such a manner, as to surprize him in his return from visiting the queen-mother. The preparations for this black affair could not be so secretly managed, but that they came to the ear of this princess, who thought herself bound in honour to give notice of his danger to the Infant Don *Juan*, who fled privately out of the city, and was followed by many of the nobility, who did not know what designs might be formed against them⁸. This attempt upon the Infant Don *Juan* rendered him more powerful, and not at all less troublesome, than before; so that the king was obliged to have recourse to the pope, to whom he insinuated, that some of his seditious subjects hindered him from making f war upon the Infidels, and therefore desired, that authority might be given to some ecclesiastics to restrain them from troubling his government, by threatening them with the censures of the church; which favour he obtained⁹. On the third of *August*, the queen, Donna *Constance*, was delivered of her son the Infant Don *Alonso*; but the joy occasioned thereby was quickly clouded by the king's falling dangerously sick at *Palencia*, from which, however, he recovered, contrary to the opinion of his physicians¹⁰. The heavy accusations brought against the knights Templars being thoroughly examined, in a council held at *Salamanca* for that purpose, the order was acquitted, to the great honour of that assembly, which equally disregarded private views and popular clamour¹¹. A revolution also happened in *Granada*, where

A. D. 1310.

² Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. ³ Chron. var. antiq.
⁴ ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ⁵ Chronica de los Moros de Espana,
 Chron. general de Hispan. ⁶ Chron. del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA.
⁷ ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. ⁸ Chron. del Rey Don Fernando IV. ubi sup. ⁹ RAINALD. ¹⁰ Chron.
 general de Espana. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ¹¹ FERRERAS Hist. de Espana, p. vii, sect. xv.

the king *Mohammed Aben-Albamar*, who was blind, was deposed, and thrust into prison, and his brother *Mohammed Aben-Nazar* placed upon the throne^k. a

Fresh disturbances break out, to the great detriment of the king and kingdom.

THE kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, having an interview at *Calatayud*, agreed upon another marriage between the Infant *Don Pedro*, the king's brother, and *Donna Maria*, the daughter of the king of *Arragon*^l. The queen-mother, *Donna Maria*, with the assistance of several prelates, brought about a reconciliation between the king and the Infant *Don Juan* and his party, which had like to have proved fatal to this monarch; for having invited them to a supper, and exceeding a little in his usual course of diet, he was seized with a distemper which, not without imminent danger, he escaped^m. But, notwithstanding this agreement, new disputes quickly arose, and *Don Juan de Lara*, doubting of his safety, retired into

A. D. 1311.

Portugal. The prudence of the queen-mother prevented this flame from breaking out; but, however, the measures concerted with the king of *Arragon* for renewing the war against the *Moors*, were, for the present, hindered by these jealousies from being put in executionⁿ. The king of *Castile* reclaimed from the king of *Portugal* the places given up in his minority, by the Infant *Don Henry*; and the king his father-in-law, to prevent disputes, offered to leave all the matters in difference to the king of *Arragon*, which was accepted; but it seems the great point of *Don Ferdinand* was to get a little money, to procure which he mortgaged to the crown of *Portugal* *Badajos* and some other places, as the *Portuguese* historians inform us^o. b

Death of Don Ferdinand IV. of Castile, as some think by Divine judgment.

THE factions and disturbances which had hitherto limited the king's power and inclinations, being in some measure appeased, the king laid before the states at *Valladolid* the expediency of renewing the war with the *Moors*, and proposed to them a plan for that purpose; with which they were so well pleased, as to take upon themselves the whole expence of the campaign^p. The Infant *Don Pedro* was declared general and commander in chief, and, in that quality, assembled the forces on the frontiers of *Andalusia*, and in the beginning of the month of *June* laid siege to *Alcaudeta* in the mountains. The king, *Don Ferdinand*, when the siege was pretty far advanced, set out for the army, and fixed his quarters at *Martos*, a place at a small distance from the camp: here he found *Don Pedro* and *Don Juan de Carvajal* prisoners, who were charged with killing *Don Juan Alonso de Benavides*, as he came out of the royal apartments, one evening, at *Palencia*^q. The king was no sooner informed of this, than he ordered them to be thrown over the rock, without any form of trial. The two brothers protested their innocence, of which they affirmed they could give the clearest proofs, but to no purpose. When they came to die, they summoned the king to answer for this act of injustice, at the tribunal of Almighty God, in thirty days^r. The king went to the camp, where he found the siege so far advanced, that there could be no doubt of his becoming master of it very soon; however finding himself indisposed, he thought proper to retire to *Jaen*, where he signed the capitulation on the fifth of *September*, and also a peace with the king of *Granada*, on certain conditions, with which he seemed very much pleased, and he was thought to be out of danger^s. But having taken some refreshment on the seventeenth, and falling afterwards asleep, his domestics, when they came wake him, perceived that he was dead; and what, *Ferreras* observes, was thought very remarkable by the old historians, this was the thirtieth day from the death of the two brothers. He farther observes, that we ought not from hence to pronounce rashly concerning either his guilt or theirs (O) As his whole c

1312.

^k Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ^l ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ^m Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. ⁿ Chronica general de Espana. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^o EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. BRANDAON. ^p Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. ^q ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de Espana. ^r Chron. var. antiq. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. recopilada por MIGUEL DE HERRERA. ^s FERRERAS Historia de Espana, part vii. sect. xiv. Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. por HERRERA.

(O) We find this matter of *Don Ferdinand's* death very cautiously treated by *Mariana* (1), who, on the one hand, informs us, that the king was infirm; that he was too much addicted to the pleasures of the table; that he had, more than once, ran the hazard of dying suddenly before of such excesses; and that many think that he died of such an excess now (2). These facts are fairly collected from antient histories. On the other side it appears, that, in the first transports of his passion, the king was exceedingly violent; and that some of his courtiers knew well enough how to excite these trans-

ports, and were wicked enough to avail themselves of them against such as they were willing to remove (3). There prevailed at that time a very strong opinion, arising very probably from executions apparently unjust, that such adjudications to the tribunal of God were answered by a particular interposition of Providence; and this, *Mariana* says, was the common notion with respect to pope *Clement* the fifth and *Philip* the Fair of *France*, whom the knights *Templars* summoned to appear and answer before God for the crying acts of injustice done to them in this world (4). But he ob-

(1) Historia de Espana, lib. xiv. lib. xv.

(4) Idem ibid.

(2) Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV.

(3) Mariana Hist. de Espana,

a whole reign had been a series of confusions, so his death proved the cause of still greater mischiefs, as it made way for another minority, before those evils were in any degree removed that had been introduced during the last; and when there were many of those living, who, from motives of ambition and private interest, had been the principal actors in the disorders of the two last reigns, and who, though farther advanced in years, were not at all better disposed towards each other, or towards the public, which gave those who had its safety and prosperity really at heart a most melancholy prospect.

THE young king, Don *Alonso*, was scarce entered into the third year of his age, when the death of his father placed him upon the throne; and the prudence of his grandmother recommended him to the care of the bishop of *Avila*, and the inhabitants of that town, who were distinguished even in *Spain* for their unalterable affection to their sovereigns¹. That princess having declined the regency, the two principal pretenders to that high office were the Infant Don *Pedro* and the Infant Don *Juan*, each of whom came with an army into the neighbourhood of *Palencia*, where the states were assembled, in order to fix their choice, which, notwithstanding the utmost pains taken by some true patriots, was found impracticable; so that one party retiring to the convent of St. *Francis*, voted the tutelage and regency to the queen-dowager Donna *Maria*, and her son the Infant Don *Peáro*; while those who met at the convent of St. *Paul*, bestowed their suffrages on the queen-dowager Donna *Constantia*, and the Infant Don *Juan*². Both parties had recourse to arms; and both endeavoured to get the person of the young king into their hands, in which, however, neither prevailed; but, towards the end of the year, the queen-dowager, Donna *Constantia*, dying suddenly, opened a prospect of accommodation; and the troubles that broke out amongst the *Moors* hindered them from reaping any advantage from those which at present distracted the Christians³.

A schism in the assembly of the states and two regents thereupon chosen.

A. D. 1313.

THE queen, having nothing at heart but the public tranquility, earnestly solicited the two Infants to consent to some agreement for that purpose, which she at last brought to bear by her influence over Don *Juan*; and it was stipulated between them, that the custody of the king's person, and the care of his education, should be left entirely to the queen, and that the regents should exercise that authority respectively in the places by the votes of which they were chosen⁴. In the spring of the succeeding year, this agreement was solemnly confirmed by an assembly of the states at *Valladolid*; the people of *Avila* resigned the king's person to the care of the queen his grandmother, who carried him to *Toro*⁵. The Infant Don *Pedro* embarked in the civil war of *Granada*, and behaved himself with great reputation⁶. In the month of *September* there was another assembly of the states at *Carrion*, where they obliged both the regents to give security for so much of the public money as should come to their hands, and for exhibiting, as often as required, a distinct and just account⁷. The Infant Don *Juan* saw, with envy and chagrin, the high reputation the Infant Don *Pedro* had obtained, and therefore hindered his drawing any troops out of the kingdom of *Leon*, and the rest of the provinces under his jurisdiction; which, however, did not prevent his making a campaign with as much, or rather more, honour than he had acquired by the last⁸. These successes were far from lessening the envy of the Infant Don *Juan*, who began to take umbrage at the expence. Don *Pedro* thereupon applied himself to pope *John* the twenty-second, who directed the archbishop of *Toledo*, and two other prelates, to publish the croisade, and to raise a large sum of money upon the clergy, for the support of the war; by which *Ishmael* king of *Granada* found himself so much pressed, that he demanded succours of the king of *Fez*, and, to facilitate the receiving them, put *Algezira* and several other places into his hands, which gave the Christians much concern, and, it is probable, the Infant Don *Juan* some pleasure⁹.

The Infants Don Juan and Don Philip assume the administration.

1314.

1315.

1316.

¹ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno, por Don JUAN NUNEZ DE VILLASAN. FERRERAS Historia de España, part vii. sect. xiv. ² Chron. var. antiq. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ³ Chronica general de España. ⁴ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno, por Don JUAN NUNEZ DE VILLASAN. ⁵ Chron. var. antiq. ⁶ Chronica general de España. ⁷ ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part. iv. ⁸ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ⁹ Chron. var. antiq. ¹⁰ Chronica general de España. RAINALD.

serves, with regard to the fact before us, it admits of no doubt at all, that is to say, that two brothers certainly summoned the king, fixed the period of thirty days, on the last of which the king died (5); and from hence, in the old *Spanish* chronicles, he is called Don *Fernando el Emplazado* (6), that is Don *Ferdinand* who was im-

pleaded, or called to answer. In cases of this nature historians cannot be too precise, though at the same time this precision does not at all clear the doubt, whether the king died in an ordinary or extraordinary manner, but ascertains the fact only that he was summoned and did die on the thirtieth day (7).

(5) Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. c. 10. (6) Mariana Historia general de España, lib. xv. (7) Chronica del Rey Don Fernando IV. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par iv. c. 10. Mariana. Mayerne Turquet. Ferreras. P. d'Orleans. Abbé Vayrac.

A. D. 1317.
The pope sends
over a legate
to compose the
factious dis-
putes in Spain.

1318.

Christians de-
feated by the
Moors, and
both the In-
fants die on the
spot.

THE Infant Don Juan, who had hitherto troubled himself no farther about the war than to impede it, no sooner perceived that, in virtue of the pope's bull, it produced money, than he demanded a share of it; and this naturally excited fresh disputes. The queen-regent, however, and the pope's nuncio, interposed with some effect. An assembly of the states being held at *Valladolid*, the two Infants assisted therein; and, to the surprize of most of the nobility, gave unquestionable tokens of their being thoroughly reconciled: upon which it was determined, that the pope's bull's being general, the tax upon the clergy should be levied throughout the whole kingdom, and received by both regents, who, for the future, should equally concur in the military service, as well as in the direction of the civil government; which proposition being cheerfully accepted by the Infant Don Juan, he began to raise forces throughout the whole extent of his government, which, on the other hand, was highly agreeable to the Infant Don Pedro, who found the *Moors*, in consequence of the supplies they had received from *Barbary*, much superior to any troops that it was in his power to bring into the field^a. A circumstance that might have had very dangerous consequences to the common cause of the Christians.

In the spring of the succeeding year, the Infant Don Pedro assembled his troops in the kingdom of *Jaen*, and made himself master of *Piscar*, in which, through some degree of negligence, the *Moors* had but a very small garrison; and as soon as he was informed that Don Juan, with the forces under his command, was arrived in *Andalusia*, he marched without delay to join them at *Baena*^c. They proceeded from thence into the kingdom of *Granada*; and, having taken *Mora*, plundered all the country in the neighbourhood of the capital, till the *Moorish* army, being completely assembled under the command of *Ozmin*, a very brave and experienced general, advanced towards them in order of battle, which the Infants did not decline^f. The two armies appeared in sight of each other on the twenty-seventh of June. The Infant Don Juan was on the right, with the forces of *Leon* and *Galicia*, the military orders, and the troops of the archbishops of *Toledo* and *Seville*; the Infant Don Pedro on the left, with the veteran forces that had been accustomed for so many years to fight and conquer in these wars. The *Moors*, it is said, made their principal effort against Don Juan, upon a supposition that his troops were fresh raised. But we can scarce depend on what the *Spanish* authors say of this battle, which they acknowledge to have lost, but are unwilling to own that they were beat. They also admit that both the Infants died upon the spot, but assert that neither of them were killed. Don Juan, say they, finding his troops ready to give ground, sent to his colleague for a reinforcement, which the Infant Don Pedro immediately ordered; but the troops refusing to obey, he rode from one corps to another, exhorted, menaced, beseeched, till, through passion and fatigue, he fell dead from his horse; the news of which being carried to Don Juan, produced the like effect on him; and upon this the army retired in the best order they could, leaving, however, the body of Don Juan upon the field, which the *Moors*, on their request, permitted them to search out the next day, in order to its being interred^g (P).

THIS

^a Chronica del Rey Don Aloso el Ouzeno. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, part vii. sect. xiv. ^c ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ^f Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ^g Chronica de los Moros de Espana. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, part vii. sect. xiv. MAYERNE TURQUET.

(P) The true circumstances of this battle, and of the manner in which the two infants lost their lives, are not easy to be collected, more especially from the ancient historians (1). The most probable relation, however, is that of *Marianna's* (2), which the reader may compare with what is said in the text, and which, therefore, we should have placed there, if that author had cited his authorities. He tells us, that when the Infant Don Juan joined the army, which was very numerous, since there were no fewer than nine thousand horse in the field, he was resolved to advance into the neighbourhood of *Granada*, in order to attack the whole force of the *Moors*, who, as he assures us, kept close within the place, and could not be provoked to fight on any terms. When the army had continued there all *Saturday* and *Sunday*, without performing any thing of consequence, and without being able to invest the place, it was found requisite, or rather necessary, on the *Monday*, to retire; the Infant Don Pedro, who had hitherto commanded the rear, being now in the van, and Don John,

who had been all along in the front, having the command of the rear. It was then that *Ozmin* marched out of *Granada*, with five thousand horse, and a proportionable body of infantry, not with any thoughts of fighting, or at least of coming to a general engagement, but with a view to harrafs the Christians in their retreat. In order to do this the more effectually, *Ozmin* directed his march so, that the army of the Infants was obliged to move all day long without being able to come at any water, and this, as the weather was excessively hot, distressed them to the last degree; which, when *Ozmin* perceived, and that the two Infants persisted in this precipitate retreat, he caused several small bodies of horse to approach very near, and even to attack them, but with express orders to retire as soon as the Christians put themselves in a posture of defence, by which method having tired them gradually, till they were scarce able to move; at length, when it was evening, he attacked the rear-guard and threw them speedily into confusion. It was then that the Infant Don Pedro faced about, and

(1) Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Espana lib. xv.

(2) Historia general de

would.

a THIS disaster, for such it certainly was, and the victory plainly on the side of the *Moors*, had most terrible consequences; for the enemy made themselves masters of *Huesca* and several other places, ravaged the country about *Jaen*, and took the town but not the citadel of *Martos*, while those who ought to have been employed in the defence of their country were contending about the regency^h. The number of these pretenders was greater than at the death of Don *Ferdinand*: of these the chief were the Infant Don *Philip*, uncle to the king; Don *Juan Emanuel*, who had the command of the frontier of *Murcia*, son to the Infant Don *Emanuel* and the Infanta Donna *Constantia* of *Arragon*, Don *Juan*, son to the Infant Don *Juan*, and Don *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, who was just reconciled to the court; and each of these endeavoured to raise forces, in order to support his claim by dint of armsⁱ. Another

This calamity revives the disputes and intrigues which had been pacified.

A. D. 1319.

b singular event happened soon after, which was the marriage and divorce, on the same day, of the prince of *Arragon* and the Infanta *Leonora*; for as soon as the ceremony was over, the prince declared that what he had done was to oblige his father, and to comply with the terms of the treaty between the two crowns: that he took no exception whatever to the princess; but that, nevertheless, he was determined not to live with her; and soon after this abrupt parting with his wife, he publicly relinquished all right to the crown, which the states of the kingdom secured to his younger brother^k.

c THE disturbances in *Castile* increased daily, and the calmness, moderation, and prudence of the queen, which had formerly done so much, was now less effectual; but however, what little was done could be attributed to nothing else. She granted many favours to Donna *Maria Diaz*, the widow of the Infant Don *Juan*, and to his son, who was surnamed the

The queen makes use of various expedients with very little success.

1320.

deformed, which induced them to ask more; so that the queen was at length forced to refuse, and afford them that pretence which they wanted for being ingrateful. She raised Don *Ferdinand de la Cerda* to the post of master of the king's household; for which, at the time, he was exceedingly thankful, but deserted her soon after, though he still kept his employment^l. Don *Juan Emanuel* was so desirous of being regent, that he took the title before it could be given him; and his assuming it induced the Infant Don *Philip* to do the like; which divided the best part of the kingdom, even to the frontiers, where *Cordova* declared for Don *Juan*, and the city of *Seville* for the Infant^m. Don *Juan* the *deformed* had a great party in the states of *Castile*, assembled at *Burgos*, and was for obliging both parties to lay aside the title before a legal regent was elected, having great hopes that this would make way for himself; but the queen, Donna *Maria*, acquainted this assembly, that it would be by far more safe to confirm those who had taken the title of regents, than to augment the confusion by declaring a third, to which they acquiescedⁿ.

d BUT Don *Juan* the *deformed*, in conjunction with Don *Ferdinand de la Cerda* and others, entered into a solemn confederacy, and then sent the queen word, that, if she would not unite with them against her son the Infant Don *Philip* they would join unanimously with Don *Juan Emanuel* against her and the Infant both. The queen was so embarrassed, that she knew not which way to move; she had no great reliance upon Don *Juan Emanuel*, tho' he had treated her from the beginning with great civility and respect; and tho' the party of the Infant Don *Philip* was strong, yet by no means strong enough to act against all the rest. At length, to gain time and better advice, she sent the confederates word, that they should have her final answer by the mouth of the cardinal legate, whom the pope had sent on purpose to assist her in quieting these disorders; with which they were little satisfied^o. In the mean time the Infant Don *Philip* concluded a truce with the king of *Granada*, for that part of *Andalusia* which acknowledged his authority, which left that monarch at liberty to besiege *Lorca*. The inhabitants having no reason to hope for succours, defended themselves with that obstinacy, which despair only

A cardinal sent from Rome to endeavour a new reconciliation.

1321.

^h Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.

ⁱ ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv.

Chronica general de

Espana.

^k Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

^l Chron. var. antiq.

^m ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de Espana.

ⁿ Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el

Ouzeno.

^o ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. RAINALD.

would have engaged the troops he commanded to march to their relief; but they were so excessively fatigued, and withal so extremely provoked against the Infant Don *Juan*, whom they looked upon as the sole author of all their misfortunes, that they did not move; which threw Don *Pedro* into such a passion as quite overcame his spirits, weakened by long travel, extreme heat, and great thirst, so that he fell from his horse, being either struck with death, or killed by the fall; which fatal accident

was the principal cause of that total route which followed, and that must naturally have been attended with a prodigious loss, and made way for the *Moors* recovering abundance of places that had been taken from them by the Christians but a little before, and which either were not fortified, or, upon the first news of this defeat, were abandoned, as was common enough on all sides in these wars (3).

can inspire, and ruined the army of the *Moors* to such a degree, that the king was at length ^a obliged to raise the siege, and retire into his own territories^p.

The queen Donna Maria dies, which greatly augments the disturbances in Castile.

THE cardinal legate assured the confederates, on the part of the queen, that, since it was absolutely necessary to the peace of the kingdom, she would prevail upon the Infant Don Philip to desist from his pretensions of the regency, and, at the same time, the cardinal offered to use his utmost endeavours with Don Juan Emanuel to do the same. But when he entered upon this negotiation, he found little probability of success: at length, however, he prevailed, that nobleman being rather wearied than persuaded into a compliance^q. This point gained, the cardinal called a council at *Valladolid*, to regulate the discipline of the church, which, as we may easily imagine, had suffered exceedingly in those times of confusion; and the cardinal was of opinion, that the clergy could have no weight, while their lives did no credit to their doctrine^r. This council hindered the assembly of the states from being opened at *Palencia* so early as otherwise it might have been, and it was hardly opened, before the queen, Donna Maria, was seized by that distemper which carried her to her grave. She died, as she had lived, with firmness and tranquility of mind; pious without affectation, and supported her dignity by the lustre of her virtues. In her last moments she exhorted the nobility to be careful of the person, and attentive to the education, of their young monarch, and to have a just respect for his sister the Infanta Donna Leonora. She breathed her last on the first of June, when the affairs of the kingdom were in the utmost confusion; and in this respect her demise was a favourable event; for it affected all parties to such a degree, that the cardinal legate prevailed upon them to consent to a cessation of hostilities for the remainder of the year^s.

A. D. 1322.

Infant Don Philip and Don Juan Emanuel act as regents, and against each other.

As soon as that term was expired, a civil war broke out in all quarters, with so much the more fury, as it had been checked by this short restraint: Don Juan Emanuel shewed that his cruelty was equal to his ambition, by the murder of some persons of distinction in *Castile*, which rendered him universally hated, and gave great advantages to the Infant Don Philip. To sustain himself after so flagrant an error, he was constrained to join with Don Juan the deformed and Don Ferdinand de la Cerda; and this confederacy enabled him to bring an army into the field, sufficient to look the Infant in the face, but they did not judge it proper to fight^t. The young king, Don Alonso, seeing nothing but discord, confusion, and bloodshed, amongst his subjects, and his own influence scarce extending farther than his court, wrote to the principal magistrates in all the great cities, to put them in mind that he should very soon be of age, and that they ought to reflect that they could then have no other master^u.

1323.

Don Alonso begins to take upon himself the government, as soon as turned of fourteen.

THESE letters had some little effect, and but a little: however, he no sooner entered his fifteenth year, than he made choice of a person of integrity and probity to go to the city of *Seville*, in order to feel the pulse of the inhabitants. He executed his commission so discreetly, that the citizens declared for the king, who lost no time in going thither. Upon his arrival, he issued his letters for convoking a general assembly of the states at *Valladolid*; to which both the regents resorted, and laid down their authority^v. This pacific disposition did not last long: Don Juan Emanuel quitted the court in discontent, and projected a marriage between his daughter and Don Juan the deformed, that he might attach him effectually to his interests. Those who were about the young king's person, saw plainly the consequences that would attend such an alliance, and insinuated unto him, that the only way to prevent it was to espouse Donna Constantia himself; and, upon the first whisper of this, Don Juan Emanuel returned to *Valladolid*, in the highest transport of loyalty and affection for the king's service^x.

Alonso with much severity, in order to recover some appearance of justice.

THE king, Don Alonso, when he had once taken possession, was resolved not to pass his days as his father had done, with the title of sovereign, and in a state of subjection. We may be thought to assume this hastily, considering his tender age, and that we ought rather to ascribe it to such as were about his person and in his favour. However, as the king was the chief actor in all that was done, and as things of that kind could not have been done, but by a person capable of contriving them, we take this for a convincing argument, that, young as he was, Don Alonso might listen to the advice, but not to the dictates, of his ministers. He formed a small corps of troops, which were constantly about his person, picked men, and thoroughly devoted to his service. With these he pursued a crew of banditti to the castle of *Valdenebra*, strong by situation, though but indifferently fortified. The king summoned the place in form; but these desperate wretches refused to submit; upon which he caused it to be attacked, and, being carried by storm, put every

^p Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Chron. general de Espana. ^q Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ^r Conc. tom. ii. part ii. col. 1682. Card. d. AGUIRRE Conc. Hisp. tom. iii. p. 556. ^s Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part. iv. FERRERAS Hist. de Espana, part. vii. sect. xiv. ^t Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ^u ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ^v Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ^x ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part. iv. FERRERAS.

a one of the malefactors to that kind of death he deserved^y (Q). He pursued the same conduct to the same sort of people, where-ever they could be found, and this, in a few months, cleared all the great roads in *Spain*, that had been, for many years, infested by these banditti, who retired to Don *Juan* the *deformed* for protection^z.

At *Burgos* the king chastised severely such as had been guilty of cruelty and oppression during his minority, but at the same time took a resolution of gaining Don *Juan* the *deformed*, if it was practicable, by fair means, though he knew that he had been practising with the courts of *Arragon* and *Portugal* to raise fresh disturbances, and had laboured to engage Don *Alonso de la Cerda* to revive his claim to the crown. He came, at the king's command, to *Burgos*, attended by a strong corps of troops, and by a stronger of banditti

b and murderers, and, in complaisance to him, the king forbid his subjects to molest them. He then tried every method, and made all the offers possible, to engage Don *Juan* to return to his duty, and to give him proper assurances of it; but he refused, to which he was principally moved by an advertisement from Don *Juan Emanuel*, that, in becoming the king's father-in-law, he did not cease to be his friend^a. After parting in this manner, he visited the rest of *Castile*, punishing malefactors wherever he came with unrelenting severity. On his arrival at *Toro*, and receiving advice of new intrigues between the two Don *Juans*, he ordered his favourite Don *Alvaro Nugnez Osorio* to engage Don *Juan* the *deformed* to come to him, under pretence that the king was inclined to give him the Infanta Donna *Leonora*. With some difficulty he was drawn thither, and received by the king, on the last day of *October*, with

c all imaginable marks of kindness and favour^b. The next day he was invited to a feast, but as he entered the hall he was stabbed, and two gentlemen with him, who, upon the first appearance of violence, had drawn in his defence^c. The very next day the king appeared in public, and being seated on a throne of state, and having admitted persons of all ranks into his presence, he stood up, and told them that Don *Juan* was a traitor, whom the misfortunes of the times had rendered too big for the laws; that his crimes, which he enumerated, together with the proofs, made it necessary to remove him, which had been done by his orders, to prevent a new civil war; that notwithstanding this, he meant to make the laws the measure of his authority; and that none of his subjects had reason to fear, from what had happened to Don *Juan*, except those who meant to imitate his conduct. He proceeded next to seize d all his estates; and having given an equivalent in money to Donna *Maria Diaz*, the mother of the late Don *Juan*, he annexed the lordship of *Biscay* to the crown^d. Don *Juan Emanuel*, though he had just gained a considerable victory over the *Moors*, made a truce with the king of *Granada*, and retired to the castle of *Chinchilla*, resolved not to trust his person in the hands of a prince capable of such sentiments and such actions^e.

^y ROD. SANTII, Hist. Hispan. part. iv. Chronica general de España. ^z Chron. var. antiq. ^a Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno, par Don JUAN NUNEZ VILLASAN. ^b Chronica general de España. ^c Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ^d ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chronica general de España. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ^e Chronica de los Moros de España. Chronica general de España.

(Q) The chief persons about the young king were Don *Garcilasso de la Vega*, who had been lord lieutenant of *Castile*, strongly attached to the Infant Don *Pedro*, and, for that reason, extremely hated by the Infant Don *Juan*, and his son Don *Alvaro Nunez Osorio*, a young cavalier of a good family, much of the king's disposition, the companion of his diversions, and rather his favourite than his minister. We must add to these one *Joseph a Jew*, upon whom he chiefly relied in affairs relating to money, as had been long the custom in *Spain*, notwithstanding the clamour of the people, the complaints of the clergy, and the remonstrances of the pope (4). The first of these might possibly give the young king some useful information as to the state of his affairs; but it is more likely that his grandmother instructed him in the capital maxims of government, and pointed out to him particularly the mischiefs arising from faction, and how much it was in his interest to reduce the exorbitant power of those great lords who made no difficulty of opposing the royal authority, and who thought they had a right to oppress the people, while they were so lucky

as to have vassals ready to fight in defence of this extravagant power in their lords, and, which is still more extraordinary, inclined to mistake this power for liberty. But it is not at all probable that either the queen or his ministers put any of the great things which he afterwards performed into this young prince's head; because, in fact they wear the appearance of originals, and flow intirely from the same spirit which the king Don *Alonso* exerted when he was certainly at liberty to follow the bent of his own disposition (6). This attack of the castle of *Valdenebra*, the first of his exploits, affords a sufficient proof of the truth of what we advanced; he was desirous to establish a reputation of justice, and to make the first instances of that severity which he saw would be requisite to restore the royal dignity and public peace altogether unexceptionable even to the wisest, universally agreeable to the nation in general; and having by this step formed the character, and made an impression, we shall see him, through his whole reign, pursuing his first point; and laying the foundation of his own greatness, in the ruin of faction (7).

(4) Chronica del Rey Don Alonso XI. Mariana Historia general de España, lib. xv. de España, part. vii. sect. xiv.

(7) Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. part. iv. Francisci Taraphæ de reb. Hisp.

(6) Ferreras Historia

Archbishop of Toledo, brother to Don Juan Emanuel, removed from the chancellor. THE next year the king went to *Segovia*, and enquired into a seditious tumult that had happened there two years before, in which some blood had been shed, and for which those who had been most culpable were now severely punished. Thence he proceeded to *Toledo*, hearing the complaints of the people wherever he came, enquiring diligently into the truth of the facts, and punishing, with equal severity, such as had been guilty of bad actions, and such as were either weak or wicked enough to bring false accusations^f. While he resided there, the Infant Don *Philip* died on the fifth of *June*, much regretted by his nephew^g. Upon certain intelligence that Don *Juan Emanuel* was endeavouring to raise fresh troubles, the king removed his brother-in-law, the archbishop of *Toledo*, from the post of chancellor, with which that prelate was so offended, that he exchanged his see for that of *Tarragona*^h. As for Don *Juan Emanuel*, no invitations or promises could induce him to quit his retreat, where he studied how to revive those troubles to which he owed his greatness, and issued his orders on all sides to his dependents, agreeable to these resolutions; of which the king being informed, he gave the government of the marches of the kingdom of *Murcia*, which Don *Juan* inherited from his father, to a nobleman upon whom he could more safely relyⁱ.

A. D. 1326.

Don Juan Emanuel revolts and renounces his allegiance to king Alonso.

1327.

In consequence of which the disorders become much greater than ever.

THE next year the king took the field against the *Moors*, with whom Don *Juan Emanuel* had entered into an alliance. The king ordered the admiral of *Castile* to clear the seas, who defeated a strong squadron from *Barbary*, with troops on board; and coming to pay his duty to the king of *Seville*, presented him with 300 slaves. The king laid siege to *Olvera*, and from thence made some expeditions, in which he was not very successful; however, he persisted in his design, and at length reduced that and several other places^k. On the frontiers of *Murcia* there was an insurrection, excited by Don *Juan*, which had no great effect; however, the king, who would not be insulted without shewing his resentment, immediately gave away all his employments; and, which perhaps was not altogether so justifiable, put his daughter, *Donna Constantia*, who had born the title of queen, under a guard. Don *Juan*, upon this, sent him word that he renounced his allegiance, and that he looked upon himself as at liberty to take what measures he pleased^l. He then addressed himself to the king of *Arragon*, representing how nearly his daughter was allied in blood to that crown, and how injurious the usage was that she had met with from the king of *Castile*. His complaints were held reasonable, and that monarch promised him all the assistance in his power, in hopes of which Don *Juan*, with what forces he could collect, began to make inroads into *Castile*, which he wasted with fire and sword^m.

WE have already seen the great troubles and disturbances arising from ambition, resentment, and private interest; but nothing hitherto related comes near to those troubles that were excited by Don *Juan Emanuel*, whose turbulent spirit was supported by abilities, that Providence, in compassion to human society, very rarely bestows upon such men. A body of troops from *Arragon* traversed the dominions of *Castile*, in order to join him, and marked their route with fire and sword, wherever they passed. The prior of *St. John*, who was very closely connected with Don *Juan*, prevailed upon *Toro*, *Zamora*, and some other places, to declare against the king, under pretence that he was wholly governed by Don *Alvaro Nunez Osorio*, whom the king had lately created count of *Traстамара*ⁿ. The king, who had assembled a considerable army near *Seville*, passed from thence to *Cordova*, where he caused Don *Juan Ponce de Cabrera* to be beheaded for the share he had in the sedition raised there, and put some other persons to death on the same account; and having found means to engage the court of *Arragon*, where Don *Alonso* had lately mounted the throne, to withdraw his countenance from Don *Juan*, he caused *Escalona* to be invested, which was one of the strongest places in Don *Juan's* possession^o. In the mean time, *Garcilasso de la Vega*, whom he had promoted to the dignity of chancellor, being at *Soria* in *Castile*, and having declared that he had the king's orders to provide, in the most effectual manner, for the security of that kingdom, some secret friends of Don *Juan* whispered it about, that he had private orders to put some persons of distinction to death. This gave rise to a conspiracy, in consequence of which, the chancellor was stabbed on his knees at church, with twenty-four persons more, amongst whom were his son, and several of high rank^p. The king, having concluded a marriage with *Donna Maria*, Infanta of *Portugal*, which he intended to celebrate as soon as the campaign was over, sent for *Donna Leonora* his sister from *Valladolid*, when, through the arts of Don *Juan*, a rumour being spread that the king intended to marry her to his favourite the count of *Traстамара*, the people revolted, upon which the king was obliged to raise the siege of *Escalona*, to march thither. The inha-

^f Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.^g FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET.^h ROD.

SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

ⁱ Chron. var. antiq.^k Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ROD.

SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

^l Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.^m ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan.

part iv. ZURITA, Annal Arragon.

Chronica general de Espana.

ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el

Ouzeno. ZURIT. Annal. Arragon

EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA.

^o ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica

general de Espana. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. vii. sec. xiv.

^p Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el

Ouzeno, &c.

- a bitants of *Valladolid* shut their gates, and held out a siege, which the king carried on with such vigour, that the town must infallibly have been taken, if the same arts that produced their revolt had not raised a sedition in the king's camp, where several of the principal nobility told him plainly, that the only way to put an end to these disturbances was to disgrace the count *Don Alvaro*, which was presently done^a. The count thereupon retired to his castle of *Belbar*, where he commenced rebel in his turn; but *Don Juan Ramirez*, with the king's consent, pretended to desert him, and being kindly received by the count, took an opportunity to stab him; this put an end to all the insurrections in *Castile*: the king, towards the close of the year, celebrated his marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*, and gave his sister, *Donna Eleonora*, in marriage to *Don Alonso*, king of *Arragon*; and thus an end
- b was put to all troubles for the present^b.

A. D. 1328.

- In the beginning of the next year, the king having held an assembly of the states of *Burgos*, and conducted his sister, *Donna Leonora*, to the frontiers of *Arragon*, he concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the monarch of that country, and with the king of *Portugal*, in order to prosecute the war against the *Moors* with effect^c. The conferences for this purpose being over, the king went to *Soria*, where he made a strict inquisition into the murder of *Garcilasso de la Vega*, punished such of the principal persons with death as could be found, and seized the estates and effects of such as had concerted their security by a quick retreat^d. *Don Juan Emanuel* in the mean time had projected several marriages, by the means of which he proposed to aggrandize *Don Ferdinand de la Cerda*, *Don Juan de Lara*, and to bind them to his party, of which, though the king had timely information, yet he made fresh offers to that potent lord, to engage him to return to his duty, and even went so far as to offer to set his daughter at liberty, and to pay him a considerable sum of money, if, instead of disturbing the peace of his country, he would concur in making war against the *Moors*^e.
- c 1329.

- Don Alonso*, after conferring once more with the king of *Portugal*, proceeded to the frontiers, and finding his forces in excellent order, began the operations of the campaign with the siege of *Tebe*. *Ozmin*, who commanded the *Moorish* army, practised various stratagems in order to divide the Christian troops, but to no purpose: however, he encouraged the besieged to make a gallant defence, afforded them frequent succours, and spun out the campaign to the first of *August*, when the place surrendered, and the *Moors* abandoned several little towns and castles in the neighbourhood^f. Upon the king's return to *Seville*, he entered into an amour with *Donna Leonora de Guzman*, a lady of high quality, and great endowments, by whom he had several children (R). There he received ambassadors from the king of *Granada*, who
- d Makes a campaign against the Moors, and falls into an intrigue with Donna Leonora de Guzman.

^a *Chronica general de Espana*. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. ^b ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part. iv. ZURIT. *Annal Arragon*. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. ^c ZURIT. *Annal Arragon*. *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno*, &c. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. ^d Chron. var. antiq. ^e ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part. iv. *Chronica general de Espana*. ^f EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. *Chronica de los Moros de Espana*.

(R) We are constrained, in order to render the current of our relation more intelligible, to enter a little into the secret history of this reign, which, though we are always unwilling to do, yet is sometimes requisite to be done. By comparing the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* historians one might be tempted to affirm that *Don Alonso* of *Castile* had at this time no less than three wives, or, to speak with propriety, who were, or whom he persuaded to think themselves such. The first was *Donna Maria* of *Portugal*, whom he married rather from a principle of policy than affection, and with whom he lived but indifferently, reproaching her with the want of issue, though they had not been long married, and which, some writers tell us, she took pains to wipe away (5). She was a prudent woman; and knew how to dissemble more passions than one. The second was *Donna Leonora de Guzman*, the daughter of *Don Pedro Nunez de Guzman*, and the widow of *Don Juan de Velasco*, lately deceased: her riches and her wit set off to great advantage a person so fine, that she was esteemed the greatest beauty in *Spain*. The king, from the time he became enamoured of her, preserved no decency in his family or with the world, but behaved towards her in public as if she had been his queen, while *Donna Maria* had as little state about her as if she had been his mistress (6). The third was *Donna Constantia*, the daughter of *Don Juan Emanuel*, to whom

the king had been contracted, and with whom he continued to hold a private correspondence by letters, in which he told her that she was the first mistress of his affections, and gave her hopes that, by the help of a divorce, she might one day become the partner of his bed and throne (7). Each had their political intrigues. The prior of *St. John*, who had excited the great revolt in *Castile*, was the queen's chancellor; and through him she corresponded with *Don Juan Emanuel* and *Don Juan de Lara*, in favour of whom she brought the king her father into a war with the king her husband (8). *Donna Leonora* had also a correspondence with *Don Juan Emanuel*, and with other great persons about the court, who knew that to gain her was the only way to gain the king's favour. *Donna Constantia*, by her father's direction, managed a correspondence with the king with great dignity and decency; acknowledged that her hopes were once fixed upon him; reproached him with the ill usage of his queen; and intimated that his mistress had other gallants (9). In a word, *Donna Leonora* knew how to govern the king, and was proud of it. The queen was able to govern herself, and, by doing so, triumphed in the end. *Donna Constantia*, by her address, maintained an interest in the king, till, by his consent, she espoused the prince of *Portugal*, of which country she became afterwards queen.

(5) *Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, lib. iii. *Mayerne Turquet Histoire general d'Espagne*, lib. xiv. (6) *Chronica del Rey Don Alonso XI*. *Mariana*, lib. xv. (7) *Faria y Sousa, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, lib. iii. (8) *Mariana*. *Mayerne Turquet*. *Faria y Sousa*. *Ferreras*. (9) *Faria y Sousa, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, lib. iii.

offered

offered to become his vassal, and to pay an annual tribute of twelve thousand pieces of gold, a which was accepted, chiefly with a view of depriving Don Juan Emanuel of the protection of this prince *.

1330.
Receives Don
Alonso de la
Cerde into fa-
vour, and
grants him an
establishment.

THE king returning from *Seville* into *Castile*, was met in his passage, very unexpectedly, by Don *Alonso de la Cerda*, who told him, that being heartily weary of the life he had hitherto led, he was very desirous of passing the remainder of his life in peace; and that, forgetting past disputes, he hoped the monarch of *Castile* would consider him as a prince of his blood, and as his faithful subject. The king received him with the utmost affection, gave him an ample establishment, and assured him he might depend upon his favour and protection^y. At his coronation the same year, at *Burgos*, Don *Alonso de la Cerda* assisted, and did him homage; and the feasts which attended this ceremony, were the most magnificent that ever b had been seen in *Castile*^z. Don *Juan Emanuel*, who for two years past had affected to live in such a manner as to give the king no umbrage, entered now into a treaty with Donna *Leonora de Guzman*, and offered, if she could prevail upon the king to repudiate the Infanta of *Portugal*, and to marry her, he would return to court, and depend upon her protection; but that lady generously answered, that if he would return to his duty, he might depend upon her favour; but that she did not either hope or desire to espouse the king^a. About the same time, by a stroke of that policy which was natural to him, he caused it to be insinuated to the king of *Portugal*, that the queen, his daughter, was very miserable; that Donna *Leonora de Guzman* was in possession of the king's affections, and that his own daughter, Donna *Constantia*, was a better match for the prince of *Portugal*, than the king's c niece Donna *Blanca*, daughter to the Infant *Pedro*, who had many infirmities^b.

Institutes the
order of the
Band, which
is since grown
into disuse.

THE king, who had intelligence of these proceedings, instituted a new order of knight-hood, with a political view of attaching those, upon whom it was conferred, in a more particular manner to his person, which, from the knights wearing a ribbon over their right shoulder, was stiled the order of the band. At first it was in very high esteem, but by degrees grew into disuse^c. The king of *Granada* made this year a voyage to *Africa*, in order to demand assistance from *Abul-Affan*, king of *Morocco*, under pretence that Don *Alonso* of *Castile* had nothing so much at heart as the utter extirpation of the *Mohammedans* in *Spain*, and having obtained from him the promise of powerful succours, and a present supply of 7000 horse, he returned very well satisfied into his own dominions, where he no sooner arrived, than he re- d renewed his intrigues with Don *Juan Emanuel*; who was employed in raising a new citadel at *Uclès*. He had engaged Don *Juan Nugnez de Lara*, and several other persons of great distinction, in a confederacy; and it was agreed that they should be all ready to act at a convenient time^d. The queen, Donna *Maria*, was brought to-bed of the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, and soon after Donna *Leonora Guzman* was delivered of Don *Sancho*, to whom the king gave the lordship of *Le Desma*^e.

Abul-Malic,
with an army,
advances to
Gibraltar, and
forms the siege.

THE reinforcement from *Africa* arrived on board a fleet of transports from *Morocco* at *Algezira*, under the command of *Abul Malic*, the son of *Abul Affan*; the Christian fleet, under the command of Don *Alonso Tenorio*, having put to sea with an intention to hinder them from debarking, but came too late^f. The first service the *African* troops performed, e was besieging *Gibraltar*, in which commanded Don *Vasco Perez de Meyra*. Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, upon advice of this siege, assembled a powerful army in order to relieve it, and in his march had a conference with Don *Juan Emanuel* and Don *Juan de Lara*, who pretended an inclination to submit themselves, and invited the king to dine with them in their castle of *Becerril*, which he accepted, and they promised to dine with him the next day; but, either through fear or falsehood, they broke their words, and the treaty came to nothing^g. Not long after this, Don *Juan Emanuel* sent the king word, that if he would order his arrears to be paid, he would make a powerful diversion through the kingdom of *Jaen*, and prevent the kingdom of *Granada* from joining *Abul-Malic*. Don *Alonso*, like a great prince, complied with his demand; Don *Juan Emanuel* behaved also like himself, that is, he took the money, f and broke his word^h. The king, however, marched to the relief of *Gibraltar*, but when he was within sight of the place, he was informed that the governor had betrayed it.

Don Juan
Emanuel and
other malecon-
tents raise new
troubles in the
kingdom.

DON *Alonso* continued to advance, invested that place, and besieged it, but for want of provisions was forced to raise the siege; however, a supply arriving just as the army broke up, the king returned thither againⁱ. The king of *Granada* having joined *Abul Malic*, marched to raise the siege with a numerous army. Don *Alonso*, as became a prudent officer, remained

1333.

* Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. y ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. z MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS. a Chron. var. antiq. b EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. Chronica general de Espana. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. c MARIANA. FERRERAS. d Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. e ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. MARIANA. FERRERAS. f Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. g Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ROD. SANTII. Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS. h Chron. var. antiq. i Chronica de los Moros de Espana.

- a within his entrenchments, and could not be drawn out to fight. All his caution, however, proved ineffectual; for Don Juan Emanuel, Don Juan de Lara, and Don Juan Alonso de Haro, with the very money that the king had given them, had raised forces, and ravaged Castile in such a manner, that the king was obliged to conclude a truce with the Moors, and to march to the relief of his subjects; another motive which determined him to this measure, was the intelligence he had received, that several lords in the kingdom of Jaen were on the point of joining the Moors, for which he caused one of their heads to be struck off, when he arrived in those parts; but the rest executed their purpose, and fled to Granada^k. The king's affairs, however, were in so perplexed a situation, that the king of Morocco, refusing to ratify the truce, unless the tribute of the king of Granada was remitted, he was obliged to comply, his subjects in Castile being so much distressed by the rebels, that they dispatched express upon express to hasten the king's march to their assistance, which, without doubt, afflicted him extremely, after all the pains he had taken to recover these noblemen to his service^l.

But though the king was very impatient, and did all that was in his power to comply with the requests of his subjects, yet it was Lent before he was able to leave Seville. When he came to Ciudad Real, a gentleman brought him a letter from Don Juan de Lara, in which he told him that he quitted his service for ever, and renounced his allegiance: the king having read this epistle, said it came a little too late, that he wasted his territories, and oppressed his people while he was yet in his service, and his subject; and therefore, said he, take this honest gentleman, who has been in all his secrets, and made no scruple of sharing in his rebellion, and strike off his hands and feet, and then his head^m. This struck a great terror, and made people less inclined to have any correspondence with malecontents. The king prosecuted the war against Don Juan de Lara with incredible diligence, and hunted him very closely; but not being able to take him, he went into Biscay, which country he entirely reducedⁿ. Upon his return to Burgos, a man was seized with letters from Don Juan Alonso de Haro, to Don Juan Emanuel, and Don Juan de Lara, in which he pressed them not to submit to the king, but to do him all the mischief they could, assuring them of succours from the viceroy of Navarre. The king marched immediately, and surprised Don Juan de Haro in his castle, whom, after he had reproached with his perfidious behaviour, he ordered to be put to death; but he gave his lands to his two brothers^o.

- d AFTER all this, Don Juan de Lara wrote to some persons near the king, that, perceiving he was marked for destruction, he was desirous of knowing whether the king was inexorable or not; and, if not, he was now ready to submit to such terms as he should prescribe. The king sent him word to render the two castles he then besieged, to renounce all title to Biscay, and to put some of his best places into his hands as pledges for his fidelity, with all which he immediately complied; notwithstanding which, the king refused to see him^p. The king having summoned the castle of Rojas, in which Diego Gilles commanded for Lopez Diaz, he returned no other answer than a shower of arrows and stones, though the persons were the king's immediate servants. After a short siege, he desired leave to march out, which was given him; but as soon as he and his garrison were in the field, the king caused him to be arrested, brought them to a court-martial, by which the governor and officers were condemned to death. This severity had one good effect, for no gentleman would afterwards charge himself with the custody of a castle, without inserting, in the oath of fidelity to his lord, that he would defend it against all persons whatever, the king only excepted^q.

- At the opening of the ensuing year, Don Juan Emanuel addressed himself to the king, with an offer of entire submission, and informed him that Don Pedro, prince of Portugal, finding it impossible to marry his niece Donna Blanca, who was paralytic, was inclined to espouse his daughter Donna Constantia, if the king would be pleased to give his consent. Don Alonso answered, that, as to the first point, he was content to pardon all that was passed, if Don Juan would behave as a good subject for the time to come; and that, as to the latter, he would consider of it, and give him an answer^r. Soon after came ambassadors from the crown of Portugal upon the same subject; and the king, Don Alonso, having sent persons into that kingdom to examine into the matter of fact, upon their report that Donna Blanca was really afflicted with the palsy, he declared that he would not oppose the marriage of the prince Don Pedro with Donna Constantia, in hopes that this condescension would entirely restore the tranquility of his dominions; and, to demonstrate how welcome this would be to him, he celebrated Whitsuntide at Valladolid, with public feasts and a carousal, to which all the nobility were invited, and in which himself and his knights of the band opposed all comers.

^k Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chronica de los Moros de Espana.

^l ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. Chronica general de Espana.

^m Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.

ⁿ Chronica general

^o Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.

^p Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.

^q Chron. var. antiq. ^r EMANUEL

DE FARIA Y SOUSA. Chronica general de Espana.

ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

MOD. HIST. VOL. VIII.

Viceroy of Na-
varre makes
war on Castile,
without cause
or caution.

BUT he had scarce begun to please himself with these hopes, than they were dissipated by an accident he could not foresee; for *Henry de Solis*, viceroy of *Navarre*, published a manifesto, in which he charged the *Castilians* with having injured the subjects of *Navarre* on the frontiers, and that he meant to do himself justice by arms. Don *Alonso* was so desirous of quiet, that he offered any satisfaction, but the viceroy would accept of none; and having a very powerful army, made an irruption into *Castile*, on the side of *Tudela*, wasting every thing before him with fire and sword^a. Don *Alonso* assembled a body of troops for the defence of his dominions, and appointed Don *Juan de Lara* commander in chief, which he refused, and the king thereupon declared *Martin Fernandez Portocarrero*, master of his household, general^b. Some of the principal nobility represented to the king, that he was by no means of a rank fit to command them; but that, to shew how sensible they were of the folly of private disputes, in a time of public danger, they thanked him for giving this opportunity of shewing their obedience, as he had done his sagacity in appointing one of the best officers in *Castile* to his command.

Is severely
benten, and
forced to make
peace on worse
terms than he
might have
had without a
war.

MARTIN FERNANDEZ marched with his forces, and the viceroy of *Navarre* sent him a haughty message, that he intended the next day to reduce *Alfaro*, and plunder the country in the neighbourhood. *Martin Fernandez* marched towards the abbey of *Futero*, which they had already taken, and the viceroy thereupon dispatched his cavalry, to cover his new conquest. The viceroy seeming to persist in his first design, drew out his whole army to support his horse, of which *Martin Fernandez* having received intelligence, prosecuted his march with great vigour, in order to give them battle. The dispute was sharp, but short, the army of *Navarre* being routed with great slaughter. He afterwards intercepted their cavalry, in their retreat towards *Tudela*, and cut them off entirely, which put an end to the operations of the war, which was terminated afterwards by a peace, under the mediation of the crown of *France*^c. At this time the court of *Castile* appeared with unusual splendour from the arrival of two great embassies, one from the emperor of *Morocco*, and the other from *Edward* the third, king of *England*, whom Don *Alonso* treated with great dignity and respect^d. At the close of the year a council was held at *Salamanca*, in which sixteen canons were made, the great point in view being to extinguish the custom which still prevailed amongst the *Spanish* clergy of marrying, which, to render it odious, the court of *Rome* confounded with keeping concubines^e.

The states de-
clare against
Don Juan
Emanuel and
Don John
Nunez de La-
ra, and pro-
scribe them.

WHEN the king Don *Alonso* had made such dispositions for war against the *Moors*, who he had certain intelligence was meditating a general confederacy against him, he discovered a new contrivance for disturbing the peace of his people amongst his own nobility. Don *Juan Emanuel* and Don *Juan de Lara* were at the head of this; and what equally amazed and chagrined him, Don *Pedro Fernandez de Castro*, and Don *Juan Alonso de Albuquerque*, for whom he had always testified the highest esteem, were engaged with them, the whole confederacy being formed under the protection of the king of *Portugal*^f. Upon this discovery, he sent for Don *Pedro de Castro*, who, though he was in one of his own castles, made no scruple of obeying his order. He expostulated the matter with him freely; assured him that he was so sensible of his past services, that having no other way to reward him, he had determined to marry his son the Infant Don *Henry*, to his daughter; and that, if he had at any time given him offence, he was willing to give him what satisfaction he pleased. Don *Pedro*, afflicted and ashamed, freely confessed his fault, and promised to reclaim Don *Juan de Albuquerque*, which, when he had performed, the king called together an assembly of the states, in which he fairly laid before them his condition and their own, with the several overtures he had made to Don *Juan Emanuel*, and Don *Juan de Lara*. The states immediately voted them both traitors, gave him five subsidies, and desired him to prosecute the war against them both, to their utter destruction^g.

After a long
siege the latter
surrenders to
the king, is
pardoned and
preferred.

Don *Juan Nunez de Lara* made several propositions, very plausible in their nature, to prevent the storm which he saw ready to fall upon him, but the king rejected them all. In the month of *June*, the king took the field and invested *Lerma*, in which Don *Juan de Lara* was with a numerous garrison, excellently well provided, and fortifications for those times in very good condition. Don *Juan Emanuel* made various attempts to succour and relieve him, but was so closely pursued by the king, whenever he was in the field, that he was at length forced to consult his own safety, and retire into *Aragon*, having more than once very narrowly escaped falling into the king's hands^h. When the siege had continued for several months, and the place was in apparrent danger, the secret friends of Don *Juan de Lara* practised every art to

^a Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS. ^b Histoire de Royaume de Navarre. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hisp. p. iv. Chronica general de Espana. ^c Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Histoire de Royaume de Navarre. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. ^d ROD. SANTI Hist. Hisp. Chronica general de Espana. FERRERAS. ^e Card. D'AGUIRRE Conc. Hisp. tom. iii. p. 584. ^f Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. ^g ROD. SANTI Hist. Hisp. FARIA Y SOUSA. Chron. general de Espana. ^h Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ZURIT. Annal Aragon. FARIA Y SOUSA.

- a extricate him from his difficulties. The king of *Portugal* claimed him as his subject and vassal. Don *Alonso* answered he might be so; but he was also his rebel, and as such he would punish him. This produced a war between the two crowns, which, however, could not oblige the king to raise the siege ^b. The queen Donna *Maria* was then prevailed on to go to the camp, and to interpose in his favour, but that also was without effect. At length, when it was towards *Christmas*, his escape was contrived through a common sewer, of which the king having intelligence, surprised his friends at the mouth of it, and it was with some difficulty that he got back. This humbled him to such a degree, that he sent to the king to know what terms he would be pleased to prescribe. Don *Alonso* answered, that he would grant him and his people their lives, except three persons who had deserted from his camp ^c. Don *Juan*,
 b having first provided for the escape of these three men, named a day for delivering the place, and though the king sent him a horse, yet he chose to meet him on foot, kissed his hand with great respect, and assured him that he would be from that moment his most faithful servant. The king ordered the fortification of *Lerma* to be demolished, carried Don *Juan* with him to *Valladolid*, restored him to his post of standard bearer of *Castile*, and made him several considerable presents; which had such an effect, that, during the remainder of his life, he was the most steady and the most affectionate servant the king had ^d.

- THE new year brought with it new disturbances. Don *Pedro*, who had succeeded his father Don *Alonso*, as king of *Arragon*, was upon extreme bad terms with his mother-in-law Donna *Leonora*, sister to the king of *Castile*, which induced him to favour Don *Juan Emanuel*,
 c and, on the other hand, produced a civil war in his own dominions, several great lords declaring on the side of the queen Dowager; but at length, through the interposition of Don *Juan de Lara*, these disputes were compromised ^e. The mother of that lord, who had a very great interest with the king, presumed upon it so far, as to deliver him a letter from Don *Juan Emanuel*, in which he made great professions of penitence, and of inclinations to return to the king's service: to which Don *Alonso* answered, it was entirely in his own power, and that, whenever he was disposed to give him proofs of his obedience, he might depend upon his favour. Upon which Don *Juan Emanuel* submitted ^f. In regard to *Portugal*, the war went on; the fleet of *Castile* was victorious by sea, and the king rejected all terms of accommodation, notwithstanding the pope interposed; at length, however, the legate putting the
 d king in mind that every step he took to gratify his resentment was destructive of his interest, since it was very well known that the *Moors* intended to attack them both, he was at length prevailed on to listen to some accommodation with his father-in-law; but, however, the negotiation was not perfected till the beginning of the year following ^g.

A truce with
difficulty con-
cluded between
the crowns of
Castile and
Portugal.
1337.

- THE repeated advices he received from *Barbary*, left him no room to doubt that he should quickly find himself exposed to as great danger from the Infidels, as any that his an-
 cestors had overcome. For the king of *Morocco*, *Jacob Abul-Affan*, was providing a pro-
 digious force by land and sea; and having reduced the little kingdoms of *Tunis* and *Tremecen*,
 was to the full as formidable as any of his predecessors. The king Don *Alonso* ratified the
 truce with *Portugal*, and perhaps had done it more readily, but that he was willing to make
 e that monarch believe that he did not readily forgive any assistance given to his malecontents ^h.
 He afterwards held an assembly of the states of *Castile*, in which some excellent laws were
 made. Amongst the rest it was provided, that all fortresses should be considered as belonging
 of right to the king; and that none should presume to hold them against him; that no rank
 whatever should exempt men from the laws, or give them a title to do themselves justice; and
 that all persons should conform themselves in their garb and way of living to the condition of
 life they were in, so that none might be made poor by affecting a false shew of riches. These
 were published in the cathedral church of *Burgos*; for, in those rude days, they never expected
 that men should obey laws unless they knew them ⁱ.

Excellent
laws made for
the reforma-
tion of man-
ners in the do-
minions of
Castile.

- THE king went from *Burgos* to the frontiers of *Arragon*, to confer with his sister the queen
 f dowager, with whom he found Don *Juan de Lara* and his mother. After this interview was
 over, Don *Juan* proposed to the king going to the castle of *Garcia-Munoz*, where he assured
 him that Don *Juan Emanuel* had given orders that he should be received with the utmost
 respect, and the place put into his hands. The king went and took possession of it, and, upon
 his arrival at *Cuenca*, Don *Juan* himself came to pay his duty, and was so kindly and frankly
 received by the king, that he could not forbear telling him, that it should be the business of
 his life to remember the offences he had given him, and his study to make his majesty forget

Don Juan
Emanuel sub-
mits, and is re-
conciled to the
king Don A-
lonso.

^b Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. FARIA Y SOUSA.

SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. FARIA Y SOUSA. ^c Chronica general de Espana. ROD.

MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS. ^d Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. MARIANA.

^e Chronica general de Espana. MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^f Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.

FARIA Y SOUSA. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. FERRERAS. ^g Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.

Chronica general de Espana. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ^h FARIA Y SOUSA. BRANDAON.

ⁱ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el

them. The king took this so well, that he confided to him the care of his interests in *Arragon*, and sent him thither to manage them, which he did with great ability and equal integrity ^k. Pope *Benedict* the twelfth wrote about this time to the king, to thank him for the respect paid to his interposition in the affair of *Portugal*, and to exhort him to part with Donna *Leonora de Guzman*, and to lead a life worthy of a Christian prince ^l.

A campaign
against the
Moors, in
which the
king is success-
ful and Abul-
Malic slain.

THE insinuations of Don *Juan Emanuel* had such an influence over the king of *Arragon*, that, not content with accommodating every thing to the satisfaction of his mother-in-law, he resolved to enter into a close alliance with the king of *Castile*, as the only means for securing both kingdoms against the invasion of the *Moors*, which appeared every day more formidable; and having sent an ambassador for that purpose, a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded, from which both princes promised not to depart, or to make any truce with the Infidels, but in conjunction ^m. Don *Alonso* proceeded then to the frontiers, and at *Seville* conferred the honour of knighthood on Don *Juan de Lara*, with his own hands ⁿ. He entered the enemy's territories with a numerous and complete army, and ravaged the country about *Ronda*, till, through want of provisions, they found themselves obliged to retire, which the *Moors* observing, thought it a very favourable opportunity to strike one of their great blows. Accordingly they issued out of the place, and fell upon the rear of the Christian army. Don *Juan Emanuel*, Don *Juan de Lara*, and the grand master of the order of *St. James*, who commanded there, repressed them but faintly, and restrained the ardour of the soldiers for some time; till at length, being at a great distance from the place, those three officers having conferred together, faced about at once, and charged the *Moors* so vigorously, that they fled to an adjacent mountain, which was of very difficult ascent. The *Castilian* cavalry, however, dismounted, and forced their passage up, though with difficulty and loss; but of this numerous detachment of the *Moors* there did not escape a single man ^o. In the autumn, Don *Alonso de Guzman*, grand master of the order of *St. James*, beat the king of *Granada* before *Silos*. *Abul-Malic*, with the army of *Morocco*, was still more unfortunate, for he was defeated by Don *Alonso's* generals, and killed in his retreat ^p. This year would have ended happily, if the grand master of the order of *St. James*, resenting too hastily some ill usage from Donna *Leonora de Guzman*, had not revolted against the king, notwithstanding that he used all possible means to bring him back to his duty, which he renounced so entirely, as, when the king approached the walls of the fortrefs where he was, in order to expostulate with him, he caused him to be repulsed with arrows and stones, some of which fell on his shield, and others wounded his horse, for which, when it was reduced, the king caused him to be put to death ^q.

The king of
Morocco
arms, in order
to revenge his
son's death,
and defeats
the Castile
fleet.

ABUL-ASSAN, king of *Morocco*, not at all discouraged by the defeats of the preceding year, or the loss of his son, prosecuted the war with a degree of fury, that sufficiently spoke his resentment. He assembled a great army, a vast quantity of military stores and provisions, and a fleet of 200 sail, exclusive of thirty gallies. Don *Alonso* did all that was possible to provide against the effects of this invasion, and, if possible, to prevent it; for, by the rudeness of the winter, he lost several of his ships, and by the unwholsomeness of the season, a great number of men, which put it out of the power of the admiral to hinder, with six ships and twenty-seven gallies, the *Moors* from passing. Donna *Elvira*, the wife of the admiral, hearing what weak and improper judges said, wrote to her husband that his fidelity was suspected, and that it was supposed he had received a vast sum of money to let the *Moors* pass; upon which the admiral, having received a reinforcement of six gallies, sailed with so considerable a strength, and, to wipe off this imaginary stain, sacrificed himself and the whole fleet, five gallies only excepted ^r. The king Don *Alonso* provided *Tarefa* for a long siege, and was forced to apply to the king of *Portugal*, his father-in-law, for assistance by sea; and, in order to obtain it, had recourse to the queen Donna *Maria*, who wrote in the most pressing terms to the king her father, and sent it by the dean of *Toledo*, her chancellor; upon which he sent the fleet of *Portugal* to *Seville*.

A peace and
alliance con-
cluded between
the crowns of
Castile and
Portugal.

DON *Alonso* dispatched also a minister to *Genoa*, and Don *Juan Martinez* to expostulate with the king of *Arragon*, for not sending the vessels he had promised to his fleet. The king answered plainly, that it was for want of money to equip them, otherwise he had ten gallies which he would have sent. Don *Juan* advanced the money necessary, and, instead of ten, the king sent twelve ^s. The *Genoese* also sold him their assistance, but sold it dear. While the king was employed in these precautions, the king of *Morocco* transported upwards of sixty

^k ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica general de Espana. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^l RAINALD. Epist. Benedict XII. ^m Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. ZURITA. Annal. Arragon. ⁿ ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS. ^o Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS. FARIA Y SOUSA. ^p Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ^q MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^r Chronica general de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ^s BRANDAON. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS.

a thousand men into *Spain*; and when the king of *Castile* had notice of this, he sent an embassy to Don *Alonso*, king of *Portugal*, to thank his father-in-law for the succours he had given him, and to let him know that he was desirous of turning the truce, which they had concluded, into a solemn peace, which was signed on the 10th of *July*. One of the articles was, that the king should permit Donna *Constantia*, the daughter of Don *Juan Emanuel*, to go into *Portugal*, to consummate her marriage with the Infant Don *Pedro*, to whom she had been espoused by proxy, some years before. When Don *Alonso* laid down the pen, after signing this treaty, Don *Juan Emanuel* seized his hand, and kissed it with great transport, assuring him he would never forget the obligation conferred upon him by this favour; and the king, to heighten it, gave him leave to conduct his daughter in person, and sent some of the greatest men in the kingdom to accompany him, and to be witnesses of the marriage^t.

ABUL-ASSAN, king of *Morocco*, arrived in the latter end of the summer; and having joined the army of the king of *Granada*, marched to invest *Tarefa*, in which was *Juan Alonso* invests *Tarefa* *de Benavides*, and came before it on the 23d of *September*. He immediately gave the king notice of the situation things were in, and prepared to make as good a defence as possible. The siege, however, was carried on with all imaginable vigour, and the place in great danger, when the garrison received fresh spirits from the appearance of the fleet of *Castile*, under the command of the new admiral Don *Alonzo Ortiz*, riding in the streights, by whom the daily supplies of provisions, which hitherto the *Moors* had received, were intercepted, and the besiegers reduced to the utmost distress. The face of things was quickly changed, a tempest dispersed the Christian fleet, and all, except three galleys, were lost, which plunged the garrison once more into deep distress. The king being informed of their circumstances, took a generous resolution of hazarding all for their relief. He sent the queen into *Portugal*, to procure what succours she could, from the king, her father; and that brave prince, as soon as the queen had informed him of the situation that her husband's affairs were in, resolved to march to his assistance with the whole force of his kingdom^u.

Don *Alonso* received him at *Seville* with all possible marks of gratitude, reverence, and friendship; and when the two armies had rested and refreshed themselves, they marched towards the enemy, being about eighteen or twenty thousand horse, and forty thousand foot. They arrived in sight of *Tarefa* on Sunday the 29th of *October*, and held it for a good omen, that they received intelligence of Don *Pedro de Moncado's* arrival in the streights, with the fleet of *Arragon*. In the night, the king threw a reinforcement of one thousand horse and four thousand foot into *Tarefa*; and the next morning, having made the necessary dispositions, and sent a strong detachment to join the *Portuguese*, he advanced to attack the king of *Morocco*, whilst the king of *Portugal* did the same against the king of *Granada*. The dispute was long and obstinate, more especially on the side of the king of *Castile*, but at length the *Moors* were defeated, with the loss of near half their army, amounting to two hundred thousand men. The king of *Granada* retired into his own dominions, with the broken remains of his forces; the king of *Morocco* retired first to *Algezira*, thence to *Gibraltar*, from whence he passed to *Ceuta* in the night; the two kings, after having provided for the security of *Tarefa*, went together to *Seville*, where prodigious rejoicings were made; the king of *Castile* offered his father-in-law all the prisoners and plunder that were taken, which he generously refused; and it was with great difficulty he was brought to accept a few of the principal prisoners, some very rich arms, and a few jewels. His son-in-law accompanied him two days journey, in his march towards *Estremos*. The king of *Castile*, from this time, as well out of gratitude as piety, conversed with Donna *Leonora de Guzman* no more, except in public, and as the mother of his children^v.

THE king, Don *Alonso*, sent an ambassador with his own standard, twenty-four horses richly caparisoned, and twenty-four *Moors* to lead them, as a present to the pope at *Avignon*^{*}. The king having summoned the states of his dominions, and having laid before them his wants, they, in consideration of his late victory, and the zeal expressed for them, and the good of his subjects, made him a tender of a large free gift, which he refused, and accepted only of a part, saying, that his own necessities forced him to take that, and the sense he had of theirs, to decline the rest. The king had formed a design of investing *Alcala de Benzayde*, a place of great importance to him, because the loss of it could not but be very sensible to the king of *Granada*, since it opened a passage into the heart of his dominions. By causing a report to be spread that he intended to attack *Malaga*, and ordering some of his ships to appear before it, he drew the king of *Granada's* forces on that side, which left him at liberty to invest

^t FARIA Y SOUSA. BRANDAON. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. FERRERAS. ^u BRANDAON. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno, par Don JUAN NUNEZ DE VILLASAN. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. ^v EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS. ^{*} RAINALD. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hisp. p. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET. MOD. HIST. VOL. VIII.

1341.

The king at length undertakes the important siege of Algezira.

Artillery used by the Moors in the defence of that place against the Castilians.

Remarkable circumstances during this siege, which attracted the eyes of all Europe.

Alcala without opposition. He had no sooner formed the siege, than Don *Gilles de Boccanegra*, brother to the duke of *Genoa*, arrived with a strong squadron of galleys in the straits, and prevented any troops passing from *Barbary*. The king of *Granada*, however, was reinforced by the best part of that corps, which his ally, the king of *Morocco*, had left at *Algezira*, and with these and with his own army he attempted to relieve *Alcala*, but in vain; upon which Don *Alonso*, having offered the garrison that they should march out and be escorted to whatever place they pleased, they very readily accepted these terms. While the king was employed in this siege, some of his generals reduced the castle of *Moclin*; and after the surrender of *Alcala*, the king made himself master of several places of less importance; which so alarmed the *Moorish* prince, that he offered to become his vassal again, and to pay him the accustomed tribute; to which Don *Alonso* added, that he should renounce his alliance with *Abul-Affan*, which he rejected, and thus the negotiation ended.^y

THE king found great difficulty in raising the supplies for the next year, and money was extremely necessary, as he had the *Genoese* and other foreigners in his pay, and therefore what he could not obtain from the states, he borrowed. The king of *Morocco* had made vast preparations, and seemed disposed to return once more into *Spain*. Don *Gilles de Boccanegra* sunk, burned, and took twelve of his galleys that lay in port; and being afterwards joined by ten galleys from *Portugal*, and the squadron of *Aragon*, attacked and beat the whole *Moorish* fleet with great loss.^z The king, notwithstanding he found some backwardness in the nobility, who were really tired out with the length and the hardships of the service, to rid himself once for all from the apprehensions he was under from *Barbary*, resolved to besiege *Algezira*, which, as he was informed, was at that time but indifferently provided: this equally amazed and chagrined the king of *Granada*, who endeavoured and found several methods of conveying succours into the place, which kept Don *Alonso* before it all the rest of the year. The *Moor* attempted likewise its relief, by negotiation and by force, but without effect. He likewise commissioned a *Moor* to make an attempt upon the king of *Castile's* person, which was happily discovered and prevented, the fellow, as he deserved, being put to death.^a

THERE are few instances in history of a more remarkable siege than this of *Algezira*, in which, on both sides, there was manifested all that human skill and courage could perform; the king of *Morocco* raised another great army, and assembled a vast fleet; but when he was ready to pass the straits, one of his sons revolted; and though he found means to have him killed, yet one of his adherents personated him and maintained a rebellion. The king of *Granada*, having received a part of the succours which his ally had promised, under the command of prince *Aly*, another of his sons, attempted over and over again to raise the siege, and ventured several actions, in which they were defeated by Don *Juan de Lara*. The besieged thundered upon the king's camp with cannon, which were here first employed, as all the *Spanish* historians agree.^b Besides this opposition from his enemies, Don *Alonso* found himself much straitened in other respects. He could not leave the siege to seek supplies, and his credit was gradually exhausted. At length he thought of a stratagem, which procured him those aids his subjects had refused to his fortitude in necessity. He sent his own plate, and that of the lords who were with him, to *Seville*, where he ordered it to be coined into pieces current, at a higher rate than the standard; of which the inhabitants in his great cities having notice, offered him a large free gift to desist from that expedient, which he willingly accepted.^c

THE pope and the *French* king likewise sent him large sums.^d The fame of this siege was so great, that Don *Philip*, king of *Navarre*, repaired thither with a great body of troops, and died in his return: several *English* and *French* men of quality, with considerable reinforcements, came thither, and served for a time; but the extreme length of the siege tired out all the strangers, and brought the king into fresh distresses for money, the *Genoese* threatening to return or to revolt if they were not paid.^e On the other hand, the king of *Granada* made a proposition to pay the whole expences of the war, if the king would raise the siege; and this, in effect, was a fresh distress, for his hungry troops importuned the king to close with these offers; but his good sense furnished him with an expedient to turn, even this, to his advantage; for he demanded three hundred thousand pistoles in gold, and granted a passport for a gally to go to *Centa* to receive them from the king of *Morocco*. This gally in her return, notwithstanding the king's passport, was attacked by the *Genoese*, but, however, escaped; but, instead of bringing the money, brought an order to hazard a battle, and to save the place

^y Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

^z ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno.

^a Chron. de los Moros de Espana.

ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS.

^b Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron.

de los Moros de Espana. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS.

^c ROD. SANTI Hist.

Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de Espana.

^d RAINALD. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. FERRERAS.

^e Historia de Royaume de Navarre. Chron. var. antiq. P. DANIEL. FERRERAS.

a at any rate. These orders were obeyed, and the *Moors* thoroughly beaten^f. Still the place held out, notwithstanding the port was blocked up, not only by a strong squadron, but by a kind of dyke, in spite of which one *Muza*, a *Moorish* seaman, at stated times when the nights were dark, passed with fifty small vessels that drew little water, and carried supplies of provisions; so that, notwithstanding the king's information was true, that their magazines were low at the beginning, yet they were, by this means, supplied, and the place remained in the hands of the *Moors* all this year^g.

At the beginning of the next the king discovered *Muza's* practice; and having made such alterations in his dyke as rendered it impossible for the future, of which *Abul-Affan* being informed, he directed the king of *Granada* to make the best terms for the garrison he could. ^{1343.} *Algezira at last rendered to Don Alonso by the kings of Morocco and Granada.*

b That prince proposed to Don *Alonso*, that the troops and inhabitants should have free leave to march out; that he would acknowledge himself his vassal, and pay the usual tribute; and that a truce should subsist for fifteen years; the king, to maintain his dignity, reduced the truce to ten years; and upon these terms the capitulation was signed on the twenty-sixth of *March*, when the plenipotentiaries of the king of *Granada* kissed Don *Alonso's* hand, in token of homage^h. The place was evacuated the next day, and Don *Juan Emanuel* entered it with a corps of troops, and the banner of *Castile* displayed, to the immortal honour of this great prince, and of his faithful nobility; by whose constancy, expressed in expending vast sums in his service, and by exposing their persons, this great conquest was attained. As soon as the king came to *Seville*, he ordered that the princesses, daughters of

c *Abul-Affan*, who were taken in that monarch's camp at the defeat of *Salcedo*, should be provided with most magnificent equipages, and sent them with a suitable train on board his own galleys to *Ceuta*, without ransom, and with all the rich jewels in their possession when taken. *Abul-Affan* was amazed at this act of generosity, and soon after sent an embassy to return the king of *Castile* thanks, and to testify his esteem by presents of jewels, rich arms, gold and silver stuffs, most exquisite balsams and perfumes, together with lions, tigers, ostriches, and a considerable number of camels and horsesⁱ. Soon after, Don *Alonso* received ambassadors

from *England* and from *Aragon*, the former in reference to a marriage, which he thought proper to defer, and the latter in regard to the alliance subsisting between the two crowns, which the king was content to renew for ten years^k.

d THE sovereignty of the *Canary* islands, held in vassalage from the holy see, by a tribute of four hundred pistoles a year, having been conferred by pope *Clement* the sixth on *Louis de la Cerda*, count of *Clermont* in *France*, son of Don *Alonso de la Cerda*, the king of *Castile*, at the request of the pope and of that young prince, desisted from his pretensions to them, as appears by his letters, dated *February* the eighteenth, which, however, proved of little service to this nominal monarch, notwithstanding that he procured the like renunciation from the king of *Portugal*^l. The king indeed was entirely occupied in finding ways and means to discharge the vast debts he had contracted during the tedious siege of *Algezira*, in pacifying the king of *Portugal*, who took it much amiss that he was not comprised in the peace he made with the kings of *Morocco* and *Granada*, and in protecting his sister the queen of *Aragon*^m.

e The kingdom of *Castile*, it is true, and the dominions annexed to it, enjoyed a profound peace, which, however, contributed very little to repair the losses sustained by the late war, since the inhabitants were afflicted with a grievous plague and other calamities these distresses created; which the king endeavoured to remedy to the utmost of his power, by several wise regulations, and by sparing them in the point of supplies as much as it was possible. He would in all probability have pursued this method of acting, at least, to the expiration of his truce with the *Moors*, if his ambition had not been awakened by an unforeseen event, which seemed to promise himself and his subjects very great advantagesⁿ. ^{1344.}

ONE of the sons of *Abul Affan*, forgetting the respect due to him by the laws of nature as well as civil society, had taken up arms against him, and thrown all that monarchy into con-

f fusion; of which Don *Alonso* was no sooner informed, than he conceived in his mind a scheme for turning these dissensions in *Barbary* to his advantage. He called, with this view, an assembly of the states at *Alcala de Henares*, where he laid before them the situation things were in, the probability there was of his making himself master of *Gibraltar*, the only place that monarch held in *Spain*; and thereby removing all fear of leaving his successors under the necessities of fighting for their crowns, on terms as precarious as those on which he fought the ^{1345.}

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^f Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. ALPHONSI a Cartagena reb. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. ^g ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ^h Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Chron. general de Espana. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ALPHONS. a Cartagena reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS. ⁱ ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Chronica general de Espana. RAINALD. ^k ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ^l BRANDAON. Chronica general de Espana. RAINALD. ^m ZURIT. Annal Arragon. P. DE ESPINOSA. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ⁿ Chronica general de Espana. FERRERAS, Historia de Espana.

^g ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ^h Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Chron. general de Espana. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ALPHONS. a Cartagena reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS. ⁱ ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Chronica general de Espana. RAINALD. ^k ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ^l BRANDAON. Chronica general de Espana. RAINALD. ^m ZURIT. Annal Arragon. P. DE ESPINOSA. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ⁿ Chronica general de Espana. FERRERAS, Historia de Espana.

^h Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. ALPHONS. a Cartagena reb. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. ⁱ ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ^k ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ^l BRANDAON. Chronica general de Espana. RAINALD. ^m ZURIT. Annal Arragon. P. DE ESPINOSA. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ⁿ Chronica general de Espana. FERRERAS, Historia de Espana.

battle of *Salsedo*. This assembly closed with the king's proposition, and granted him the supplies that he demanded, which, however, was chiefly owing to his dexterity in managing such assemblies, an art in which he has hardly been excelled. These points settled, he sent to demand of the king of *Arragon* a squadron of gallies, and ambassadors likewise to other foreign powers^o. About the beginning of the month of *August*, having intelligence that four *Arragonefe* gallies had joined his fleet, and that it was cruizing off *Gibraltar*, he traversed *Andalusia* with a potent army, and invested that place, round which he opened a large and deep trench.

Dies of the plague before that place, at the very time it was about to capitulate.

THE siege continued that whole year, notwithstanding the king was so fortunate, at least in appearance, as to see all his schemes take effect; for his fleet effectually prevented succours coming by sea; the king of *Granada* was afraid to attempt any thing openly, and the confusions in *Morocco* prevented that monarch from being able to do any thing for its relief. The garrison and inhabitants therefore being in want of provisions, and the fortifications in a manner ruined, began to think of a capitulation, when the plague broke out in the camp^p. The Infant (of *Arragon*) Don *Ferdinand*, his nephew Don *Juan Nunez de Lara*, who was always near his person, Don *Ferdinand Emanuel*, and other great lords, pressed him either to raise the siege, or at least to retire himself; but it was in vain: he observed to them that *Gibraltar* had been lost during his minority, that he was under a kind of obligation to recover it to his country, and that the plague might reach him in his court as well as in the camp. It may be, he had not considered, that though this enterprize had been very maturely concerted, and executed with great circumspection, yet it was a direct violation of the law of God, and of nature; and that, therefore, notwithstanding these favourable appearances, he had no reason to flatter himself with success. However it was, the plague seized him at that critical juncture, and of it he died on *Good-Friday, March* the 26th, exceedingly regretted by the army, and by all his subjects^q. His nephew the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, Don *Juan Nunez de Lara*, Don *Ferdinand Emanuel*, and some other noblemen, attended the king's body when it was removed from the camp, and the *Moors* in *Gibraltar* shewed, upon this occasion, a politeness that ought to have covered their enemies with confusion: they suspended hostilities that whole day, and refused to take advantage of that sorrow and confusion which reigned thro' the Christian camp. The king's body was carried first to *Seville*, and deposited in the royal chapel till it could be removed to *Cordova*, where, by his last testament, he desired to be buried with his father^r.

Don Pedro the cruel succeeds his father, and is governed by his mother and Don Juan de Albuquerque.

THE peace and glory of his country expired with Don *Alonso*. His successor, Don *Pedro*, furnished the *cruel*, was the only surviving son by the queen; for Don *Ferdinand* died in his infancy: but by Donna *Leonora de Guzman* he had *Sancho*, who was weak in his mind and infirm in his body; *Henry Frederick*, whom the *Spaniards* call *Fradrique Hernando* or *Ferdinand*, and *Tello*^s. At the time of his demise Don *Pedro* was in his sixteenth year; and tho' not a legal minor, yet absolutely governed by the queen his mother, and her favourite, Don *Juan Alonso de Albuquerque*. The siege of *Gibraltar* was carried on after the king's death, till orders could be received from court, and was then raised, though the place might have been easily taken^t. But the spirit of government was lost, and the spirit of intrigue occupied the court. Donna *Leonora de Guzman* retired immediately to *Medina Sidonia*, which the king had given her, which was well provided and excellently fortified. She had intrusted it to the care of Don *Alonso Coronel*, an experienced officer, who had long enjoyed her protection, and who, as soon as the king expired, sought that of the queen. Many persons of great distinction, and most of the nobility of the illustrious house of *Guzman*, resorted to Donna *Leonora*, which filled the court with apprehensions; these, however, it was thought proper to dissemble; and upon the faith of Don *Juan de Albuquerque*, and Don *Juan de Lara*, Donna *Leonora* was prevailed on to go to the court at *Seville*, where, without any ceremony or regard to their faith, she was clapped into prison^u. Her sons, notwithstanding this, were well received; and the king gave them to understand, that though he would not protect their mother, with whom he had no connections, yet he should always consider them as his brethren. They were permitted to visit Donna *Leonora*, who, in spite of the endeavours of the court, procured for Don *Henry*, Donna *Joanna*, the sister of Don *Ferdinand Emanuel*; which marriage so provoked the queen, that she gave orders for arresting Don *Henry*, but he made his escape into *Asturias*^v. The king falling ill soon after, increased those jealousies that were but too high already; and upon his recovery, Don *Juan de Lara* and Don *Ferdinand Emanuel* retired from court, and died soon after, the former at *Burgos*, and the latter at *Valena*^x.

^o ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ALONSO MORGADO. Chronica de los Moros de Espana.

^p Chron. var. antiq. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. FERRERAS. ^q ROD.

SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica general de Espana. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS.

^r ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^s Chronica del Rey Don

Pedro primero, &c. ^t Chron. general de Espana. FERRERAS. ^u Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de

Castilla. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. ^v Chronica del Rey Don Pedro primero, &c. ^x ROD. SANTI

Hist. Hispan. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS.

- a** THE king Don *Pedro* removed in the beginning of the year from *Seville*, and carried with him Donna *Leonora*, under a guard. He visited, however, his brother Don *Frederick*, and feasted with him several days. After this, the court removed to *Talavera*, where, by the persuasion of his mother, the king consented to the death of the unfortunate Donna *Leonora*, the first stain on the annals of his reign, which were afterwards wrote in blood. This place belonged to the dowager, and, to perpetuate the memory of this cruel act, is thought to have received the epithet of *Talavera de la Reyna*, which it still retains^y. Upon the king's arrival at *Burgos*, which city had shewn some dislike to Don *Juan de Albuquerque*, he sent for *Garcilassa de la Vega*, the son of the late chancellor; and, as soon as he came into his palace, caused him to be murdered, and his body thrown into the street: he attempted likewise to have got Don *Nunez de Lara*, the only son of Don *Juan*, and then a child, into his power, but without effect; however, he died soon after, and then he seized all the estates of that family^z. Don *Carlos*, surnamed the *wicked*, king of *Navarre*, made him a visit at *Burgos*, where he was well received, and after he had remained there some time, the two kings parted, perfectly pleased with each other^a. The states of *Castile*, assembled at *Valladolid*, were not very complaisant to the king, who, as soon as they rose, went with his mother to *Ciudad Rodrigo*, in order to confer with his grandfather the king of *Portugal*. That monarch gave them a great deal of good advice, and engaged, or rather obliged, the king to be reconciled to his brother Don *Henry* count of *Traстамара*^b, who had taken shelter in his dominions, and who, notwithstanding, had no great confidence in the king or his favourite. Consents, at their instigation, to the murder of Donna Leonora de Guzman.
- b** THE tranquility of *Castile* could be of no long duration, under a prince so much hurried away by his passions. He prepared to reduce Don *Alonso Fernandes Coronel*, and having dropt some expressions that alarmed his brethren the counts Don *Henry* and Don *Tello*, they retired privately from court, and stood upon their defence, fully persuaded, that if the king had them once in his power, they should never have such an opportunity again^c. The king Don *Pedro* followed them into *Biscay*, and took several places; and it was while he was thus employed, that Don *Juan Alonso de Albuquerque*, from a base ambition, and through an unworthy scheme of politicks, plunged this unfortunate prince in that fatal amour, which brought upon him destruction and disgrace. He had observed that the king had expressed some emotion at the sight of *Maria de Padilla*, a young gentlewoman who lived as a companion with his own wife, and who being now grown somewhat older, was become a perfect beauty. By proposals of promoting their interests, he drew her relations to consent to his scheme of her becoming the king's mistress, though he knew that the queen his mother was actually treating of a marriage for the king, with Donna *Blanca*, daughter to the duke of *Bourbon*. His scheme succeeded to his wish. The king saw Donna *Maria* at *Sabagun*, and became captivated to such a degree, that the common people of those times believed, and the bulk of the *Spanish* historians have reported, that he was bewitched by her^d (S). An excuse, which, however it might operate heretofore, will do nothing now. A. D. 1351.
- c** THE king Don *Pedro* followed them into *Biscay*, and took several places; and it was while he was thus employed, that Don *Juan Alonso de Albuquerque*, from a base ambition, and through an unworthy scheme of politicks, plunged this unfortunate prince in that fatal amour, which brought upon him destruction and disgrace. He had observed that the king had expressed some emotion at the sight of *Maria de Padilla*, a young gentlewoman who lived as a companion with his own wife, and who being now grown somewhat older, was become a perfect beauty. By proposals of promoting their interests, he drew her relations to consent to his scheme of her becoming the king's mistress, though he knew that the queen his mother was actually treating of a marriage for the king, with Donna *Blanca*, daughter to the duke of *Bourbon*. His scheme succeeded to his wish. The king saw Donna *Maria* at *Sabagun*, and became captivated to such a degree, that the common people of those times believed, and the bulk of the *Spanish* historians have reported, that he was bewitched by her^d (S). An excuse, which, however it might operate heretofore, will do nothing now. Becomes enamoured of Donna Maria de Padilla, which proves the ruin of his affairs.
- d** THE king saw Donna *Maria* at *Sabagun*, and became captivated to such a degree, that the common people of those times believed, and the bulk of the *Spanish* historians have reported, that he was bewitched by her^d (S). An excuse, which, however it might operate heretofore, will do nothing now. A. D. 1352.

THIS

^y *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla. Chronica general de Espana. FERRERAS.* ^z *MARIANA*^a *MAYERNE TURQUET.* ^a *Histoire de Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro primero, &c.* ^b *BRANDAON. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro primero, &c. FERRERAS.* ^c *FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. vi. sec. xiii. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala.* ^d *MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. xvi. c. 18. RAINALD. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv.*

(S) We shall have occasion to say so much of this lady, that it seems requisite to give the reader some particulars relating to her in a note, that he may be acquainted with her more particularly. She was of a good, though not of a great, family, and is by some writers represented as if educated according to the custom of those times, in the house of Don *Juan de Albuquerque*, rather than as an attendant on his lady (1). She was a little woman, but exquisitely beautiful, and was endowed with so many rare qualities, that, it is said, abating her criminal complaisance for the king, she was by no means unworthy of a crown (2). How far this complaisance was criminal, may, notwithstanding, admit of some question; since, after her demise, the king Don *Pedro* asserted, that he was lawfully married to her, in the presence of Don *Juan de Hinesfresa* her brother, Don *Diego Garcia de Padilla* his own chancellor, and his first chaplain (3). The two last were living at the time, and swore

it to be truth. We shall hereafter see, that this monarch made no scruple of marrying at any time to gratify his desires, and therefore might very possibly do it now, tho' it must be acknowledged that it was kept very secret; and when published by the king, and sworn to, it was very far from meeting with entire credit (4). The reader may meet with some very judicious and moral remarks upon the consequences of the king's ill conduct, in regard to this lady; the mean and low spirit of his courtiers, in paying her the most profound respect, and the generous freedom of cardinal *Albornoz*, who not only disdained such a behaviour, but both spoke and wrote freely to the king upon the subject, till he found himself in so great danger, that he thought it best to retire to *Avignon*, to be safe from the resentment of a monarch whose hands were already dipped in blood (5). The learned Mr. *Boyle* has vouchsafed this lady an article in his dictionary, which is drawn from the historian last

(1) *Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Pedro Lopez de Ayala. Histoire d'Espagne, par Mayerne Turquet.* (2) *Historia general de Espana, par Mariana, lib. xvi.* (3) *Pedro Lopez de Ayala.* (4) *Historia de Espana, por Ferreras, part viii. sect. xiv.* (5) *Hist. gen. de Espana, por Mariana, lib. xvi.*

Esposes Donna Blanca, daughter to Peter duke of Bourbon, flights and sends her to prison.

1353.

THIS intrigue did not hinder the king from pursuing his revenge against Don *Afonso Fernandez Coronel*, whom he besieged all the winter in his castle of *Aguilar*, took the place by storm, in the beginning of the spring, and put that nobleman and many of his relations to death^c. In the month of *February* Donna *Blanca* arrived in *Spain*, and was received by the queen dowager Donna *Maria*, and by the queen Donna *Leonora*, the king's aunt^f. Don *Juan de Albuquerque* was at that time in *Portugal*, but returned upon the first news of it to court; and finding that the kindred of Donna *Maria de Padilla* began to supplant him in the king's good graces, he applied himself with all imaginable diligence to persuade the king to go and consummate his marriage with Donna *Blanca* at *Valladolid*, in which he found more difficulty than he expected. But the relations of Donna *Maria de Padilla* prevailed upon him more easily to receive his brethren Don *Henry* and Don *Tello* into his favour, though each of them came attended with such a number of armed followers, as left them no reason to fear any thing from his displeasure. But as they gave out that they were not afraid of him, but of Don *Juan de Albuquerque*, he received this excuse, and behaved to them very kindly^g. At length, with much persuasion, he went to *Valladolid*, and in the presence of the two queens, and of all the princes of the royal blood, he espoused Donna *Blanca*, but left her abruptly the next day, to return to his mistress^h. Don *Juan de Albuquerque* retired in discontent from court, and refused to go towards *Toledo*, as the king directed. As soon as Don *Pedro* was informed of this, he quitted that city, and returned to *Valladolid*, where he staid two days with the three queens, which was the last time he saw his consort Donna *Blanca*ⁱ. He proceeded from thence to *Olmedo*, to his mistress, and sent for Don *Juan de Albuquerque* thither, under pretence of a reconciliation; but, in reality, with a design to cut him off with his principal adherents. Donna *Maria de Padilla*, having some connections with these lords, gave them notice of the king's design, upon which, not without danger and difficulty, they retired into *Portugal*. The king was no sooner informed of this, than he shut up his queen Donna *Blanca* in prison, married his brother Don *Tello* to Donna *Joanna de Lara*, the heiress of that family, and removed from all their employments the creatures of Don *Juan de Albuquerque*^k. And thus, for the present, the court of *Castile* received quite a new face.

Causes himself to be divorced, marries Donna Joanna Fernandez de Castro, and leaves her.

1354.

THE king, understanding that Don *Juan Nunez de Prada*, grand master of the order of *Calatrava*, was retired into *Aragon*, he wrote to him in the strongest terms, assuring him he had nothing to fear, upon which that lord returned into *Castile*. On his arrival at *Almagro*, the king caused him to be seized, and ordered him to renounce his dignity; and then compelled the knights to elect Don *Diego de Padilla*, brother of his mistress; but understanding that the knights were not mighty well satisfied with a renunciation, he, to prevent their restoring the old grand master, directed him to be murdered; one of the foulest actions of his whole reign^l. He next took it into his head to make his addresses to Donna *Joanna Fernandes de Castro*, the widow of Don *Diego de Haro*; and finding no other way to gratify his desires, he prevailed upon two of his bishops to declare his former marriage null, and then married Donna *Joanna* publickly. He left her, however, almost as soon as he had done his former queen; and understanding that his two brothers had entered into a league with Don *Juan de Albuquerque*, he married Donna *Isabella*, younger sister to Donna *Joanna de Lara*, to Don *Juan of Aragon*, and declared him lord of *Biscay*, in prejudice to his brother Don *Tello*, who had married the eldest sister^m. The king then ordered Donna *Blanca* to be removed to *Toledo*, where, having humbly desired leave to perform her devotions in the cathedral, she refused to come out of it, and by a very moving speech induced the inhabitants to revolt in her favourⁿ. Don *Henry*, count of *Trastamara*, with the rest of the confederates, repaired thither, and began to take the best measures they were able for reducing the king to reason, in which they were not a little disappointed by the death of Don *Juan de Albuquerque*, who was poisoned by an *Italian* physician. Their party, however, by degrees, became so strong, that the king found himself obliged to come to them to *Toro*, where he consented to all that they asked, and dissembled

^c Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala.
del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla. FERRERAS.
MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET.
del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. MARIANA.
RITA Annal. Aragon FERRERAS.
general de Espana. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.
de Ayala.

^f ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan.

^g Chron.

^h Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala.

ⁱ FERRERAS. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

^k Chronica

^l ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ZU-

^m Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. Chronica

ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ

mentioned; and she also occupied the first place in a celebrated history of royal mistresses, where, if not accurately, her story is at least elegantly told (6). She was absolutely mistress of the king's heart for nine years; and he was so much afflicted with her death, that he had

almost lost his senses (7). Her uncle became his principal favourite; and he committed acts of the greatest violence and injustice, in order to bestow upon her two brothers, Don *Diego* and Don *Juan*, the grand master-ships of *Calatrava* and *St. James*.

(6) *Histoire des Favouritees, premiere partie.*

(7) *Ayala, Mariana, Ferreras, &c.*

a with such address, that he deceived not only them, but the pope's legate; but having in the mean time, by a secret treaty, detached some of the members of the league, he took the advantage of a thick fog, and withdrawing out of their hands, retired to *Segovia*^o; a circumstance that alarmed those whom he left behind, and who knew his implacable and sanguinary temper.

THE princes who remained firm in the confederacy, were the king's three brothers, Don *Henry* count of *Traстамара*, the grand master Don *Frederick*, and Don *Tello*, lord of *Biscay*, The city of Toledo, which had declared for queen Blanca, reduced by the king. in right of his wife, with Don *Ferdinand de Castro*, brother to the lady whom the king had abused, under pretence of marriage, and who had himself espoused the sister of those princes. But the Infants of *Arragon*, who were likewise of this league, now followed the king; who b having artfully drawn from the states at *Burgos* considerable supplies, took the field with a good army, and upon various pretences cut off several great lords, whom he suspected. At length he made an attempt upon *Toro*, where the queen his mother was, under the protection of the count Don *Henry*, by whose valour and prudence the king's army was repulsed^p. Don *Pedro*, disappointed and provoked, marched with all possible diligence towards *Toledo*, sending word before him, that, yielding to the prayers of his people, he resolved to live with the queen Donna *Blanca* as became him. The count Don *Henry* marched thither also, with such expedition, that he got into the city; yet the greater part of the inhabitants, confiding in the king's promises, received the king's troops also, and the count finding himself obliged to retire, took his measures with such address, that having seized and plundered the king's camp, c he returned with credit to *Talavera*^q. The king no sooner found himself master of the place, than he sent the queen Donna *Blanca* prisoner to *Sigüenza*, caused several noblemen to be beheaded, and twenty-two of the principal inhabitants to be hanged. Amongst other severities, he thought fit to imprison the bishop of *Sigüenza*; which so irritated the pope, that he sent word to his legate to excommunicate him, and put all the places in his obedience under an interdict. Don *Pedro*, notwithstanding, made another attempt upon *Toro*; and, after all that had passed, amused the cardinal legate with such fair promises, that he absolved him from the excommunication, and took off the interdict; but being quickly undeceived, he had recourse to these ecclesiastical thunders again^r. It does not appear, that, except their temporal consequences, the king heeded them much.

d THE king having reduced his mother, and those who adhered to her in *Toro*, to great extremities, and having found means to draw off his brother the grand master Don *Frederick*, 1355. Makes himself master of Toro, and of the person of the queen-mother and her adherents. became at length master of the place; the queen dowager Donna *Maria* retiring to the *Alcazal*, with Donna *Joanna*, the wife of Don *Henry* count of *Traстамара*, and most of the nobility repaired thither likewise. As the place could not hold out long, she sent in the most humble manner to her son, to desire he would promise life to her, and those who were with her; which he refused, and they were compelled to surrender at discretion. They were no sooner in the king's power, than he ordered most of the nobility to be put to death in the presence of the queen dowager, who fainting at so barbarous a spectacle, was carried back senseless to the palace^s. Amongst so many acts of cruelty, there was one which had an air e of generosity: there was in the place one *Martin Abarca*, a nobleman of *Arragon*, to whom the king Don *Alonso* had committed the care of Don *Juan*, a son of his by *Leonora de Guzman*. He sent to the king from the place where he was concealed, and desired him to spare the life of Don *Juan* and of himself. The king answered, that if he produced Don *Juan* immediately, that prince should be saved; but that his own death was a thing settled. The generous old man brought his pupil instantly to the king, to whom, having recommended him in the most pathetic manner, he offered himself to die; upon which the king told him, that it was his intention he should live and enjoy his favour^t. He thought fit, however, to proscribe his brothers, Don *Frederick* and Don *Tello*, and some attempts were made to assassinate them; but people were become now so much afraid of him, and trusted so little to his promises, that he was not able to accomplish his bloody purposes so easily as he had formerly done. He gave Don *Henry* count of *Traстамара* leave to retire into *France*, but posted murderers upon the roads through which he was to pass; but being well accompanied, he retired safely, though not without difficulty, out of his dominions. This year a war broke out between him and Don *Pedro* of *Arragon*, about a dispute at sea, which had very bad consequences^u (T). By which we may discern how early princes began to be jealous of the slightest injuries offered to their dominion of the sea.

THE

^o FERRERAS. ^p ROD. SANTII Hist Hispan. part iv. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^q Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. ^r RAINALD. MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^s Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^t Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla. FERRERAS. ^u Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

(T) The king, Don *Pedro*, having embarked at *Port St. Mary's*, was amusing himself with the sight of his subjects fishing for tunnies, when a squadron of ten gallees belonging to the king of *Arragon*, commanded by Don

The wife of
Don Henry
rescued, and
carried to her
husband by
Pedro de
Carillo.

1357.

The king causes
his brother,
Don Freder-
rick, and his
cousin, Don
Juan de Ar-
ragon, to be
murdered.

THE war with *Arragon* brought back the count of *Trastamara* into that prince's dominions, ^a who employed him in his service, and gave him considerable appointments. Don *Pedro* of *Castile*, however, gained some advantages this campaign, and might have obtained greater, if he had not laboured to corrupt the views of his two generals Don *Juan de la Cerdà*, and Don *Alvaro Perez de Guzman*, which induced them to revolt; when the latter, being defeated and taken, the king caused him to be presently put to death. The pope's legate obtained a truce, which the king of *Castile* speedily broke; and, as if he had been afraid to leave a single good action upon record, finding *Martin Abarca*, whom he had suffered to return home, in one of the places he took, he caused him to be put to death ^w. His brother Don *Henry*, being under continual apprehensions that he would put his wife Donna *Joanna Emanuel*, whom he had taken at *Toro*, to death, one *Pedro Carillo*, who had been long in his service, and ^b unable to bear his master's passionate complaints, left him, and went to the king. He told that prince, that he had been extremely ill used by the count; that he was well acquainted with many others who had personal resentments against him; and that if he would give him leave to raise a troop of these, he would put his brother into his hands, either dead or alive. The king accepted the proposition with joy; upon which *Pedro Carillo* assembled at his expence a strong body of horse, composed of gentlemen well affected to his master, with which entering *Toro* suddenly, he took Donna *Joanna* out of prison, and carried her safe to her lord ^x. Don *Ferdinand*, Infant of *Arragon*, about the same time reconciled himself to his brother ^y; so that Don *Pedro* had various causes of chagrin.

As nothing irritated this prince so much as the escapes of those whom he had destined to ^c destruction, so having still about him Don *Juan* of *Arragon*, the brother of Don *Ferdinand*, and his own two brothers Don *Frederick* and Don *Tello*, he resolved to dispatch them all by degrees, and to make use of them in dispatching each other. He resolved to begin with his brother Don *Frederick*, the grand master, with which he acquainted the Infant Don *Juan* of *Arragon*; whom, in consideration of his assisting his designs, he promised to make lord of *Biscay*. His brother was slain in his presence, on the 27th of *May*, in the hall of his palace at *Seville*, and he afterwards dined in the very room, before the body was removed ^z. He directed also several other lords to be killed the same day; and afterwards set out with his cousin Don *Juan* of *Arragon* for the castle of *Aguilar*, where he had determined to treat his brother Don *Tello* in the same manner; nor was he a little chagrined at finding he was ^d withdrawn; however, he secured his wife, and, to shew how much he was in earnest in this pursuit, understanding that his brother had fled by sea, he went on board a ship, in order to follow him; but a storm obliged him quickly to return ^a. He then proceeded in his journey to *Biscay*, and carried his cousin Don *Juan* with him, who, having acted in all things as the creature of his will, pressed him to perform his promise of making him lord of that country. The king gave him to understand, that it was necessary to assemble the states of that country for that purpose; which being done, they resolved, according to the instructions they had received, that they would never have any other lord than the king himself. Don *Pedro* sent intelligence of this to his cousin, and assured him, that he was very sorry for this disappointment. Don *Juan* understood him too well to pay any respect to the message, and therefore retired ^e from court; yet he suffered himself to be deceived by a second, in which he gave him to understand, that he would endeavour to persuade the states to admit of his renunciation in his favour. Don *Juan* went to meet the king at *Bilboa*, where he then was; and, as soon as he entered the audience chamber, and paid his respects to him, a person behind knocked him down, while those about him stabbed him in many places; some say the king gave him his mortal wound with a javelin. However this might be, the body was presently thrown out

^w ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chron. del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. RAINALD. FERRERAS.

^x ZURIT. Annal Arragon. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^y Chron. general de Espana. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chron. var. antig. ^z Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^a Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

Don *Francisco Carrillos*, came upon the coast, and took two vessels under *Pisan* colours, but freighted by the *Genoise* with oil for *Alexandria*. As this was done in the very sight of the king, he sent two persons of distinction to let Don *Francisco* know, that those vessels were under his protection at the time they were taken, and that therefore he expected they should be discharged. Don *Francisco* answered, that, his master being at war with the *Genoise*, he took them to be good prizes, and therefore sold them without delay. Don *Pedro*, upon this, seized the effects of the *Catalan* merchants at *Seville* by way of satisfaction. He sent also an ambassador to the king of *Arragon*, to demand that Don *Francisco* should be put to death, or sent prisoner into *Castile*.

The king of *Arragon* answered very mildly, that he disapproved his admiral's conduct, and that he would call him to an account for it, upon his return. The ambassador of *Castile*, who, probably, had secret instructions, replied, that his master would take a proper satisfaction by force of arms. The monarch of *Arragon* told him, in return, that he saw no ground for a breach between the two crowns; but that, if he was attacked, he would repel force by force, and trust the decision of the cause to the Supreme Being, who is the sovereign distributor of justice. Upon these grounds the war began, which *Mariana* describes as bringing desolation and destruction on both kingdoms.

a of a window, from whence the king looked out and insulted it, in the hearing of the people who gathered about it^b. His aunt, queen *Leonora*, and the wife of Don *Tello*, he shut up in prison, seizing upon all they had; but in the mean time his brother, the count Don *Henry*, with the army of *Arragon*, took several places on the frontiers, while the king, in order to revenge himself, caused a potent fleet to be equipped at *Seville*^c, to ravage the coasts. 1358.

At the opening of the ensuing year, the pope sent a legate into *Spain*, to accommodate these differences between the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*. Don *Pedro* received that prelate with all the marks of deference and respect imaginable; complained of exceeding ill usage he had met with from the king his neighbour; notwithstanding which, out of pure regard to his holiness, he was ready to make peace upon the most moderate terms; such as, that the king of *Arragon* should deliver up to him Don *Francisco Perellos*, with whom he had reason to be offended; should banish his brothers and all the *Castilians* in his service; should restore *Alicant*, *Oribuela*, and other places, that formerly belonged to *Castile*, and pay him half a million of pieces of gold for the expences of the war. The cardinal reported these terms to the king of *Arragon*, and laboured to soften their resentments against each other, but to very little purpose^d. As soon as the fleet at *Seville* was ready, Don *Pedro*, to shew how much he was inclined to peace, proclaimed Don *Ferdinand*, Infant of *Arragon*, Don *Henry* count of *Trastamara*, and their adherents, traitors; and that his resentment might not seem to be confined to words only, he ordered his aunt, the queen dowager of *Arragon*, Donna *Leonora*, to be put to death, and caused Donna *Isabella*, the widow of the Infant Don *John* of *Arragon*, to be poisoned^e. He went afterwards to spread desolation with his fleets on the coast of *Catalonia*; but while he was thus employed, his brother, the count Don *Henry*, made an irruption into his territories, gained a complete victory, and killed his favourite Don *Juan Fernandez Hinesrosa*, who was uncle to Donna *Maria de Padilla*, who was this year brought to-bed of her son Don *Alonso*^f, whom his father afterwards procured to be owned by the states for the lawful heir to the crown. 1359.

Don *Pedro*, though he could not repair the loss of the last battle, yet revenged it upon such of his subjects as were in the interests of his brethren, or whom he so much as suspected of being so. The many examples he made in this way so frightened the most considerable persons in his dominions, that many, merely out of fear, went and joined the count Don *Henry*, and others retired into *Portugal*, where the king gave them a good reception; but after having in vain endeavoured to reconcile his neighbours, at length took part with the king of *Arragon*, as the more reasonable^g. The king Don *Pedro* had a good army in the field, which gave him an opportunity of gratifying his resentments, which he did in many instances; but it happens fortunately for us, that the nature of this history does not oblige us to give an exact catalogue of his murders. We are, however, compelled to take notice, that in his march towards *Najara*, where his brother the count Don *Henry* was with his army, a priest very earnestly desired audience of him, which, when he had obtained, he told him that St. *Dominick* had commanded him in his sleep to admonish him to beware of his brother Don *Henry*, by whose hands he should certainly fall. The king was at first a little surprized; but having recollected himself, ordered the priest to be burnt alive, which was done; and soon after the king lost the opportunity of reducing his brother, who had shut himself up in *Najara*, when it was actually in his power^h. Towards the close of the year, he entered into a negotiation with the king of *Portugal*, whom he secretly advised, that as the persons who had taken shelter in his dominions were men who had given him great offence, he would, upon putting them into his power, deliver up those who had taken refuge in *Castile*, for putting to death *Agnes de Castro*, the king of *Portugal*'s wife, in his father's life-time, and by his orders. This was soon accepted, and punctually performed on both sides; in consequence of which, most dismal slaughters ensued: amongst these was *Samuel Levi*, a Jew, who had been his treasurer during the whole reign of Don *Pedro*. It does not appear that he suffered for any other crime than that of being rich; and that the king might have an opportunity of possessing himself of about 160,000 pistoles in gold, and upwards of 4,000,000 in silver. It is probable he had obtained still more, if, in the midst of those tortures, employed to force from him a discovery, this miserable man had not died sooner than Don *Pedro* expectedⁱ; at least this the king's unextinguished avarice tempted him to believe. A.D. 1360.

MOHAMMED BARBAROSSA, who had raised himself to the throne of *Granada*, having, in consequence of a league made with the king of *Arragon*, invaded the territories of *Castile*, 1361.

^b Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^c ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla. ^d RAINALD. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. FERRERAS. ^e Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^f ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. ^g BRANDAON. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. FERRERAS. ^h Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. MARIANA. ⁱ EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. Chron. general de Espana. FERRERAS.

aims at assassinating Don Henry.

A. D. 1561.

His forces defeated by the Moors before the town of Cadiz, with great loss.

Don *Pedro*, whose passions made him frequently take sudden and strange resolutions, concluded, by the interposition of the pope's legate, a peace with the king of *Arragon*, that he might be at liberty to revenge himself upon the *Moors* of *Granada*^k. About this time, the king, from what particular motive does not appear, ordered his beautiful, but unfortunate, wife, Donna *Blanca*, to be put to death, in the fortress of *Xerez*, where she had been long confined (U). The governor excused himself from obeying the order; but the king sent another person who fulfilled his intentions, as some say, by poison^l. In the mean time, Don *Henry*, count of *Traстамара*, and his associates, found themselves constrained to retire once more into *France*, which they did, however, with the less regret, because they discovered that the king of *Arragon* had actually been taking measures to raise his brother the Infant Don *Ferdinand* to the throne of *Castile*, who, for that important service, was to make him a cession of the kingdom of *Murcia*. This treaty, however, was not extremely well performed on either side; but as hostilities ceased, Don *Pedro* of *Castile* made the use he intended of it, and engaged in a war with the *Moors* of *Granada*, which was managed with indifferent success. This year, and but a short time after the queen, deceased Donna *Maria de Padilla*, leaving a son Don *Alonso*, and three daughters, Donna *Beatrix*, Donna *Constantia*, and Donna *Isabella*, by the king Don *Pedro*, who is said to have expressed great sorrow for her death^m. But his subjects were far from looking upon this event as a calamity.

In the month of *January*, the king of *Castile* ordered the grand master of *Calatrava*, accompanied by Don *Henry Henriquez*, and some other old officers, with 1000 horse, and 2000 foot, to surprize *Cadiz*, which, though a place of so great importance to the king of *Granada*, was according to his intelligence but indifferently guarded. Artifices of this kind were familiar to the *Moors*; the army of *Castile* advanced near the place without discovering an enemy; a small party was detached to the very suburbs of the city to gain intelligence, a more considerable body followed to support them; the first saw no troops, the latter retired from an apprehension of an ambuscade, without being pursued. This proceeding was too fine for the Christian generals; they concluded the city to be defenceless and secure, upon which, they sent off detachments to plunder the country on every side. As soon as those detachments were at a considerable distance, a small detachment of *Moorish* horse came out of the city, and skirmished with the like number of Christians, who passed the bridge for that purpose. By degrees the *Moors* grew stronger, the remains of the army under the command of the generals, were obliged to engage to bring off their friends. It was then that they saw their ruin plainly; a great body of *Moors*, having passed the river, attacked them in the rear, and the Christians being surrounded, were very speedily defeated, the grand master, Don *Henry*, and most of the chief commanders taken prisonersⁿ. Guilt is never secure: *Mohammed Barbarossa* had usurped the crown of *Granada* from his master, who, to save his life, had retired to *Ronda*, and therefore this victory, instead of rejoicing, alarmed him. He knew that the king of *Castile* was equally impetuous and obstinate: he was sensible he had provoked him, and he was conscious of his superiority. He acted, however, very prudently in this critical situation; he understood that the grand master and Don *Henry* were the king's principal favourites; he set them at liberty without ransom, he sent by them magnificent presents to Don *Pedro*, and he desired them to mediate a peace^o.

^k RAINALD. Chron. del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. ZURITA. Annal Arragon. ^l Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. ^m ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. FERRERAS. ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ^o Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. FERRERAS.

(U) We are told by some historians, that the murder of the unhappy queen was the fruits of another extraordinary adventure. The king, Don *Pedro*, being one day hunting, a rustic, who made a most rueful appearance, came up to him, and admonished him to desist from persecuting so religious and virtuous princess, and live with her as he ought to do, if he meant to escape the heavy vengeance of God. Upon this the king ordered the man to be seized, and thrown into a dungeon, while some of his creatures were ordered to make a strict enquiry, whether the queen had not some hand in sending this messenger; but, being satisfied that this conjecture was groundless, he ordered the peasant to be set at liberty, whether from his imprisonment only, or from all the miseries of this life, is not very clear; for it is asserted, that the man was never seen afterwards: he judged from hence, that his ill usage of the queen, having raised her many friends, and him as many enemies, the most effectual method to prevent any future

attempts in her favour was to remove her out of the world; and, having entrusted a physician with this commission, he went to the place where she was confined, and dispatched her with a dose of poison. The *Spanish* historians seem to make a point of rendering that justice to the queen which her husband refused her: they represent her as the best princess that ever sat upon the *Spanish* throne; and the elequent *Mariana* is more eloquent than usual in deploring her misfortunes, which he observes began with her marriage, and ended with her life. Donna *Maria de Padilla* did not survive her many weeks; and the son which the king had by her followed her to the grave soon after. It may be, that authors are too bold in affirming these were the judgments of God upon the king for the unjust treatment of so good a princess; but it may be very true history, that this was the current opinion at the time, and in that light very well deserved to be recorded.

- a ALL this, however, had no effect; Don *Pedro* carried on the war with such fierceness, that Mohammed at length *Mohammed Barbarossa* resolved to go in person to *Seville*, and submit himself to a prince, whom he found it not in his power to resist. He demanded and received a safe conduct for this purpose, and then executed his design. Don *Pedro* received him with all the kindness and affability imaginable, and ordered one of the principal lords of his court to make a great feast for his new vassal. But being informed that *Mohammed* had brought with him great treasures, and that those who attended him had very rich jewels, he caused them to be seized at that feast; and, having mounted the king of *Granada* upon an ass, sent them out into a public place with a herald, proclaiming before them, that the king of *Castile* had condemned them to be put to death, as traitors against their lawful sovereign^p. Some say that Don *Pedro* with his own hands gave the king of *Granada* a mortal wound, and afterwards cut off his head^q. However that may be, it is universally confessed, that this unfortunate monarch, with thirty-seven of the principal persons in his court, were there slain, in breach of public faith, and spoiled of all their wealth (W). After this, the head of *Mohammed Barbarossa* being fixed upon a pole, he sent it to *Mohammed Yago*, at *Ronda*, advising him to go back to *Granada*, and resume the government, which he accordingly did; the *Moors* being so terrified at this action, that they received him without hesitation^r.
- b THE king of *Castile* soon after called an assembly of the states at *Seville*, where he declared to them, that he was lawfully married to Donna *Maria de Padilla*, before he espoused any other woman, in the presence of four witnesses, of whom her uncle *Hinestroza* was deceased, but the rest were living, whom he accordingly produced; and these were the grand master of *Calatrava*, Donna *Maria's* brother, his own chancellor, and his own chaplain, who swore what the king had said was true; upon which Don *Alonso* was acknowledged for the king's successor, and his three sisters in case of his demise, according to the ordinary rules of succession^s. He proceeded from thence to *Soria*, where he had solicited Don *Carlos*, king of *Navarre*, to meet him. Don *Pedro* entertained that prince, not only with all the splendour and magnificence, but with all the kindness and respect imaginable. One day, however, after dinner, Don *Pedro* took the king of *Navarre* aside, and told him, that having revenged himself on the king of *Granada*, for hindering that vengeance he would otherwise have taken of the king of *Aragon*, he found himself now at liberty to chastise that monarch to the utmost, in which he hoped he would not refuse him his assistance. Instead of observing that the peace still continued, or that himself had no quarrel against that king, Don *Carlos* approved of all, and promised his concurrence; the fate of the king of *Granada* was fresh in his mind, and the sight of the king of *Castile's* troops, of whom the town was full, would not suffer him to recollect any scruples, so that they parted very good friends^t. The war began the same year, and being made by surprize, Don *Pedro* of *Castile* gained some considerable advantages; the king of *Aragon*, on the other hand, recalled the count of *Trastamara*, and the followers of his fortune^u. On the eighth of *October* died Don *Alonso*, whom his father Don *Pedro* had declared his successor, upon which that monarch made his will, under an apprehension that his grief might cost him his life^v; but at the same time he made all imaginable preparations for carrying on the next campaign with vigour. In order to this, he not only pressed the kings of *Portugal*, *Granada*, and *Navarre*, to send troops and ships to his assistance, but entered likewise into an alliance with *Edward* the third of *England*, the terms of which were settled with his son *Edward* the black prince^x.
- c THE king of *Aragon*, though he paid great respect to Don *Henry*, count of *Trastamara*, yet he secretly revived his design of raising his brother, the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, to the throne of *Castile*.

^p Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^q FERRERAS. ^r Chronica de los Moros de Espana. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^s Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. ^t Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Castilla. ^u ZURIT. Annal Arragon. FERRERAS. ^v Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ. ^x BARNES's Life of Edward III. BRANDAON. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. FERRERAS.

(W) The death of *Mohammed* king of *Granada* was attended with so many aggravating circumstances, and carried in it such pregnant marks of barbarity, that one cannot easily conceive Don *Pedro* could hope to ward off any part of the shame that ought to attend such a glaring breach of hospitality, and a violation so apparent of public faith. Yet, in consequence of his being long practised in such mysterious and bloody expedients, he formed a scheme of setting this atrocious act in so plausible a light, that some well-meaning people have been deceived by it. He pretended that *Mohammed* had usurped the crown of *Granada*, and therefore was a fit object for public justice, which was executed upon him, and his adherents; not, indeed, according to the ordinary forms, to which usurpers have no title, because

it would be unjust to allow the benefit of laws to those who have taken the benefit of them from others. There would, indeed, have been great weight in this, if *Mohammed* had fallen into his hands as a prisoner of war; but as he knew who he was, and what he was, before he granted him a safe conduct, as he had received his homage and his presents, and taken him into his protection, these arguments were of no weight at all. Besides, avarice and cruelty were the natural vices of this monarch, both of which were gratified in this foul action; and therefore it is the duty of an impartial historian to discover the fallacy, and to shew that these pretended motives of justice were, in fact, the colours only which this cunning prince invented after the fact, to cover the most crying of all crimes.

Arragon cruelly murdered by his brother.

throne of *Castile*; which coming to take air, most of the exiles quitted the count Don *Henry*,^a and adhered to the Infant; and amongst these deserters were his own brethren, which occasioned no little discord. It is not at all unlikely, that this scheme was divulged, in order to promote a peace. Don *Pedro*, through the pope's legate, expressed himself not averse to it; and the plan, upon which he offered to treat, was this: he was willing to espouse Donna *Joanna*, the king of *Arragon*'s daughter, and to give his own daughter, Donna *Beatrix*, to the Infant Don *Juan*, son and heir of the king of *Arragon*; but, previous to these measures and some others, he expected that the king of *Arragon* should oblige him so far as to put his own brother, together with three or four of his brethren, who were at the court of *Arragon*, to death, without delay^y. At this, that monarch did not much hesitate, though it may be doubted whether he was in earnest or not; however, his brother Don *Ferdinand* being exceedingly alarmed, excited a mutiny among the *Castilians* who were about him, and Don *Henry*, count of *Trastamara*, desired leave to retire into *France*. In this confusion, the king of *Arragon* ordered his brother, the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, to be arrested, who, resenting this usage, and endeavouring to defend himself, was slain^z. In the midst of these troubles, Don *Pedro* had a son born by one of his mistresses, whom, upon this event, he determined to marry, and therefore broke off the treaty^a.

Confederacy between the kings of Arragon, Navarre, and the count Don Henry.

ALL the *Castilians* who were in exile, uniting with zeal, under the count Don *Henry*, in whom lay all their hopes, the king of *Arragon* was forced to treat him with much respect. At the same time, advancing towards the frontiers of his dominions, he had a private interview with the king of *Navarre*, who had hitherto acted in favour of *Castile* from constraint. They agreed to set up the count Don *Henry*, and pull down his brother; but, at the same time, resolved that the king of *Navarre* should have *Biscay* and *Castile* for his share, the king of *Arragon* the realms of *Murcia* and *Toledo*, and that count *Henry* might keep the rest if he could^b. In order to bring this fine project to bear, a new interview was appointed at the castle of *Sos*, on the frontiers of *Navarre*, to which the count Don *Henry* was invited, in order to communicate to him so much of their scheme as might induce him to assist in the execution of it. The count consented to the interview, but upon condition that the castle was put into the hands of Don *Juan Ramirez de Arellano*, as not caring to trust himself to the good faith of those monarchs. This was agreed to, Don *Juan* put into possession of the place, which he garrisoned with his own vassals, and then the two kings and the count Don *Henry* repaired thither, with a very few domesticks^c. While the conference lasted, the monarchs of *Arragon* and *Navarre* proposed to Don *Juan* the massacring the count Don *Henry* and all his forces, which that nobleman rejected, with equal firmness and contempt; so that, in the end, they found it their interest to treat the count of *Trastamara* on the footing of an equal, and as a prince whom they meant to assist in becoming king of *Castile*. That prince discovering soon after the plots that had been formed against him, took a sudden resolution to quit *Spain*; but the king of *Arragon*, with some difficulty, pacified him, and made a new treaty, to the performance of which both parties swore, in the presence of the archbishop of *Tarragona*^d. But it was, notwithstanding, but indifferently kept.

1363.

An army brought out of France by Bertrand du Guesclin, and others.

1364.

THE next year was full of events of the same kind, and of treasons and murders; which, relating more particularly to the affairs of *Arragon*, belong to another place. We must, however, take notice, that Don *Tello* betrayed his brother and the king of *Arragon* to the king of *Castile*, who still carried on the war with great vigour and success, both by land and sea^e. As the king of *Arragon* saw clearly, that, in the course of this war, he was in great danger of losing his dominions, or at least a great part of them, unless the scheme of deposing Don *Pedro* of *Castile* actually took effect, he began the next year to turn his thoughts that way in earnest, and Providence furnished the means of chastising that barbarous prince. There were at that time in *France* upwards of 20,000 veteran troops, who had served against the *English*, and, from being the defenders, were now become the terrors of that country. These, by the assistance of the king of *Arragon*, the count Don *Henry* took into his pay. Under the command of the famous *Bertrand de Guesclin*, and *John de Bourbon*, count of *la Marche*, they began their march for *Catalonia*, and brought with them likewise some of their old enemies, the *English*, under several officers of note; for their common wants had made them very good friends, and their business in *Spain* was to get money^f.

1365.

The count Don Henry advances to Calahorra, and

THESE forces were no sooner arrived and reviewed, but Don *Henry*, count of *Trastamara*, entered *Castile*, and summoned the town of *Calahorra*, which immediately opened its gates. As soon as he was in the town, by the advice of *Bertrand du Guesclin*, he caused himself to

^y RAINALD. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chron del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. ^z ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ^a ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. RAINALD. ^b Histoire de Royaume de Navarre. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ^c MARIANA. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^d ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Hist. du Royaume de Navarre. Chron. del Rey Don Pedro de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. ^e ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chron. var. antiq. ^f P. DANIEL Histoire de France. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

a be proclaimed king, and then began his march directly towards *Burgos*, where his brother *Don Pedro* then was^e. The nobility and people solicited that prince, who had a numerous army, not to stir, assuring him of their fidelity; but he told them, that he knew his brother's inclinations and theirs better, and would therefore march to *Seville*, in order to secure his children and his treasures. The count *Don Henry*, meeting with little opposition, came to *Burgos*, where, finding most of the nobility of *Castile*, they readily accepted him for their king, and he was solemnly inaugurated a few days after^h. One of *Don Pedro's* creatures, to save his life, discovered an immense treasure in gold; and the *Jews*, who were ever in danger in such cases, made him a present of a vast sum of moneyⁱ. *Henry*, who had hitherto known little but danger and distress, and who perhaps was made wise by his brother's misfortunes, resolved, by the actions of one day, to secure the crown to himself and his descendants. His politics were not deep or refined, but they were very sensible and solid. He had in the day of his calamity made many promises, which had been taken in current payment by those who had advanced him to the throne; he thought it would contribute to keep him firmly settled thereon if he performed them punctually; and this he did the very day he was crowned king. The count *de Ribagorça*, who had married the heiress of *Don Juan Emanuel*, had all the estates of that family, with the title of marquis of *Villena*; to *Bertrand du Guesclin* he gave the lordship of *Molina*, and his own county of *Traстамара* to his brother *Don Tello*; the lordship of *Biscay* to another brother of his, *Don Sancho Albuquerque* and *Le Desma*; and, in short, to all who had rendered him service, he gave, if not to the value of their services, yet beyond their expectations^k.

Don *Lopez de Luna*, archbishop of *Saragossa*, upon the king's letter, conveyed the queen and her children to *Burgos*^l. Soon after their arrival, the king marched towards *Toledo*, which opened its gates on his approach; while *Don Pedro* at *Seville*, who the year before had concluded a marriage for his daughter *Donna Beatrix*, with the Infant of *Portugal*, sent her thither with a vast fortune in ready money; and, having embarked his treasures on board his fleet, quitted that city with his army, which he still commanded in person, and marched into *Galicia*^m. *Don Gilles de Bocanegro* fitted out a small squadron, and seized the ship in which the king's treasures were, which fell into the hands of his brother *Henry*, and amounted to thirty-six quintals of gold, and a prodigious quantity of jewels, which he had been amassing all his reignⁿ. *Don Pedro*, changing his intentions, proceeded to the frontiers of *Portugal*, and gave notice of his arrival to the king, who sent him word, that he could not prevail upon his son to marry his daughter, whom he therefore thought fit to restore with all her fortune^o; he went next to *Albuquerque*, where he proposed to leave his children: the inhabitants prevented that, by shutting their gates against him; this obliged him to demand a safe conduct through *Portugal*, into *Galicia*, where the people received him very cheerfully, through the persuasion of the archbishop of *Compostella*, whom he rewarded very strangely; for understanding that he was immensely rich, he murdered him, and seized all that he had^p: then leaving the government of *Galicia* to *Don Ferdinand de Castro*, he marched to *Corunna*, and embarked his troops on board his fleet, with which he sailed to *Bayonne*, in order to demand assistance from the prince of *Wales*^q. The king *Don Henry*, after receiving the submission of all *Andalusia*, marched with an army into *Galicia*; and having fully satisfied his mercenaries, dismissed them, reserving only the forces of the count *de la Marche*, those of *Bertrand du Guesclin*, of *Hugh Corbelay*, whose *English* name, for he was an *Englishman*, was *Sir Hugh Calverly*, and some others^r. *Don Ferdinand de Castro* shut himself up in *Lugo*, with a good garrison, which the king besieged; thinking his presence, however, necessary in *Castile*, he made an agreement with *Don Ferdinand*, that he should surrender all the places he held, if he was not relieved by *Don Pedro* before *Christmas*, in consideration of which he would bestow on him the lordship of *Castro de Xerez*, with the title of count, because it had belonged formerly to his ancestors. On the king's arrival at *Burgos*, he summoned an assembly of the states, who very cheerfully gave him all that he could ask, for the defence of himself and his dominions^s.

The king, *Don Pedro*, who in his passage had touched at *St. Sebastians*, and received on board thirty-six thousand pistoles in gold, which he had there, brought so much wealth into *Guienne*, that he was extremely welcome to the *Black Prince*, and to all the great lords of that country, who very readily offered him their services, in consideration of his money^t.

is proclaimed king of Castile.

The king Don Pedro retires into Portugal, and from thence into Guienne.

A. D. 1366.

Edward prince of Wales, surnamed the Black Prince, undertakes to restore him.

^e Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo de PED. LOPEZ de Ayala. ^h Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. ^k Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ⁱ ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS. ^l Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ^m Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ^o BRANDAON. EMANUEL DE FARIA ^p BRANDAON. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. FERRERAS. ^q Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. ^r Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ^s Chronica general de Espana. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS. ^t BARNES's History of Edward III. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro.

After mature deliberation, it was resolved that the prince should go in person, with a numerous a body of his victorious troops, to restore him to his dominions; which troops the king was to pay, and to bestow upon the prince the province of *Biscay*, and some other places. The constable of *Guienne* was to have the town of *Soria* and its district; and the king of *Navarre*, in consideration of a passage through his country, was to have the fortress of *Alfaro*, and all the country as far as *Navarette*; and, for the just performance of these promises, the king gave his children as hostages^u. It was not long before king *Henry* obtained a pretty good account of these transactions, upon which he invited the king of *Navarre* to an interview, in which, having taken great pains to shew him his own interests, and how easily he might prevent Don *Pedro* and the prince of *Wales* from passing through his country, concluded with him a treaty for that purpose, to the due performance of which both kings were sworn, in b the presence of the archbishops of *Toledo* and *Saragossa*; king *Henry* promising him *Logrono*, and giving him sixty thousand pistoles in gold^w. Don *Pedro* having notice of this, offered him, not only the place before-mentioned, but *Victoria* also.

Dexterous management of the king of Navarre in deceiving both parties.

The king of *Navarre* concluded a treaty with him too; and, to shew what a royal politician he was, when the *English* forces arrived upon his frontiers, he sent for *Oliver de Mauny*, who was cousin to *Bertrand du Guesclin*, and desired him to seize upon his person, as he was hunting, and carry him prisoner to a fort of which he was governor, for which service he offered him a sum of money, and the castle of *Cherbourg* in *Normandy*, which *Oliver*, who was a soldier of fortune, accepted; so that Don *Pedro* and the prince of *Wales* passed through *Navarre* without any opposition^x. Such *English* as had hitherto served king c *Henry*, left him upon the approach of the *Black Prince*; notwithstanding which, he resolved to give the enemy battle, contrary to the opinion of *Bertrand du Guesclin*, and the foreign officers, who assured him that the troops of the prince of *Wales* were invincible, while in full health and vigour; but that if he drew them farther into the country, and exposed them but for a few weeks to the rays of a *Spanish* sun, they would either retire of themselves, or fall an easy conquest^y. But Don *Henry*, knowing that his brother had many partizans, and being diffident, even of some of the troops in his own army, resolved to venture a battle, which was accordingly fought on the sixth of *April*, between *Najara* and *Navarette*, where, thro' the fault of Don *Tello*, the king's brother, the left wing was quickly beat, which brought on a total route, notwithstanding the king exposed himself extremely to prevent it^z. The loss was d very great; and, besides the numbers slain upon the spot, there were many persons of distinction taken prisoners. The king, Don *Henry*, made his escape with all possible diligence through *Arragon*, into *France*; and his queen, with her children, went to *Saragossa*^a.

The king, Don Pedro, seated again on the throne, and again endangered by his wiles.

Don *Pedro*'s natural cruelty shewed itself, not only in the usage of the prisoners taken by his troops, but in causing a gentleman to be put to death, who fell into the hands of an *English* lord, which produced an expostulation on the part of the prince of *Wales*, which, how much soever he disliked, he thought fit to dissemble^b. They proceeded together as far as *Burgos*, where the prince lodged in the monastery *De las Huelgas*, and his brother *John of Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*, in the convent of *St. Dominick*. The prince of *Wales* found it necessary for his own safety to conclude a truce between the crowns of *Castile* and *Arragon*, e and a treaty for himself with the last-mentioned crown and that of *Portugal*, by which he stipulated the reciprocal assistance of each power in the division of the states of *Castile*, in case Don *Pedro* broke his faith with them, which they all suspected; and then, taking leave of him, returned back into *Guienne*, moved thereto chiefly by a sickness that broke out in his army^c. Don *Pedro*, now left to himself, began to indulge, in a greater degree than ever, that thirst of blood which rendered him universally odious and terrible. At *Burgos*, *Toledo*, and *Seville*, some people of the first quality were put to death, and numbers of inferior rank. In this political inquisition, even women did not escape^d. The king, Don *Henry*, did not suffer his spirits to be sunk through his misfortunes; but, on the contrary, solicited the count *de Foix*, who, out of mere compassion, offered him a retreat in his country, the king of f *France* by letters, and pope *Urban* the fifth, who then resided at *Avignon*, in person. He received from each of them, which rarely happens in such cases, more than he could demand or expect. The count gave him leave to raise forces in his territories, and allowed his son to command them. The pope received him kindly, freed him (if we can suppose that in his power) from all blemish of illegitimacy, and dismissed him from his presence as legal a monarch as he could, and as rich a one as it was convenient to make him^e. The king of

^u Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. ^w Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. FERRERAS. ^x Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ^y Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ^z Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. MARIANA. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^a Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ^b Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. FERRERAS. ^c BRANDAON. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. ^d MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^e P. DANIEL Histoire de France. RAINALD. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

^a France exceeded both; for he ordered his brother, the duke of *Anjou*, to give him a large sum of money, made him a present of a strong fortress on the frontiers of *Navarre*, and allowed him to raise what troops he could. In virtue of these assistances, he assembled an army, with which he entered *Castile*, after having passed through *Arragon*, without the leave of that monarch, in the month of *September*, and, before the close of the year, was master of *Castile* and the kingdom of *Toledo*^f.

THE generous manner in which he had behaved towards such as assisted him in his former *Besieges*, in expedition, had induced all, who were not murdered or imprisoned, to put themselves in *conjunction* motion for his service. By the end of the month of *April* he became master of the city of *Leon*, the best part of that kingdom, and a great part of *Asturias*^g. The city of *Toledo*, how- *with the king* ever, refused to acknowledge him, though their archbishop had accompanied him in his exile. *of Granada,* The king, having in vain tried every method to persuade them, at length invested the city *the city of Cor-* dova *without* with a great army, being determined to reduce it by force^h. At this time, Don Pedro, with the very same intention, was before *Cordova*, with the king of *Granada*, who had brought six thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot to his assistance, and they pushed this siege with so much vigour, that they became masters of a great part of the city by storm; yet the cries of the women, from the apprehensions of Don Pedro's cruelty, were so loud and piercing, that the sight of their sorrow banishing all sense of danger, the men returned with such fury to the charge, that they dispossessed the *Moors* of all the places they had taken, and threw the greatest part of them over the walls. The next day the two kings attacked them again, and were *repulsed* with loss, after which they raised the siege, and separated their forcesⁱ. The people of *Toledo*, finding themselves exceedingly distressed, sent to Don Pedro for succours; and several towns on the frontiers of *Navarre*, having entered into an association for their own defence, and having a small body of regular troops, commanded by Don Tello, sent likewise to assure him of their fidelity, and to receive his orders, letting him know at the same time, that, on the one hand, they were pressed by the king of *Navarre*, and on the other, by Don Henry. Don Pedro returned them for answer, that he was preparing to relieve *Toledo*, which might create a diversion in their favour; but if, notwithstanding, they found themselves obliged to yield, he chose they should do it to his brother, and not to the king of *Navarre*. Yet Don Tello prevailed on them to take the contrary course, and to submit to the king of *Navarre*^k. 1363.

^d The king, Don Henry, in the camp of *Toledo*, created Don Bernard de Foix, the son of his friend, a count, and gave him the town of *Medina Cæli*, from whom the noble family, bearing afterwards the title of dukes of the same place, descended^l.

A NEW war having broke out between the *French* and *English*, Charles the fifth sent his *The king, Don* ambassadors to the king, Don Henry, before *Toledo*, with whom he made a perpetual league *Henry, march-* for themselves, their heirs, and successors; and the *French* king, in virtue of his engage- *es to give his* ments, promised to send *Bertrand du Guesclin*, with six hundred lances to his assistance^m. *brother Don* Don Pedro having drawn together all the troops he was able to assemble, in the neighbour- *Pedro battle,* hood of *Seville*, summoned his principal ally, the king of *Granada*, to send him fresh assistance, which he very readily did; and with these, and with the forces of the kingdom of *Murcia*, he resolved to attempt the relief of *Toledo*. As soon as Don Henry had intelligence of this, he left the archbishop with a sufficient corps of troops to invest the place; and with the flower of his nobility, and a well appointed army, marched to find out his brother. He looked on it as a good omen, that, at the very time he took this resolution, *Bertrand du Guesclin* arrived with his six hundred lances that had been promised him from *France*ⁿ. On his march he was joined by the grand master of *St. James*, with the forces he had brought out of *Andalusia*; and thus strengthened he advanced into the plains of *Montiel*. The country people making fires in the neighbourhood to give notice to Don Pedro, he surmised that these troops came to his assistance; but, before it was day, the next morning his advanced guards brought him advice, that Don Henry was in full march with all his forces to give him battle.

DON Pedro made the best disposition he could, and behaved very gallantly, but his troops never recovered the surprize they were in on the first attack, and were quickly routed^o. But Don Pedro, *Don Pedro de-* with a small body of foot, threw himself into the castle of *Montiel*, while Don *stated, and af-* *Martin Lopez de Cor-* towards *dova*, with eight hundred horse, and a thousand cross bows, retired into the strong fortress of *Car-* *ted by his tro-* *mona*, which the king had intended for his own retreat, and where he had left his children^p. This *ther Don Hen-* battle was fought on the fourteenth of *March*; and the king, Don Henry, having considered the place into which his brother had thrown himself, caused a line to be drawn round it, well

^f P. DANIEL Histoire de France. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ZURIT. Annal Arragon.
^g Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ^h ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part. iv. FERRERAS. ⁱ Chro-
nica del Rey Don Pedro. Chronica de los Moros de España. ^k Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. MARIANA.
^l Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ^m P. DANIEL Histoire de France. FERRERAS. ⁿ Chro-
nica del Rey Don Pedro. Chronica de los Moros de España. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.
^o MARIANA. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^p Chronica del Rey Don Pedro.

fortified and well guarded. Don *Pedro* soon found the place not tenable against his brother's forces, and besides this, his garrison were in great want of provisions; he therefore applied himself to *Bertrand du Guesclin*, and promised him a large sum of money if he would suffer him to pass through his quarters. *Bertrand* having consulted his officers, discovered this to the king, Don *Henry*, and, at his request, assigned an hour, when Don *Pedro* might come to his tent, where Don *Henry*, followed by some resolute persons, rushed in, and, having struck him first in the face with his dagger, the rest fell upon him and put him to death, on the twenty-third of *March*, when he was thirty-five years and seven months old^a. This monarch was debauched, cruel, cunning, faithless, and covetous, in a supreme degree. After all the losses he had sustained, he left behind him at *Seville*, *Almodava*, and other places, no less than one hundred and fifty millions in gold and silver, besides jewels and plate to an immense value^b. Besides his children by Donna *Maria de Padilla*, he left a son Don *Juan* by Donna *Joanna de Castro*, and two other sons Don *Sancho* and Don *Diego* by Donna *Isabella*, who had been governess to his son Don *Alonso*. His two eldest daughters, at the time of his death, were hostages in *Guienne*, and the rest of his children in the castle of *Carmona*^c. He expired, therefore, with the most dreadful prospect before his eyes, in respect to all he held dear.

The king of Portugal claims the title of king of Castile and Leon.

THE king, Don *Henry*, was far from remaining the peaceable possessor of his brother's dominions by his death; but, upon his arrival at *Seville*, he acquired all his treasures, which put him into a condition of maintaining the war against all his enemies, though they invaded his dominions almost on every side^d. The first thing he did was to offer good terms to Don *Martin*, who commanded in *Carmona*, which, when he rejected, he caused the place to be blocked up. The towns of *Molina* and *Requena* declared for the king of *Arragon*^e. *Ciudad Rodrigo*, *Le Desma*, *Alcantara*, *Zamora*, *Tuy*, *Corunna*, the city of *St. James*, *Lugo*, *Orenza*, and many other places, acknowledged Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Portugal*, who immediately coined money, with the arms of his own crown on one side, and those of *Castile* on the other^f. The king of *Granada* likewise gave him a vast deal of trouble; and the king of *Arragon* entered into a league with the prince of *Wales* and duke of *Lancaster*, for facilitating the conquests he meditated in *Castile*; and he likewise entered into another treaty with the king of *Portugal*, who, in support of his pretensions, invaded *Galicia*^g. On the other hand, *Toledo* having surrendered to the archbishop, and the queen and her children being come thither, the king went to meet them^h. He had not been long there, before he received the news of the king of *Portugal*'s invading *Galicia* with a numerous army, upon which he marched thither with the troops that were about his person, with such celerity, that the king, Don *Ferdinand*, who was unwilling to risk a battle at so great a distance from his own dominions, left his troops in *Corunna*, and returned home by seaⁱ. The king, Don *Henry*, was no sooner informed of this, than he directed his march into *Portugal*, and having made himself master of the city of *Braga*, desolated all the country round about with fire and sword; upon which Don *Ferdinand* sent him a challenge, to which Don *Henry* answered, that if he came with an army, he knew where to find him; soon after which, having executed all that he designed by this invasion, he dispersed his troops into garrisons on the frontiers, and returned into *Castile*^j.

Don Henry defends his dominions against the kings of Portugal and Arragon.

AT this juncture, the enemies of the king Don *Henry* were many, and the obstacles he had to overcome were great; but his notions of government were clear, his temper moderate, his application indefatigable. He had many things to attend; he suffered none of them to escape his notice; he kept his frontiers well guarded, *Carmona* and *Zamora* blocked up, and two or three flying armies in the field. In the assembly of the states at *Medina del Campo*, he ballanced accounts with the officers of the foreign troops in his service, paid them their whole demands, and gave them considerable gratifications, telling the states at the same time, "to these strangers we owe our present safety; it is but just, therefore, we should afford them establishments; as for their posterity, they will be brave men and *Spaniards*^k." The king of *Granada* had taken and rased *Algezira*, which gave the king great concern. He ordered his generals to lay waste the open country, which was extremely well cultivated, which forced the *Moors* to demand a truce, which his resentment did not hinder him from granting, because it was convenient for his affairs^l. The *Portuguese* blocked up the river of *Seville* with a fleet; his admiral *Ambrose Bocanegra* broke through it, with seven stout

^a Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. MARIANA. FERRERAS.
^b ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. MARIANA. FERRERAS.
MAYERNE TURQUET. ^c Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ^d ZURIT. Annal Arragon.
^e BRANDAON. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. FERRERAS. ^f Chronica de los Moros de Espana.
BRANDAON. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. MARIANA. ^g Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.
^h EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. FERRERAS. ⁱ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. BRANDAON.
^j Chronica general de Espana. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. MARIANA. ^k Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. Chron. de los Moros de Espana.

- a galleys, having a large sum of money on board, with which he proceeded to *Biscay*, where he soon assembled a numerous squadron of large ships, well manned, with which he first beat the *Portuguese*, and then, by his master's orders, sailed to the assistance of the *French* monarch, and had the good fortune to defeat an *English* squadron, and to make the earl of *Pembroke* prisoner^a. His brother, the Infant Don *Tello*, dying, he gave the lordship of *Biscay* to his own son, the Infant Don *Juan*, and by that means annexed it for ever to the crown^c. On the frontiers of *Arragon* he kept a body of troops sufficient to defend his subjects, till his affairs were in such order as might enable him to recover what he had lost; and thus, by degrees, and the happy management of events, the prospect began to clear on every side, and the mildness of his administration made him beloved at home,
- b while his prudence and vigour rendered him respected abroad^f.

- In the beginning of the year, the pope sent his legate into *Spain*, with letters directed to the kings of *Castile*, *Arragon*, and *Portugal*, to persuade them to a peace; and at the same time he wrote to the prelates of *Toledo*, *Seville*, *Saragossa*, and *Coinbra*, requiring them to give all the assistance in their power to this good work. Don *Henry* received them with great kindness and respect, but advised them not to lose time at his court, since he was already well disposed in that respect as they could wish, upon which they departed for *Portugal*^e. In the mean time the king went in person to the siege of *Carmona*, where, some say, his life was in great danger from a sally made by the besieged. His guards, however, attempted the place by scaling, and about forty of them got into the town; but before they could force their passage to a gate, were surrounded and taken prisoners, and, some days after, the governor ordered them to be put to death^b. At length famine and frequent losses compelled Don *Martin* to capitulate, when he offered to deliver up his master's treasures and children, provided he might be at liberty to go where he pleased. The king added he must likewise deliver up Don *Pedro*'s chancellor, who had been the great instrument of his cruelties, to which he very readily agreedⁱ. The king sent the treasures and the children of Don *Pedro* to *Toledo*, and ordered the chancellor and governor to be put to death. The latter insisted that this was against public faith; but the king alleged the murder of the forty soldiers, which being likewise against public faith, left him, in the king's opinion, no title to it^k. A severe judgment, but a good example. *Zamora*, and all the country of *Galicia*, quickly submitted; and the king of *Portugal* very wisely consented to a peace, and agreed to marry Donna *Leonora*, Infanta of *Castile*, with a portion of three hundred thousand crowns. Yet, soon after, falling in love with Donna *Leonora Tellez*, the wife of *John Lawrence de Acunha*, he sent ambassadors to the king of *Castile*, to excuse his declining the marriage; and, having caused the lady to be divorced from her husband, secretly made her his wife. The king of *Castile* told the ambassadors that he could always find a match for his daughter, and that though he wished him for his son-in-law, he was very well content to esteem the king of *Portugal* his friend and ally^l. Towards the close of the year, at the request of the pope's legate, he concluded a truce with the crown of *Navarre*, and another with that of *Arragon*; and the face of peace being thus universally restored, he sent the Infant Don *Juan* to take possession of *Biscay*^m. 1371.
- e As those who have done a great injury can seldom be brought to forgive sincerely, so the king of *Portugal*, apprehending the resentment of Don *Henry*, entered into a treaty with *John of Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*, who had married Donna *Constantia*, daughter to the king Don *Pedro*, invited him into his dominions, and promised to support his pretensions; upon which he assumed the title of king of *Castile*ⁿ. In confidence therefore of receiving these succours in due time, he made an irruption into *Galicia*, surprized *Tuy* and some other places, which were speedily recovered by the king of *Castile*, who, when he once understood the bottom of the design, immediately undertook to cure the king of *Portugal* of a resolution to disturb him. In the first place, he sent a squadron of ships to the assistance of the *French*, that by finding employment for the *English* nearer home, he might be in the less danger of being troubled with them in *Portugal*; and at the same time he charged his admiral with negotiating the repurchase of those lands, which he had given to *Bertrand du Guesclin*; for, as he was now become constable of *France*, it was not at all probable he should ever think of returning into *Spain*, which proposal was readily accepted: and, for the sum of two hundred and seventy thousand crowns in gold, the king recovered all the places he had formerly granted him^o.

^a BRANDAON. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. FER.

^f MARIANA. FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.

ⁱ MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^l BRANDAON. FER.

^m Hist. du Royaume de Navarre.

ⁿ BRANDAON. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

^o DE FARIA Y SOUSA. FER.

^e Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

^h Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

^k Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

^l RAINALD. ZURIT. Annal Arragon.

^o P. DANIEL Histoire de France. EMANUEL

A. D. 1372.
Don Henry
compels both
him and the
king of Na-
varre once more
to demand
peace.

WHILE his fleet was thus employed, the king made an expedition into *Portugal*, and took several places; but, upon the application of the pope's legate, he consented to a short truce, and likewise renewed that with *Arragon* for eight months^p. The truce being expired, Don *Henry*, in the very depth of winter, made himself master of *Viseo*, and from thence advanced towards *Coinbra*; but being informed that Donna *Leonora*, queen of *Portugal*, had retired thither to lie in, he sent her a compliment, importing that her presence was an invincible garrison^q; upon which he moved towards the king of *Portugal*, who was encamped at *Santaren*; but finding that he would act only on the defensive, he proceeded to insult *Lisbon*, and, by the assistance of a squadron from *Seville*, he burnt part of the lower town, and some ships in the harbour^r. This gave such a weight to the endeavours of the pope's legates for obtaining a peace, that at length preliminaries were settled, by which the king of *Portugal* engaged, that whenever king *Henry* sent a squadron to the assistance of *France*, he would likewise send five ships or galleys; that Don *Ferdinand de Castro*, and the rest of the exiles from *Castile* should be obliged to quit his dominions; and that Don *Sancho*, the king of *Castile's* brother, should marry Donna *Beatrix*, sister to king *Ferdinand*; and that Don *Alonso*, the natural son of king *Henry*, should marry Donna *Isabella*, the natural daughter of king *Ferdinand*, when they were of competent age: in consideration of which, the king Don *Henry* was to restore all the places he had taken. This treaty the two kings signed and swore to, in the presence of the legates; after which, the first of the two marriages was celebrated, and Donna *Isabella* was put into the hands of the king of *Castile*^s. A peace was some months afterwards concluded with the king of *Navarre*, who took advantage from thence to solicit the king of *Castile* to detach himself from *France*, and to make a league with the *English*, which the king absolutely refused, notwithstanding that the duke of *Lancaster* offered, in that case, to accept of a sum of money in lieu of his pretensions; to which, independent of the league, the king of *Castile* declared he had no objection: the truce with *Arragon* was also prolonged; and thus the peace of his dominions was once again restored^t, which enabled him to put his affairs into so good order, that he had no reason to fear any of his neighbours.

Concludes at
length a sin-
cere and solid
peace with the
king of Arra-
gon.

THE duke of *Lancaster* being extremely piqued at the refusal of the king of *Castile* to quit the party of the *French*, resolved to carry his threats into execution, and with this view levied forces, and entered into a treaty with the crown of *Arragon*. The king, Don *Henry*, assembled a great army in the neighbourhood of *Burgos*, where a quarrel happening amongst the soldiers on the 19th of *March*, his brother, Don *Sancho*, interposing, to prevent a mutiny, received a wound in his face with a lance, of which he died, leaving his wife, Donna *Beatrix*, with child of a daughter, named Donna *Leonora*, who was afterwards queen of *Arragon*^u. The king was extremely afflicted, and, in the first transport of his passion, would have put to death all the soldiers that had any share in the quarrel; but the nobility pacified him; so that only a few of the most guilty were punished^v. He sent to the king of *Arragon*, to put him in mind of their former friendship; to press him to send his daughter Donna *Leonora* to espouse the Infant Don *Juan*, prince of *Castile*, as they had been passionately in love with each other from their very childhood; and to assure him, that he was content to give him any reasonable satisfaction, in reference to the disputes between them. The king of *Arragon* demanded, in a peremptory manner, the kingdom of *Murcia*. The king of *Castile* answered, that it was true he had promised him that kingdom for his assistance, but that this promise was made void by his entering into a treaty with the prince of *Wales*, and the share he had in deposing him; that, notwithstanding this, he was unwilling to have recourse to arms, in order to recover those places which he had seized in times of public confusion. After much altercation, a treaty was concluded, and signed by the two kings, on the 12th of *April*, by which a perpetual peace was stipulated for themselves and successors, the time fixed for their marriage, and the sum of one hundred and eighty thousand pieces of gold fixed as an equivalent for the restitution of the places which the king of *Arragon* was to restore^x. This treaty was ratified and sworn to on the 28th of *May*, to the great satisfaction of both nations. The same year, the king being informed that the *French* had obliged the duke of *Lancaster* to abandon his design of invading *Castile*, by harrassing his troops in such a manner that they were unable to prosecute their march, he thought himself obliged to return this favour, by making an expedition, in person, into *Guienne*, and sending also a strong fleet to their assistance, which terminated the operations of this year^y.

1374:

^p Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. RAINALD. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ^q BRANDAON.
Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ^r BRANDAON. FER. ^s Chronica del Rey Don Henrique
Segundo. BRANDAON. FARIA Y SOUSA. ^t Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don
Henrique Segundo. ZURIT. Annal Arragon ^u Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ZURIT.
Annal Arragon. ^v Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ^x ZURIT. Annal Arragon. MARIANA.
FER. ^y Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

- a' IN the spring Don Carlos, prince of Navarre, came to Soria, and there espoused, on the 27th of May, the Infanta Donna Leonora of Castile, and on the 17th of June following the Infanta Leonora of Arragon was married at the same place, to Don Juan Infant of Castile². But Don Alonso, count of Gijon, the king's natural son, taking some distaste to the prince's of Portugal, whom his father had chosen for his wife, fled out of his dominions; and after visiting the court of France, and that of the pope at Avignon, he at length thought proper to return, and to comply with his father's inclinations³. The engagements he had entered into with the duke of Anjou, brother to the French king, who claimed the kingdom of Majorca by donation, gave some umbrage to the king of Arragon, but not sufficient to create any rupture between the two crowns, because the monarch of Arragon saw clearly, that if the king of Castile had meant any thing more than was pretended by those treaties, he would have stipulated greater succours; and, therefore, he thought it best to pass by an offence that might be augmented by taking notice of it. This had a good effect; for the king of Castile gave him to understand, that though he could not refuse his assistance to the brother of the French monarch, yet he meant not to infringe the treaty that subsisted between them⁴. The Infanta Donna Beatrix of Portugal, being the apparent heiress of that kingdom, the king of Castile proposed a match between her and his son Don Frederick, which the king of Portugal readily accepted, though Don Frederick was a bastard; and the children were accordingly married, with great solemnity, by proxy; but, as we shall see hereafter this marriage never took effect. In the course of this year, died Edward, prince of Wales, which was considered as a favourable event in the councils of Castile⁵. A. D. 1375.
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- c

THE king of Navarre having entered into a project for exchanging the territories he possessed in Normandy, with the crown of England, for lands of an equal value in Gascony, it was resolved to send the prince Don Carlos to conclude and execute this bargain. As Don Carlos had married the daughter of the king of Castile, it was natural for him to consult him upon his journey, from which the king dissuaded him, as he was to take the court of his uncle, the king of France, in his way; where he must either deal perfidiously with that monarch, or avow to him his father's designs. The prince, notwithstanding, went with some counsellors of his father's, but they were arrested at Paris, and his companions proceeded against and condemned as traitors. In the mean time, king Edward the third, of England, died; notwithstanding which, the king of Navarre continued his intrigues with his grandson Richard the second⁶. He foresaw that this would bring on a war with the crown of Castile, and therefore projected the acquisition of Logrono, a place of great beauty and importance, standing in the midst of a fair plain on the bank of the river Ebro. The method he took was to corrupt Don Pedro Manrique, a nobleman of the nicest honour in Castile, and the sum he offered him was 20,000 pieces of gold. Don Pedro, having first acquainted the king his master, closed with the proposals, received all the money at several payments, and, at the time appointed, admitted six hundred of the king of Navarre's troops; but immediately after disarmed and made them prisoners of war, and was very near trapping the king himself⁷. Soon after, the Infant Don Juan of Castile made an irruption into Navarre, and advanced within sight of Pampeluna. At this time there was a schism in the church of Rome, occasioned by the election of Urban the sixth, and Clement the seventh, to the papal dignity; the French adhering to the former, and the English to the latter; but the kings of Castile and Arragon very wisely declined owning either; and this by the advice of the wisest of their prelates and great lords⁸. So that in such cases as these, we find those suing to be acknowledged to have any power, who, as soon as that was admitted, laid claim to all. 1376.

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THE king thought fit to hold an assembly of all the prelates in his dominions, in the town of Illescas, where a resolution was taken to sequester the papal revenues, till it could be known to whom they belonged; for the discussion of which matter another assembly was held at Burgos⁹. There the king of Navarre applied himself to Don Henry, to obtain a peace, of which his affairs stood in great need. The king of Castile prescribed to him such terms as he thought fit, and amongst the rest, discharging the English and the Gascon troops that were in his pay, to which the king of Navarre objected that he had no money to give them, and they would not go without; upon which Don Henry lent him a considerable sum; and having taken the necessary securities for his observing the peace, restored all that he had taken during the war¹⁰. In a very short time after the conclusion of this treaty, the king fell ill of a slow consuming disease, which having gradually wasted his strength, brought him at last to the grave, on the 25th of May, as is reported by Don Pedro Lopez de Ayala¹¹; 1377.

² Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. FER. ³ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. BRANDAON. BARNES. History of Edward III. FER. ⁴ P. DANIEL Histoire de France. Hist. du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ⁵ Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ⁶ RAIN. FER. ZURITA. Annal. Arragon. ⁷ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. ⁸ Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. MARIANA. FER. ⁹ though

though many other historians report, that *Mohammed Yago*, king of *Granada*, perceiving a that he had at length accomplished his plan of settling a firm peace with all his neighbours, suspected that it must be with a view of attacking his dominions with his whole force, and therefore prevailed upon an old servant of his to seek shelter at the court of *Castile*, as if he had been ill treated by him, and to watch an opportunity of poisoning the king, which he is said to have effected by a present of a pair of beautiful buskins, which were scented with a venomous perfume^k. *Ferreras* considers this as a vulgar report, which might take rise from the king's falling ill not long after this present was made him. Indeed, if we consider the propensity of the common people to attribute the deaths of princes to some extraordinary cause, and their implacable hatred of the *Moors*, it will not appear at all improbable.

THE Infant Don *Juan* succeeded his father, and was crowned on the 25th of *July*, with his queen *Leonora*, at *Burgos*; and, on the 4th of *October* following, the queen was delivered, in the same city, of the Infant Don *Henry*^l. About the same time arrived embassadors from *France*, to thank the king for the succours sent by his father and himself, which had done remarkable service. - *Mohammed Yago*, king of *Granada*, dying, was succeeded by his son *Mohammed Guadix Abulbagen*, a prince of many virtues, and of a most pacific disposition, who immediately sent ambassadors to felicitate the king Don *Juan* on his accession to the throne of *Castile*, and to renew the truce between the two crowns during their reigns; which proposition was well received, and the embassadors returned highly satisfied with the civilities that were paid them^m; and this, which seemed but a temporary expedient, by the correspondence between their tempers lasted all their reigns.

A. D. 1379. THE young king of *Castile* resembled his father extremely in his temper, and laboured nothing so much as to preserve peace, and to protect his subjects in the full enjoyment of it: with this view he sent embassadors into *Portugal*, where they were extremely well received by the king Don *Ferdinand*, who, with some great and many amiable qualities, was one of the most fickle and mutable princes of that ageⁿ. He desired, therefore, that the marriage formerly contracted between Don *Frederick*, the king's natural brother, and his daughter, the Infanta Donna *Beatrix*, should be cancelled, that she might be at liberty to marry the Infant Don *Henry*, who was not quite a year old. To this the king readily consented; and though there was something very whimsical, not to say ridiculous, in this affair, yet the treaty was managed with a great deal of ceremony; a very singular clause inserted, that if either of the parties should die without issue, the other should inherit the dominions of both, and was with great ceremony ratified by the states of both kingdom^o. The monarch of *Castile* having adjusted these points, and dispatched a squadron of twenty men of war to the assistance of the *French*, went to *Toledo*, in order to assist at his father's funeral; and afterwards held an assembly of the states at *Medino del Campo*, where, after mature deliberation, it was resolved to acknowledge pope *Clement* the seventh^p. Before this assembly was dissolved, the king had intelligence, that in the midst of all that appearance of cordiality shewn by the king of *Portugal*, he was actually negotiating an alliance with *Richard* the second, of *England*, and with *John*, duke of *Lancaster*, who still continued to use the title of *Castile*, and whom Don *Ferdinand* had invited to come with a fleet and army to *Lisbon*. Don *Juan*, instead of expostulating upon this subject, ordered his forces to assemble, and the principal places on his frontiers to be repaired: being thoroughly persuaded, that the best way to prevent a war is to prepare for and provide for it in time^q.

That crown negotiates an alliance against him at the same time, and soon after commences war.

On the 25th of *May* deceased Donna *Joanna*, queen dowager of *Castile*, a woman distinguished by virtues the most rare, as well as the most unaffected piety, whose firmness in adversity rendered her always respected, and whose humility in the time of her prosperity was universally admired^r. The king being informed that his brother Don *Alonso* held a private correspondence with the king of *Portugal*, endeavoured to surprize him, but he made his escape into *Asturias*, where he took shelter in his strong castle of *Gijon*; to which, when the king followed him, Don *Alonso* came out, assured him that he had been misrepresented, upon which they were presently reconciled^s. The king, Don *Juan*, then resolved to attack *Portugal*, both by land and sea, before the arrival of their auxiliaries from *England*; but Don *Ferdinand* spared him the labour, by sending a fleet of four ships and twenty gallies to insult the harbour of *Seville*. In their passage they met the admiral of *Castile*, Don *Ferdinand de Tobar*, with twenty gallies, who at first declined fighting; but perceiving that five of the *Portuguese* gallies were gone to take in water at a port upon the coast, he attacked the rest of the fleet with so much vigour, that he took sixteen gallies, and on board of one of them Don *Juan Alonso*, who was the queen's brother, and with these prizes returned in triumph to

^l Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

^k FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^l Chronica del

Rey Don Juan el Primero.

^m P. DANIEL Histoire de France. Chronica de los Moros de Espana.

ⁿ BRAND. Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

^o FARIA Y SOUSA. BRAND. MARIANA. FER.

^p RAINALD. Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

^q BRAND. FER.

^r RGO. SANTII Hist.

Hispan. p. iv.

^s Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

a *Seville*. The king, Don Juan, besieged the castle of *Almeyda* and reduced it. On the 18th of July the *English* fleet arrived in the harbour of *Lisbon*, commanded by *Edmund*, earl of *Cambridge*, the eldest son of the duke of *York*, having with him a small army of between three and four thousand men, his countess, and his son *Edward*, afterwards duke of *York*, who was killed at the battle of *Agincourt*, then a child of six years old; notwithstanding which, the first thing done was, to marry him to the Infanta *Beatrix*, and they were not only married but bedded in public. The good correspondence, however, between the *English* and *Portuguese*, did not last long; there were great complaints, and very probably not altogether without cause, on both sides; of which the king of *Castile* having notice, he resolved to shut up the port of *Lisbon* against fresh succours, and to deal with those who were already arrived as well as he could.^a

A. D. 1381.

WHILE the king meditated certain important operations, both by land and sea, his brother Don *Alonso*, Count de *Gijon*, actually quitted his dominions, and retired to *Braganza* in *Portugal*, with several lords who were attached to him. The king dissembled the offence against him, continued his preparations, and fitted out a fleet, with which he gave great disturbance to the inhabitants of *Lisbon*, and obliged the king of *Portugal* to remove his court from thence.^w As soon as his army began to be in motion towards the enemies frontiers, he signified to his brother, who was still at *Braganza*, that he should return without delay, upon which he repeated the order; Don *Alonso* returned for answer, that if he would send him the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, his second son, the sons of six of the principal nobility, and put a certain number of castles into his hands for his security, himself and his friends would return. Don *Juan*, without taking the least notice of this proposition, sent a third order for him and his adherents to return to their duty by a certain day, on pain of being declared traitors, and all their estates confiscated; upon which his friends retired without taking leave; and, after a few days, he was constrained to follow their example.^x The king of *Portugal* having assembled all his forces, and seeming determined to give the *Castilians* battle, the king created Don *Hernando Alvarez de Toledo*, and Don *Pedro Ruys Sarmiento*, marshals of the field, which was the first time that title had been heard of in *Castile*.^y The king of *Portugal*, to shew he would not be vanquished by titles, gave that of constable to Don *Alvaro Perez de Castro*, and made *Vasquez de Azevedo* marshal.^z The two armies being in sight of each other, the new constable and marshal advised their master to make peace, to which he readily listened, and granted them full powers for that purpose, but desired they would treat it with great secrecy. Upon this, they went in the night to the camp of *Castile*, where, having acquainted the king with their commission, he likewise named two plenipotentiaries, by whom the peace was presently settled on the following terms. The Infanta Donna *Beatrix* was to be once more married to the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, son to the king of *Castile*, who was in the second year of his age; the *Portuguese* admiral, with his gallies and men, were to be set at liberty; and the king of *Castile* was to furnish a fleet to carry the *English* home. Don *Juan* scrupled this at first; but the *Portuguese* plenipotentiaries represented, that home they must be sent, and they had no fleet; and, if they had, they were afraid of its being seized in *England*; so that at length it was ratified.^a As soon as this came to be divulged, the earl of *Cambridge* and his troops were extremely irritated; but the *Spanish* fleet arriving before the bay of *Lisbon*, and there being no remedy, they embarked, and were very safely carried home. The joy which the king Don *Juan* conceived at the conclusion of this troublesome affair, was quickly turned into grief, by the death of his queen Donna *Leonora*, in childbed, exceedingly regretted, as she was universally beloved by his subjects.^b At the request of the king of *Navarre*, he interposed with the *French* monarch, for the liberty of the prince Don *Carlos*, and *Charles* the sixth granted it, as a very particular mark of his esteem. Upon his return home, the king, his father, sent him to return thanks to the king of *Castile*, in person, who received him very kindly, and dismissed him with rich presents, by which he attached him most cordially to his interests.^c

The king, Don Juan, forces Portugal to conclude a secret and separate peace.

A. D. 1382.

f As soon as it was decent, or, perhaps, a little earlier, the king of *Portugal* sent one of his ministers to insinuate to Don *Juan* of *Castile*, that his daughter, the Infanta Donna *Beatrix*, being of a fit age to be married, he would be much better pleased to have him for his son-in-law, than that the Infanta should wait for the Infant Don *Ferdinand*. There was some opposition to this in the councils of *Castile*; but, as the king himself was inclined to the marriage, it was quickly concluded, upon condition that the children of the king and the Infanta should succeed to the kingdom of *Portugal*; and that, in case the throne became vacant before such children were born, the queen-dowager should govern with the title of regent.^d Donna

By his marriage with the Infanta Donna Beatrix he acquires a title to Portugal.

^a MARIAN. FER. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^w BRAND. Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. ^x FERIA Y SOUSA. Chron. del Rey Don Juan el Primero. FER. ^y MARIAN. FER. BRAND. Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. ^z BRAND. ^a Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. BRAND. ^b ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^c Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. ^d BRAND. Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

Leonora accompanied her daughter to the frontiers: the king, *Don Juan*, arrived at *Badajoz* ^a on the first of *May*, from whence he proceeded to *Xelves*, where he espoused the Infanta *Donna Beatrix*, brought her the same afternoon to *Badajoz*, and the next day received the nuptial benediction in the cathedral church ^c. Soon after this his brother *Don Alonso* revolted the second time, or rather the third, and retired to *Gijon*, whither the king followed and reduced him; and, though he did not deprive him of his liberty, yet he reprimanded him severely ^f. In the assembly of the states, held soon after at *Segovia*, the old method of reckoning by the æra of *Cæsar* was laid aside for that of our Lord, according to *Ferreras*, in the year of that æra 1421 ^e. While the king was employed in regulating the domestic concerns of his government, he had intelligence that his father-in-law, *Don Ferdinand*, lay at the point of death; upon which he sent some persons, in whom he could confide, to *Lisbon*, ^b and drew himself nearer to the frontiers. On the 22^d of *October* that monarch departed this life, and left his dominions in almost inexpressible confusion ^h. *Donna Beatrix*, his only daughter, had been acknowledged by the states as the legal heiress of the throne. The people, in general, however, inclined to *Don Juan* the king's brother, who was son to *Don Pedro* by his second wife, the famous *Agnes de Castro*. This *Don Juan*, a few years before, falling in love with *Donna Maria Tellez*, sister to *Leonora* queen of *Portugal*, married her; which raised such a spirit of envy in the queen, that she caused it to be insinuated to *Don Juan*, that her sister was false to his bed, and that, if he was once free from so bad a wife, she was inclined to give him the Infanta *Donna Beatrix*: upon which, transported with jealousy and ambition, he barbarously murdered the innocent lady ⁱ. But discovering, when it was too ^c late, the falshood of the queen's information, and of her promise, he retired into *Castile*; where, upon the death of his father-in-law, the king caused him to be arrested, together with his brother the Count *Don Alonso*, whom their father had married against his will to a bastard daughter of the late king of *Portugal*, in whose right, or rather in whose name, he attempted to form some pretensions ^k. The queen-dowager had the title of regent; and her daughter, the reigning queen of *Castile*, was proclaimed queen of *Portugal*: but another brother of the late king, whose name was likewise *Don Juan*, but a bastard, being grand master of the military order of *Avis*, seized upon the government, partly by force, partly with the consent of the people, and assumed the title of protector ^l.

A. D. 1383.

He takes upon
him the regal
title, and la-
bours to ac-
quire that
country by
force.

THE more the king of *Castile* considered the affairs of *Portugal*, the more he found himself ^d at a loss how to conduct himself therein. He was very desirous of complying with the engagements to which he had sworn at his marriage, and signified the same to the states of *Portugal*, assuring them that he was willing the queen-dowager should govern with the title of regent, during her life; and that he did not seek the crown for himself but for his posterity ^m. The queen *Leonora* being constrained to quit *Lisbon*, retired to *Santaren*, and from thence intreated the king to come to her relief, as she had no other resource. Upon this *Don Juan* of *Castile* put himself at the head of his forces, and marched with them into *Portugal*. The grand master of *Avis* declared this a breach of the marriage treaty, and that he had forfeited all his rights thereby. At the same time he sent ambassadors into *England*, to make an alliance with king *Richard* the second, or rather with his uncles who governed him. The king of ^e *Castile*, perceiving plainly that there was no hope of acquiring *Portugal* but by conquest, ordered his fleet from *Seville* to block up the port of *Lisbon*, and invited his brother-in-law *Don Carlos* prince of *Navarre* to come to his assistance ⁿ. War was now carried on with great fury on both sides; several great towns, and many of the nobility, acknowledged *Don Juan* of *Castile* for their king; but the *Portuguese* nation in general adhered firmly to the protector ^o. Several actions happened with variety of success; sometimes the troops of *Castile* had the better, sometimes they were beaten by the *Portuguese*. This great confusion was increased by the king's discovering that the queen dowager had entered into a new intrigue with *Don Pedro* count of *Trastamara*, whom she proposed to marry, and to murder the king. Upon this he caused her to be arrested, and sent prisoner into *Castile* ^p. He then besieged *Lisbon*, took ^f the fort of *Almeyda*, and, upon the arrival of *Don Carlos*, with a noble body of troops, his affairs began to wear a better appearance; but the scene was soon changed; the plague broke out in his army, and, though he persisted some time in carrying on the siege, yet at length, chiefly by the persuasion of the prince of *Navarre*, he decamped; and, having put strong garrisons into the places that had declared for him, retired with the rest of his army into his own dominions, not a little chagrined at the turn things had taken ^q.

A. D. 1384.

Inva-
des it
with a very

THE king of *Castile*, being informed that *Don Pedro de Castro*, count of *Trastamara*, was in the camp of the protector of *Portugal*, sent to let him know, that if he would remove this

^a ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. MARIAN. FER.^b Historia de Espana.^c BRAND.^d MARIAN. FER.^e Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.^f Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.^g BRAND.^h Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.ⁱ FARIA Y SOUSA. FER.^j Chronica^k del Rey Don Juan el Primero. BRAND.^l Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.^m FAR. Y SOUSA.ⁿ Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. BRAND.

dangerous

- a dangerous enemy, he would reward it as a most acceptable service. The count embraced this ^{potent army,} infamous proposition, and took his measures with two other noblemen for the execution of it: ^{and is beaten} but the protector arresting two of their friends upon certain suspicions, the conspirators ^{by Don Juan,} imagined, though without any grounds, they were discovered, and immediately consulted ^{whom the Por-} their safety by flight ^{tuguese elected} ^{for their king.} This mortified the king Don Juan extremely; nor was it long before he received another piece of news, which gave him still greater uneasiness, which was, that the states of *Portugal* had taken upon them to elect and proclaim the protector king ^a. After mature deliberation, however, and a thorough persuasion of his own title, and that the force of his dominions was infinitely superior to that of *Portugal*, he determined to invade it by land and sea. With this view he ordered a great fleet to be fitted out at *Seville*, as well as a strong squadron from *Biscay*, with a vast quantity of provisions on board, for the support of his army, at the head of which he marched to the frontiers ^b. There, however, he held several councils of war, in order to settle the operations of the campaign; and some of the ablest persons about him dissuaded him from proceeding further, at least in person, as he was very ill of an ague, as the new king of *Portugal* had obtained a considerable victory at *Truncofo*, as the king had lost most of his father's old officers by the plague the preceding year, and as the whole nation seemed determined to succeed or perish in support of their new king: but the young lords, who were about him, had their heads so full of the glory of *Castile*, and relied so much on the superiority of their forces, that at length the king was persuaded to prosecute his design; and, after having in vain attempted to enter into a treaty, he resolved to stake all upon a decisive action ^c. It is said that the army of *Castile* exceeded thirty thousand men; whereas those who carry things highest acknowledge, that the king of *Portugal* had not above twelve thousand, and the historians of that country say not above half that number. He did not, however, decline fighting, but chose an advantageous post, and declared his resolution to wait there for the army of *Castile*. When the king, Don Juan, was in sight of the enemy, he halted, in order to advise once more with his principal officers, amongst whom there were some who suggested that, as the enemy were posted between two morasses, it would be very imprudent to attack them, more especially that day, the army being fatigued, and having had scarce any refreshment: but the young officers insisted that it would be infamous, after looking the *Portuguese* in the face, not to attack them without delay. The king, being himself under great doubts, had recourse to M. de *Rie*, the *French* ambassador, a man of sixty years of age, who had spent his whole life in arms. He modestly told the king, that, a battle being resolved upon, the point was to gain a victory, and not to pique himself upon being hasty in attacking. In spite of this the young people prevailed; the *Portuguese* were immediately attacked in their advantageous post, and, in half an hour, the *Castilians* were routed. There fell upon the spot Don *Pedro de Arragon*, son to the marquis of *Villena*, the king's two nephews, Don *Juan*, son to Count *Tello*, and Don *Ferdinand*, son to the count Don *Sancho*, with many other persons of great distinction, and a multitude of private men ^d. This, which is generally stiled the battle of *Aljubarotta*, was fought upon the fourteenth of *August*, about three in the afternoon: the king fled that night to *Santaren*, upon his mule, which is above thirty miles: there he embarked on board a tartane, which carried him to his fleet, and soon after he returned to *Seville* ^e. The just sorrow arising from so heavy a loss, was not a little increased by the *Portuguese* invading *Castile*, and beating the grand masters of *St. James*, *Alcantara*, and *Calatrava*, with a superior army, the first of these great men being killed on the spot ^f. To repair these disasters, and to provide against the consequences of the duke of *Lancaster*'s arrival in *Portugal*, with a numerous fleet and army from *England*, A. D. 138. Don Juan dispatched ambassadors to pope *Clement* the seventh, at *Avignon*, and to king *Charles* the sixth of *France*, to desire their advice and assistance ²; an employment his ambassadors had never exercised before.
- His ministers were received at *Paris* with all imaginable marks of kindness and respect, and were sent back with the strongest assurances that the king would second his professions of friendship, by marching two thousand lances to his assistance ³. Don *Pedro*, the son of Don *Fredrick* the grand master, who was the king's uncle, returned with these ambassadors to *Castile*, and was, in consideration of the *French* king's letters, very kindly received by the king his cousin. As for the pope, he had nothing to give but a little good advice, which he sent him very freely ^b. At the opening of the spring, the king of *Portugal* sent a fleet of twelve ships and six gallies to bring over the duke of *Lancaster* and his forces; soon after which he took the field and besieged *Chaves*, which, after a gallant defence, he reduced. In the month of *July* the duke of *Lancaster* landed at *Padron*, in *Galicia*, with fifteen hundred

John of
Gaunt, duke
of Lancaster,
lands in Gali-
cia, and takes
Compostella.

^a Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. BRAND.

^b Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

^c BRAND. EMANUEL FAR. Y SOUSA. FER.

NALD. ² P. DANIEL Histoire de France. MARIAN.

NIEL Histoire de France.

^b RAIN.

³ MARIAN. FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.

⁴ ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. BRAND. FER.

⁵ Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

⁶ Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. P. DA-

lances and the like number of cross-bows. He marched directly to the city of *St. James* at *Compostella*, which opened her gates as to her sovereign, and there he was proclaimed king of *Castile* in right of his wife *Donna Constantia*, who accompanied him, with their daughter *Donna Catalina*, and two daughters that the duke had by his former wife, *Blanch*, heiress of the house of *Lancaster*^c. The king of *Portugal* sent him a present of twelve white mules; the duke, in return, gave him as many greyhounds and falcons: a treaty was, not long after, concluded between them, in consequence of which that monarch espoused *Donna Philippa*, one of the duke's daughters, the other, *Isabella*, being already married to the earl of *Pembroke*^d. Within a short space after the conclusion of this treaty, the Duke of *Lancaster* sent a herald at arms to *Don Juan*, requiring him to surrender the kingdom of *Castile*; who thereupon sent *Juan Serrano*, a clergyman, and two doctors of the civil law to *Orenza*, where the duke then was, to acquaint him with the grounds of his title, and they were both patiently and publicly heard. But *Juan Serrano*, having sought a private audience of the Duke, told him, that his master was willing to put an end to the difference, by marrying his son and heir, the Infant *Don Henry*, to *Donna Catalina*, his daughter; which the duke did not at all dislike, and which his wife, *Donna Constantia*, highly and heartily approved; but, for the present, the treaty with *Portugal* stood in the way, and the duke contented himself with giving them a civil answer^e.

A. D. 1386. THE king, *Don Carlos* of *Navarre*, dying on the first day of the succeeding year, and his son, the prince *Don Carlos* being raised to the throne, his brother-in-law the king of *Castile*, as a mark of his affection, remitted, the twenty thousand pistoles that were due to him from that crown, and restored the castles that had been put into his hands to secure the repayment of that sum^f. In the summer the *Portuguese* and the *English* made an irruption into the territories of the king of *Castile*, who, at that time, either had not an army sufficient to give them battle, or, from motives of policy, sought to decline it. He therefore caused the country before them to be laid waste, harassed their troops upon every march, and gave them so much disturbance in one or two sieges, that they found it very expedient to retire into *Portugal*. Thither the king of *Castile* sent some of his ministers again to the duke of *Lancaster*, who, finding that the climate did not by any means agree with his troops, resolved to return into *Gascony*, and sent the king of *Castile* word he should be glad to receive his ministers at *Bayonne*^g (X). Thither, accordingly, repaired the king's confessor and two doctors, who were of his privy council, met with a very gracious reception, and, in a very short time, concluded a decisive treaty; by which it was settled, that the Duke's only daughter by *Donna Constantia* should espouse, as soon as he was of an age to marry, the Infant *Don Henry*: and, in case he died before the consummation of the marriage, she should become the wife of his younger brother *Don Ferdinand*: that five good towns, with their territories, which were named, should be given as a dowry to *Donna Constantia*: that the duke should receive six hundred thousand pieces of gold for the expences of the war: that

^c ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. POLYD. VIRGIL. THOM. WALSINGH. in Richard II. ^d BRAND. EMANUEL DE FAR. Y SOUSA. ^e Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. THOM. WALSINGH. in Rich. II. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^f Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. FER. ^g Historia Vitæ & Regni Ricardi II. Angliæ Regis, a Monacho quodam de Eversham consignata. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. MARIAN.

(X) The campaign completed the ruin of the English army, which the winter had begun. The climate of *Galicia* did by no means agree with *English* constitutions: the season proved rainy and unwholesome; provisions were scarce, which tempted the soldiers to plunder, and, in revenge of this, the *Spaniards* knocked them on the head. It was with difficulty, therefore, that he assembled a tolerable force to join the *Portuguese*, and, when he did, they could do but little. The *Spanish* historians relate all this, but very modestly, and without treating our countrymen with the least disrespect; whereas our own historians, who wrote in or near those times, expose this expedition of the duke's as very rashly undertaken, and very unskillfully conducted. One writer particularly assures us, that the duke's troops, through famine, deserted in such numbers, that the king of *Portugal* insisted upon giving the enemy battle immediately; because, in their present feeble condition, the *English* deserters would be a burthen to them; whereas he dreaded the effects of their valour, if they had time to recover their strength: but the duke is said to have dissuaded him from this, being sensible that it was not through disaffection that they went over to the enemy, but thro' downright want. Upon this our author assures us, that the duke humbled himself in a very extraordinary man-

ner before God; promised an amendment of life, and made other vows, to which he attributes entirely the king of *Castile*'s renewing the treaty, and offering an enemy in distress all that he could have demanded if he had been victorious; for the duke of *Lancaster*'s only view was to see his daughter queen of *Castile*. *Mariana* and this author likewise seem to be a little premature in affirming that the principal points of the agreement were settled while the duke remained in *Portugal*; whereas, in reality, he declined treating while within that kingdom, but gave the king *Don Juan* good reasons to believe that things would be amicably adjusted by permitting lord *John Holland*, upon his arrival at *Lisbon* from *London*, to enroll as many of his men as were willing to go with him into *Gascony*; which very plainly intimated either a resolution in him to put an end to the war, or an absolute inability to continue it. There is no doubt that the king of *Portugal* was not very well pleased with this treaty, which he foresaw must be concluded; but his people were very weary of the company of foreigners; so that, upon the whole, he was well enough satisfied to be rid of those who might do him a great deal of hurt, and who could do him but very little good if they would.

his

- a his duchess should receive forty thousand franks a year; and that, in consideration of the due performance of these articles, the duke and duchess should renounce for ever their rights to the crown of *Castile*. All this was ratified and approved in an assembly of the states of the kingdom, as well as by the king Don *Juan*: but when it came to be ratified by the duke and duchess, they did it with this proviso, that the heir apparent of the crown of *Castile* should thenceforward bear the title of prince of *Asturias*^h. The princess, Donna *Catalina*, was conducted from *Fontarabia* to *Palencia*, and there, in the presence of the king, espoused to the Infant Don *Henry*; that prince being about nine years old, and herself about fourteenⁱ; *Mariana* says the prince was ten and the princess nineteen years of age; but this is clearly a mistake, since it is very certain that the duke of *Lancaster* had not been married to Donna
- b *Constantia* above sixteen years^k. Some short time after the duchess of *Lancaster* sent to let the king know, that she was extremely desirous of seeing him and her children the prince and princess of *Asturias*; upon which he sent several persons of the first distinction to conduct her to *Medina del Campo*, where he was; and, during her stay there, she was treated with such respect and cordiality, that she presented the king with a crown of gold, that had been made for her husband, and a vessel of the same precious metal, exquisitely wrought^l. After a considerable stay at *Medina*, she complied with the king's request of going to pass the winter at *Toledo*, where she received the compliments of almost all the nobility of the first rank in *Spain*, and where her conduct was so prudent, as gained her the hearts of the king and queen.

- In the spring the king accompanied the duchess of *Lancaster* to *Burgos*, with an intent to
- c have proceeded to *Fontarabia*, that he might also confer with the duke her husband. But, A. D. 1388. The king of Castile's tender and laudable affection for his subjects. within a very short time after his arrival he fell extremely ill; but, growing better, he set out with her again for *Vitoria*, where he was attacked with the same disease, in such a manner, that he was obliged to excuse himself from proceeding farther northwards; and sent his compliments, by his ambassadors, to the duke of *Lancaster*, with whom all things were amicably adjusted: the large sum that had been stipulated was paid, and hostages were given for the duchess's annuity. The king of *Portugal* having, this year, gained some advantages, the king of *Castile* took much pains, and sacrificed some places that were still in his hands, to get the truce renewed. He appears to have been a most conscientious prince; for he grudged every thing that came out of his subjects pockets, and chose rather to suffer any disgrace, than
- d to exhaust them, in order to aggrandize his own family. He carried this so far, that, when the states had imposed an extraordinary tribute, to raise the money for the duke of *Lancaster*, understanding that, in some places, the people murmured at it, he sent them word, that, it was true, he could not exempt them from paying, because he was to pay it himself; but that he would allow it in the ordinary revenues of the next year^m. This had two good effects, it produced the money, and it put an end to all murmurs. Whether the expences of the war with *Portugal*, and the misfortunes attending it, had unavoidably exhausted his treasury, or whether there was really any fault in those who managed his affairs, so it was, that the king grew extremely melancholy at the remembrance of the flourishing state of things in the last years of his father's reign, in comparison of his own; which, at length, affected him so
- e heavily, that he called an assembly of the states, to propose resigning the crown to his son, though a minor, and putting the government into the hands of a council, who, by their wisdom and application, might bring things into a better state. But this assembly very wisely remonstrated to the king, that such a resolution might augment, but never could diminish, the mischiefs to which his subjects were exposed; that, as to the regulation of his revenue, they would take that upon themselves, and that, in a little time, under the auspices of so good a prince, they did not in the least doubt, that all things might be brought into orderⁿ.

- The king's spirits were in some measure raised, by the application of the king of *Granada* A. D. 1389. Sudden and unhappy death of that great and good prince by a fall from his horse. to renew the truce; who, upon that occasion, sent a magnificent embassy, and very costly presents: but what pleased him still more was, that the king of *Portugal* sent likewise to prolong the truce, which was a thing that the king of *Castile* heartily desired, but was unwilling to ask^o. In this flow of good fortune he erected a new order of knighthood, which he stiled, *of the Holy Ghost*; the badge of which was a collar of gold, to which was appendant the figure of a dove, surrounded with a glory^p. At the time the *Moorish* ambassadors were at his court, he understood that there were many Christians of distinction, who, from time to time, had retired out of *Spain*, either through discontent or fear, and were settled in the city of *Morocco*, notwithstanding which they were exceedingly desirous of returning home; but appre-

^h Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Historia Vitæ et Regni Ricardi II. WALSING. in Ric. II. ⁱ Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. ^k Historia general de Espana, lib. xx. ^l Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. ^m Historia Vitæ & Regni Ricardi II. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. ^o Chronica de los Moros de Espana. BRAND. ^p MARIAN. FER.

hended the double difficulty of procuring pardon on one side, and permission on the other. ^a
 The king of *Castile*, sincerely touched with the misfortunes of these people, whom the *Spanish* writers stile (Y) *Farfanese*, applied himself with such earnestness to the king of *Morocco*, that he gave them leave to depart. Some of the first of them arrived a little before winter, and desired to have the honour of being admitted to the king's presence, that they might return him their thanks. Don *Juan*, who had heard that they were wonderfully expert in horsemanship, desired they would meet him at *Alcala*, on his road to *Andalusia*. Arriving in this city, and understanding that they were at hand, he mounted on horseback, on Sunday, October the 9th, attended by the archbishop of *Toledo*, and some other persons of the first distinction, with whom he proceeded thro' the gate leading to *Burgos*; met these new comers, and was infinitely delighted with their exercise: but spurring an high-mettled *Barbary* horse he rode, the ^b beast suddenly plunged, threw him over his head, and, falling upon him, crushed him to death upon the spot (Z). The archbishop of *Toledo* caused a tent to be pitched near the place, carried the king thither, and gave out that he was not dead, in order to gain the more time for the peaceable accession of his son; which being accomplished, his body was transported to *Toledo*, and buried there according to his own desire^c; and afterwards with still greater solemnity, by command of the king his son.

A. D. 1390.

King Henry
III. ascends
the throne,
when just entered on the
eleventh year
of his age.

Don *Henry*, the third of that name, king of *Castile*, was but five days more than ten years old at the demise of his father, and succeeded him without any hesitation or disturbance; tho' this, like all calms at court, more especially in minorities, was of very short duration'. The late king had a numerous family of women to maintain, and this charge descended upon his son. ^c These were Donna *Leonora*, the queen-dowager of *Portugal*; her daughter Donna *Beatrix*, queen-dowager of *Castile*; another Donna *Leonora*, queen of *Navarre*, the late king's sister, who, with her two daughters, had retired into *Castile*, under pretence that the air of *Navarre* would not agree with them, and would not return, though strongly solicited by the king her husband; and the queen consort, tho' as yet the marriage was not complete: to which we may add Donna *Constantia*, duchess of *Lancaster*, who had likewise a large annuity, tho' it was but indifferently paid'. In order to keep things quiet, it was found necessary to call the princes of the blood to court, and to gratify them with great places and pensions. These were Don *Frederic*, duke of *Benavente*, the natural son of king *Henry* the second, and uncle to the late king; Don *Pedro*, count of *Traстамара*, who was the son of the Infant Don *Frederic*, grand ^d master of the order of *St. James*, who had been barbarously murdered by the king Don *Pedro*; Don *Alonso de Arragon*, marquis de *Villena*, and Don *Alonso* count of *Gijon*, the king's uncle, then a prisoner, soon after released: to say nothing of the children of the king Don *Pedro*, or of the Infant Don *Juan* of *Portugal*, who were likewise prisoners, and maintained at the expence of the state'. The duke de *Benavente* was no sooner at court than he meditated a marriage which alarmed the young king and his ministers very much. The lady upon whom he fixed his eyes was also a princess of the blood, Donna *Leonora*, daughter of the Infant Don *Sancho*, and, by far, the richest heiress in *Castile*. The only method that could be thought

^a Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. ' ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. FERRERAS.

^c Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. par Don PEDRO LOPEZ de Aya'a.

^d ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III.

^e ALFONSI a Carthagina reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv.

(Y) The word *Farfan* signifies a Christian soldier, or rather a Christian cavalier in the pay of the *Moors*. There were many circumstances that concurred to furnish the *Moorish* monarchs in *Spain* and in *Africa* with these soldiers. Sometimes it was the pure effects of the spirit of rambling, and that spirit of chivalry which was then so much in fashion; sometimes it was owing to private disasters or disappointments, which rendered their own country disagreeable to them; but the chief cause was being some way or other obnoxious to justice for acts of private resentment, or of public discontent; but resting ever upon this foundation, that a gentleman's sword ought to carve him out a subsistence, and that it was beneath him to exert any other talent for his advancement than his courage. At this juncture, it seems, the *Moors* were more peaceably disposed than usual; for otherwise they would not have parted with these mercenaries, for whom they had a great esteem. It is also not at all improbable, that the king Don *Juan* had political reasons for recalling them, which might have appeared in time, if providence had granted him a longer life: at all events, it was an act of generous charity, that could not fail of raising his reputation.

(Z) This melancholy accident, which cost the king Don *Juan* his life, happened chiefly by his seeing this

exercise performed on ploughed lands; so that, upon spurring his horse, his fore feet fell into a deep furrow, by which means the king was thrown over his head. Surgeons were sent for, and processions ordered, that the people might have opportunities of praying for the king's recovery. But this was the effects of the archbishop of *Toledo*'s prudence, for the king gave not the least sign of life after his fall. The reason why this prelate thought these precautions necessary, was the uneasiness expressed by all ranks of people on the apprehensions of losing a prince in the prime of his years, for the king was but three and thirty, and the government's falling into the hands of a child, and he too of so weak a constitution, that they had already bestowed on him the surname of the *Sickly*. In the midst of these disasters the case of the queen was most to be deplored, for, in losing the king her husband, she lost all: she was already, in a manner, cut off from her own country, deprived of the crown to which she was intitled by her birth, and left amongst strangers, without children, and without any means, except those flowing from the prudence of her own conduct, to support the precarious title of a queen, in a country where the seeds of faction were continually shooting up upon the smallest relaxation in government, and more especially in minorities.

- a of to prevent this was to contract the countess, with her own consent, to the king's brother, the Infant Don *Ferdinand*; with a proviso that, if the king should die before he was of age to consummate his own marriage, the contract should be void, and the Infant at liberty to espouse the queen^a. Some disputes there were about settling a regency: it was surmised that the king had left a will, and, at length, that will was found: but the contents of it being disapproved, it was ordered to be burnt, which was prevented by the archbishop of *Toledo*, on account of some legacies that were given to his church. At length a council of regency was formed by common consent, consisting of the duke *de Benavente*, the count *de Trastamara*, the marquis *de Villena*, the archbishops of *Toledo* and *Compostella*, the grand masters of *St. James* and *Calatrava*, and sixteen deputies from the principal towns: though this regency
- b was approved and established by authority of the states, yet, before the end of the year, the archbishop of *Toledo* withdrew from court, declared against them, and drew the duke *de Benavente* into his measures^w. So soon are factions formed!

THE regents laboured all they could to bring this prelate into their measures, but in vain; *The duke de* upon which they removed the court to *Segovia*, and gave the title of constable to Don *Pedro* *Benavente's* count of *Trastamara*^x. At length, through the mediation of the queen of *Navarre*, things *intrigues perplex the queen and the re-* were brought to an accommodation; and the states were assembled at *Burgos*, where the principles of the late king's will were adopted, a new regency framed, and a great deal of public *gency.* money very prudently bestowed in pensions to preserve the public peace. Though the duke *A. D. 1391.* *de Benavente* had all the reason in the world to be satisfied, and a variety of alterations had been

- c made for that reason solely, yet he still persisted in his intrigues; in consequence of which he formed a project of marrying a natural daughter of the king of *Portugal*, with whom he was to have a large sum in ready money, and the protection of the king besides^y. To balance this the council of regency offered him the like sum of money to decline that marriage, and upon *A. D. 1392.* this the duke was brought to suspend it.

- THIS disjointed state of affairs in *Castile* gave its neighbours many opportunities of behaving *Wearied with* otherwise than they were wont. The *Moors* of *Granada* made a sudden irruption, in breach *perpetual contrivances to* of the truce which *Joseph* the son and successor of *Mohammed* had made with the young king, *disturb the* and carried away a great booty; but the *Castilians* attacked them in their retreat so judiciously, *regency, the* and with so much vigour, that they recovered all they had taken, and cured them of the *king assumes* desire of making such incursions for the future: this, together with some quick measures taken *the administration.* against the duke *de Benavente*, induced the king of *Portugal* to let fall some very haughty and unreasonable articles, upon which he had insisted in respect to a truce, but which he at length thought proper to conclude for fifteen years, upon condition that some of the principal lords would sign it within a limited time; and of these the duke *de Benavente*, the count of *Trastamara*, and the count of *Gijon* refused^z. The regency, suspecting the archbishop of *Toledo* of a design to excite fresh troubles, caused him to be arrested: but, upon his giving them proper assurances, he was quickly released. *Charles* the sixth of *France* sent, about this time, ambassadors to compliment the young king upon his accession, and to let him know that he heard that some of his nobility were inclined to create disturbances, which, if true, he would give
- e him what aid he desired; or, if it was requisite, march in person, with the whole force of his dominions; the king thanked him, in the warmest terms, for this noble instance of his friendship, but did not demand his assistance^a. As he was now within two months of thirteen complete, and of a capacity far beyond his age, Don *Henry* assumed the government, held an assembly of the states at *Madrid*, and, having confirmed the privileges of *Biscay*, and done other necessary and popular acts, he set out for *Toledo*, where he caused the obsequies of his father to be performed in his presence with great solemnity^b. He next celebrated his marriage with the princess *Catherine* of *Lancaster*, and his brother Don *Ferdinand* at the same time espoused the countess of *Albuquerque*. These salutary steps taken, he curtailed those exorbitant pensions which the regency had been obliged to give to the princes and princesses of the royal
- f family; for he was thoroughly tinctured with his father's maxim, that kings were to be the fathers of their people, and were not to impoverish a nation to enrich their families^c. *A. D. 1393.*

BUT the princes and princesses of the blood were very unwilling to learn this lesson, which *All the princes and princesses of the blood concur in opposing the king's measures.* they understood to be a most crying act of injustice with respect to them, retired to their respective estates, and began to cabal as usual. The king, finding the archbishop of *Toledo* a very sensible man, and ready to give him good advice, when his own interests were well secured, gratified him in that particular, and took him into his confidence^d. He then sent the marshal of *Castile* to the queen of *Navarre*, the duke of *Benavente*, and the rest of the

^a Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. ^w ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. FERRERAS. ^x FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan.

^y Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

^z Chronica de los Moros de España. BRANDAON. FERRERAS. ^a Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

^b ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ALFONSI a Carthagena reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. ^c Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan.

^d ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

malecontents, to let them know that what he had done was by the advice of his states; and that, when the times were better, they might expect better provisions. This had no great effect, for as yet they did not know the king, whom a strange affair had drawn, in the midst of these disputes, from *Castile* to the city of *Toledo* (A). By the midst of summer he was on his return, and the marquis *de Villena* met him at *Illescas* with a hundred lances. The king received him kindly, but insisted upon his subscribing the truce with *Portugal*, to which he assented*. The king proceeded to *Valladolid* with an army about him; and understanding that the malecontents had entered into a league, and were all armed, he proceeded with caution.

He persists in his own resolution, and triumphs gloriously over them all.

It is very remarkable that this young king, foreseeing that whatever he did would be ascribed to the archbishop of *Toledo*, if he was with him, left him behind, and this measure was of the utmost consequence. The archbishop of *Compostella*, hearing that his competitor was absent, came readily to the king, and was reconciled. The king then granted a safe-conduct to the duke *de Benavente*, who came, made a long defence, and submitted to the terms that the king prescribed; but he would not suffer him to subscribe them there, requiring him to return to his own fortress, and consider them for a week, that he might not pretend to be forced†. The king then reviewed his forces, and dismissed the greatest part of them; the duke did the like. The count *de Trastamara* followed the duke's example, first demanded a safe conduct, and then made his terms with the king. He insisted upon the restitution of a place that had been taken from him by the count *de Gijon*, and the king promised him justice. The name of this place was *Parades de Nava*, to which the king went, and sequestered it, allowing sixty days to the count *de Gijon* to make out his title. While the king was thus employed, the count *de Trastamara* went to visit the queen of *Navarre*, at her request, and by the advice of the duke of *Benavente*, that they might take their measures together. The king being informed of this, after his arrival at *Burgos*, caused the duke to be arrested, and seized all his places. After this, he reduced *Roa*, where the queen of *Navarre* had taken shelter, and made her a prisoner likewise. He marched next in person into the *Asturias*; and understanding that the count of *Gijon* had taken possession of *Oviedo*, with a body of troops,

* *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III.*

† *ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.*

(A) The occasion of the king's journey to *Toledo* would have been too great a digression, if we had given it a place in the text; and yet it seems a point of too great importance to be totally neglected, for which reason we have placed it here. Amongst the lords of *Portugal*, who followed the party of the king of *Castile*, was Don *Martin Yanez de la Barbuda*, who was treasurer of the military order of *Avis* in that kingdom, a person of great courage, and esteemed one of the ablest officers of his time. The king, in reward of his fidelity, procured his election to the office of grand master of *Alcantara*, which gave him at once title, rank, and a large revenue. There dwelt not far from *Alcantara*, in a desert part of the country, an hermit, whose name was *Juan Sago*, who had acquired a reputation of sanctity; this man addressed himself to the grand master, affirming, he had a revelation, that if he would attack the *Moors*, merely as enemies to the Gospel, and without any secular views, he should drive them out of *Spain*, and this without the loss of a man. The grand master was weak enough to credit this, and sent two of his esquires to challenge the king of *Granada*, offering to fight him alone, or with any number of troops he would appoint, allowing him two to one, in defence of the Gospel against the *Koran*. The king of *Granada* rejected this proposition, and put the persons who brought it into prison. The king, Don *Henry*, hearing that he was raising forces, sent for the grand master, to put him in mind of his duty, and of the truce that subsisted between the two crowns. This had no effect, his hermit persuaded him to assemble an army; and, upon a promise of their being invulnerable, this was easily done; so that in a short time he had a body of three thousand, some writers say, five thousand foot, and about three hundred lances, all men of family, and tried courage. Upon his arrival with these forces at *Cardova*, the inhabitants were inclined to have disputed the passage of their bridge, which at length, however, they declined. On his arrival at *Alcala*, Don *Alonso Fernandez de Cordova*, lord of *Aguilar*, with his brother Don *Diego*, met him, and used all possible arguments to dissuade him from this rash enterprize, but to no purpose. When he

entered the territory of *Granada* he attacked a small fort, where he lost three men, and was himself wounded in the hand; upon this he reproached the hermit, who retorted his reproaches, by telling him, that the promise he made him did not regard pillaging small places, but rendering the truth of religion visible by the defeat of the Infidels in a decisive battle. These altercations were hardly over, when the king of *Granada* appeared at the head of five thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty thousand foot. The Christians were presently surrounded, and the fight, or rather the slaughter, began. Some say that the infantry were intimidated, and endeavoured to make their escape; others, that they behaved bravely. About fifteen hundred returned, twelve hundred were made prisoners, and the rest killed. As for the three hundred lances, they had no thoughts of retreating, the grand master disposed them in the best order imaginable; gave the highest proofs of his skill and experience in the art of war; but, in the end, after wonderful instances of valour, he fell, covered with wounds, and with him all that glorious body of cavalry, who were thus offered as victims to his credulity and their own. At the request of the Christians, the *Moors* permitted them to search for and carry away his body, which was buried in the church of our lady, at *Alcantara*, under a tomb, with this inscription, by his own order: *Hic situs est Martinus Yanez, in omni periculo experti timoris animo.* "Here lies Martin Yanez, on whose mind the sight of the greatest danger could never impress a sense of fear." When this history was told the emperor *Charles* the fifth, he answered, smiling, and yet I dare say this grand master would not have snuffed out a lighted flambeaux with his fingers. It was this unfortunate affair that brought the king of *Castile* to *Toledo*, where he began to assemble his troops, from an apprehension that the *Moors* would attack his dominions; but upon his acquainting the king of *Granada* that it was an act of temerity in a single man, which he could not either foresee or prevent, and ought not to be considered as a breach of the truce, that monarch answered, that he was of the same sentiment; and so this affair was blown over.

he

a he attacked and put the best part of them to the sword. He then invested *Gijon*, which the count had fortified with great industry, and in which he had a numerous garrison. While he remained there, he summoned the count *de Trastamara* to join him with his forces, who, though he was not without apprehensions, obeyed. The king received him kindly, pardoned all that was past, and gave him part of the lands of the duke of *Benavente*. The winter drawing on, the count *de Gijon* offered to submit his dispute with king *Henry* to the king of *France*, which was accepted; but care was taken that no supplies should be put into the place^s. A. D. 1394.

THE king carried his aunt, the queen of *Navarre*, with the two princesses her daughters, to the frontiers of that kingdom; and, having taken her husband's oath that he should live kindly with her, sent her home^h. The marriage was now celebrated between the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, and *Leonora*, countess of *Albuquerque*ⁱ. The *French* monarch having decided that *Alonso*, count of *Gijon*, had forfeited all his lands for rebellion, the king returned to the siege of the castle, which was defended by the countess, who offered to surrender, if the king would restore her son who was in his hands as an hostage. The king consented to this, and as soon as the castle was in his hands, demolished it^k. He returned through *Castile*, to pass the winter at *Seville*, where he renewed the truce with the king of *Granada*, and suppressed the factions that disturbed the peace of the city and kingdom of *Murcia*; the *Portuguese*, having corrupted an officer intrusted with the care of one of the gates of *Badajoz*, surprized that place, and attempted *Albuquerque*, in which they failed. The king, Don *Henry*, resolved to revenge this affront, and made great preparations for that purpose by land and sea. The king of *Portugal* sent ambassadors to pacify him, but he ordered them to depart his dominions, and prosecuted his resentment with great violence, which gave some of the *Portuguese* nobility, who were much disgusted with their king, an opportunity of retiring into *Castile*^l. *Joseph*, king of *Granada*, dying, *Mohammed*, his son and successor, went, as some writers say, in person, to the court of the king of *Castile*, and renewed the truce; the *Portuguese* having recovered from their consternation, made an irruption into *Castile*, with some effect; and, on the other hand, the *Castilians* beat the *Portuguese* at sea^m. 1395.

The king, Don *Henry*, being desirous of determining this dispute, levied a tax throughout his whole dominions, and began to make vast military preparationsⁿ. Being desirous of putting an end to the schism which still continued, he resolved to withdraw his obedience from *Benedict* the thirteenth, who resided at *Avignon*; but before pope *Boniface*, who governed at *Rome*, could be informed of this, he endeavoured to take advantage of the war with *Portugal*, pronounced the king a schismatic, fallen from his crown and dignity, and incapable of governing, and sent a bull to this purpose to the archbishop of *Braga*^o. The next year a negotiation was set on foot between the kings of *Castile* and *Portugal*, which ended in a truce of ten years; soon after died Don *Pedro Tenorio*, archbishop of *Toledo*, at the age of seventy-five, to whom the king was much indebted for his advice^p. The corsairs of *Barbary* being extremely troublesome, the king ordered the fleet that had been prepared against *Portugal* to clear the seas of those robbers, which they did; and taking it to be a proper appendix to their commission, undertook to clear the land a little also; with this view they landed their forces, and attacked *Tetuan*, of which they quickly became masters, pillaged it, carried away all the inhabitants, and then burnt it to the ground^q. There was this year a most violent and destructive plague in *Spain*, but more especially in *Andalusia*, insomuch that the king was constrained to suspend the law, which restrained widows from marrying within a year after the death of their husbands. On the sixth of *July*, this year, the first clock that was ever seen in *Spain* was erected at *Seville*^r. 1396. 1397. 1398. 1399. 1400.

THE king having called an assembly of the states of *Tordesillas*, made several laws there for the benefit of his subjects. As the great point he had in view, in withdrawing his obedience from pope *Benedict* the thirteenth, was to put an end to a schism, which, in the present situation of things, proved very detrimental to Christendom in general, and to his own dominions in particular, and perceiving that this step increased the latter, without diminishing the former inconveniency, he acknowledged the same pope again, who thereupon took the advantage of naming his nephew, Don *Pedro de Luna*, to the archbishoprick of *Toledo*, upon the lapse of the dean and chapter^s. The same year the king having heard of the great reputation of 1401.

^s ALPHONSI a Carthageria reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^h FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. ⁱ RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^k P. DANIEL Histoire de France. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. ^l ORITZ DE ZUNIGA. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. BRANDAON. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. ^m FARIA Y SOUSA. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. ^o RAINALD. ^p BRANDAON. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. ^q RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^r Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. FERRERAS. ^s ALPHONSI a Carthageria reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. RAINALD.

Timur Bet, whom the *Spanish* writers of those times call *Tamerlan*, he sent two ambassadors ^a to compliment him, and to make him an offer of his friendship ¹. As under the reigns of the three last princes the people in general had been treated with great lenity and kindness, their circumstances were much altered, more especially in the great cities; and this proved the source of factions, that were very detrimental to the public peace. In *Seville* and *Cordova* especially they were risen to such a height, that the king was forced to interpose, but he did it with such a spirit of equity, as left no room for complaints, and with an air of dignity, which shewed he was not to be moved by clamour ². The ambassadors of *Castile* saluted the illustrious emperor of the *Tartars*, immediately after he had vanquished the whole power of the *Ottomans*, and taken *Bajazet* prisoner. He received them very kindly, expressed a proper sense of the compliment paid him, and sent an officer of his household, with rich presents into ^b *Spain*, to return it. The name of this ambassador was *Mohammed Acagi*, and he brought with him two young ladies, the daughters of an *Hungarian* count, who had been taken by *Bajazet*, at the fatal battle of *Nicapolis*, and were found amongst the spoils upon his defeat. These young ladies, who were exquisitely handhome, and whose names were *Donna Maria* and *Donna Angelina*, being thus set at liberty, were extremely acceptable to the king and queen, and were very soon happily married in *Spain* ³. On the 14th of *November*, the queen was delivered of a daughter, named *Donna Maria*, to the great joy of the king, and of his subjects; and, in the beginning of the next year, the states at *Toledo* acknowledged and swore to maintain her title, in case the king left no heir male ⁴. The king sent a second embassy ^c to *Tamerlan*, with letters of thanks, and presents of very considerable value. The Infant *Don Ferdinand*, out of reverence to the blessed virgin, instituted a new order of knighthood, which he called *de la Jarra*, that is, of the *Jar* or *Vase*, because the device was a flower pot filled with white lilies ⁵.

^a The king's great frugality founded on the most generous motives. As the kingdom enjoyed a profound peace, the monarch of *Castile* thought it a proper time to put his plan in execution. He saw, with regret, the finest country in *Spain* in the hands of the *Moors*; and they growing infinitely more strong and powerful every day, by that spirit of industry and frugality that reigned amongst them, he saw that a very long and expensive war would be necessary to reduce them. He knew, that how chearfully soever his people might begin such a war, they would very soon grow weary of the taxes that were necessary to support it; he determined therefore to reduce the expences of his government as much as ^d possible, and, out of his own saving, to heap up a treasure sufficient for this purpose. The king of *Granada*, afraid of his great power, and perhaps not altogether ignorant of his scheme, sent two of the principal persons about his court to testify his respect for him, with very rich presents, and, which he esteemed the highest mark of reverence and regard, one of the finest women in his seraglio; the king of *Castile* received this compliment and his presents very politely, and made him a proper return; but there afterwards grew a suspicion, that the principal end of this embassy was of a very dark nature, as hereafter will appear ².

^b After a very long and tedious illness, dies at length of a slow poison. The king being at *Toro* in the spring, the queen was there delivered on the sixth of *March*, of the Infant *Don Juan* ³. He held, soon after, an assembly of the states at *Madrid*, where some laws were made to moderate the exorbitant usury taken by the *Jews*, and to oblige them ^e to wear a mark of distinction upon their garments, and at the same time the concubines of priests were forbid to appear in publick, without a piece of scarlet cloth or ribbon, tacked to their head dress ⁴. The queen taking advantage of the extreme good humour the king was in, upon the birth of his son, prevailed upon him to set at liberty *Don Pedro* and *Donna Constantia*, the children of her uncle *Don Juan*, who died a little before, in the castle of *Soria*, upon a promise that *Don Pedro* should enter into holy orders ⁵. This year the king built the royal palace of *Madrid*, which was burnt some time after. He likewise built the alcazal of *Murcia*, and was the founder of the pleasant country villa, called *Pardo*; for he was naturally very magnificent, and frugal only from a principle of publick spirit ⁶. His ambassadors returned the next spring from the court of *Tamerlan*, and the king was extremely well ^f pleased with the account they gave him of the reception they had met with. On the complaints of the common people, that provisions were grown scarce and dear, the king found it necessary to settle the prices of grain of all sorts, to prevent extortion ⁷. The state of the king's health being better known at *Granada* than in *Castile*, the *Moors* began to break that truce which they had begged with so much seeming humility; *Don Henry* complained, by his ambassadors, without obtaining redress, and then threatened to seek it by force of arms; by

¹ ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. FERRERAS. ² Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. ³ ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. MARIANA. FERRERAS. ⁴ ALPHONSI a Carthagena de reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. FRANC. TARAP. de reg. Hispan. ⁵ ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ⁶ Chron. del Rey Don Henrique III. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. ⁷ ALPHONSI a Carthagena de reg. Hispan. FRANCISCI TARAPH. de reg. Hispan. ^a Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. ^b ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^c Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^d ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS.

- a way of reply to which the king of *Granada* marched into the realm of *Jaen*, and on the fourth of *October* invested *Guezada*, with an army of four thousand horse, and twenty-five thousand foot: he was not, however, able to take the place; and in two actions that happened this year the Christians had the better^f. The king, *Don Henry*, hoped the time was come to which Providence had fixed the subversion of the *Moorish* kingdom; and therefore he directed an assembly of the states to be held at *Toledo*, with a view to concert measures with them for pouring the whole force of *Spain* upon the kingdom of *Granada*; but when the states were assembled, he was too weak to assist there in person, and therefore sent his brother, the Infant *Don Ferdinand*, who opened to them at large the king's scheme. While the substance of it was under deliberation, *Don Henry* breathed his last, about nine in the morning, on *Christmas-day*, after a lingering tedious illness, which was discovered to be the effects of a slow poison, given him by a *Jew* physician. His obsequies were performed with all due solemnity, and his subjects in general, but more especially the common people, who rather loved and obeyed him as a parent than a prince, deplored him with tears^g (B).

- His son, *Don Juan*, who was but fourteen months old, was recommended particularly to the care of his uncle, *Don Ferdinand*, who, as soon as the royal funeral was over, went into the assembly of the states, and, in a short speech, desired them to take proper measures for proclaiming their king: many of the prelates, and some of the nobility, fearing a long minority, and knowing the great abilities of *Don Ferdinand*, put one of their number upon asking him what king he would have them proclaim? The royal Infant was thunder-struck at the insinuation; but quickly recollecting himself, he turned to the marshal, and said, It is impossible that my nephew should have any competitor: display the standard of the crown immediately for *Don Juan* the second, the only lawful king of *Castile* and *Leon*^h. He afterwards caused the late king's will to be read, and then sent it to *Segovia*, to the queen. By this will the king nominated two gentlemen to have the care of his son's person and education; but the queen being determined not to part with him, caused the gates of *Segovia* to be shut against the Infant *Don Ferdinand*, from an apprehension that he was come to take away her son. But, upon his prevailing on those two persons to accept of a sum of money, and to make over their claim to the queen, she altered her sentiments, and consented that the young king should be publicly inauguratedⁱ. The states declared the queen and the royal Infant regents; and, to prevent all disputes, the dominions of *Castile* were divided between them^k. *Don Ferdinand* carried on the war against the *Moors* with vigour, and in some great actions with success; though the king of *Granada*, which is almost incredible, brought, more than once, armies of fourscore thousand, and once an hundred thousand, foot, into the field; the fleet of *Castile* likewise defeated the combined squadrons of *Tunis* and *Tremecen*, and prevented their landing any succours to the *Moors* in *Spain*; so that the campaign concluded both happily and honourably for the Christians^l. The states granted very considerable supplies for the support of the war; but the king of *Granada* was early in the field, and under took the siege of *Alcaudeta* with a very numerous army; but the garrison made so obstinate a defence, and the *Moors* were so much harrassed, that they were at length constrained to raise the siege with discredit; notwithstanding which, the states of *Castile* resolved, merely to save expence, to act only upon the defensive; and upon the king of *Granada's* demanding a suspension of arms for eight months, the proposition was accepted. He did not survive long; and his brother *Joseph*, whom he had kept in prison during his whole reign, succeeded him^m. Some of the queen's favourites, notwithstanding all he had done for her service, created a misunderstanding between

Don Juan II.
succeeds, under
the tutelage of
his mother and
uncle.

1407.

^f *Chronica de los Moros de Espana.* Chron. del Rey Don Henrique III. ^g *ROD. SANTI* Hist. Hispan. part iv. *ALPHONSI* a Carthagenæ reg. Hispan. *Anacephalæosis.* FRANCIS. TARAP. de reg. Hispan. *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III.* ^h *Epitome de la Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. de Castilla,* por JOSEPH MARTINEZ de la Puente. FERRERAS. ⁱ *Histoire del Rey Don Juan II.* ^k *RODERIC SANTI* Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^l *Chronica de los Moros de Espana.* GALINDEZ DE CARVAJAL. ^m *Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.* *Chronica de los Moros de Espana.*

(B) This monarch was highly commended for the sweetness of his temper, and for his great affability to all ranks of people, in which, however, he lost nothing of his dignity, because it did not arise from any feebleness of mind, much less from timidity. There never was a king of *Castile*, of whom the nobility stood more in awe than this: because he was entirely beloved by the populace. On the other hand, this affection was not the fruit barely of his indulgence, but arose also from their respect and esteem, founded, in part, upon his strict justice, of which he gave a strong instance in the severity with which he punished the repeated disturbances occasioned by the two factions in the city of *Seville*; on account of which seditions, there were no less than a thousand persons put to death. Yet he was

never suspected of cruelty; and though he amassed a much greater treasure than any of his predecessors, it was without any imputation of covetousness. His common saying was, that he did not fear the hatred or the arms of his enemies, but the disaffection and curses of his subjects. The *Spaniards*, who often fancy their kings are poisoned upon very slight, and sometimes without any grounds at all, had no apprehension that this was the cause of *Don Henry's* death, because he had been infirm for many years; but some time after, certain *Jews*, who were executed at *Segovia*, for insults offered to the Christian religion, confessed, that long before he had received a slow poison from a physician of their religion, by which he gradually wasted to the time of his decease.

that

A. D. 1408. that princess and the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, in which, however, the latter acted so prudently, ^a that they were quickly reconciled ⁿ.

The Infant Don Ferdinand's wife and upright administration.

1409.

THE grand master of *Alcantara* dying, the Infant Don *Ferdinand* procured that important office for his son, the Infant Don *Sancho*, at whose installation the queen and the whole court assisted ^o. The duke of *Austria* made a proposal of marriage to the queen-dowager Donna *Beatrix*, widow of the late king Don *Juan*, but she modestly declined it, by saying, that women of her rank married but once ^p. The *Moors*, after having committed hostilities more than once, desired, and were permitted, to renew the truce ^q. The queen, plainly perceiving that her confidence had been abused in respect to the umbrage she had taken against the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, very wisely resolved to connect their families more closely, and with this view contracted her daughter Donna *Maria* to his son *Alonso* ^r. The grand master of the order of St. *James* dying, that office, though with some difficulty, was procured for the Infant Don *Henry*, another son of the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, though he was then very young ^s. The war with the *Moors* broke out again, and great preparations were made for carrying it on, on both sides. The Infant Don *Ferdinand* prevailed upon the states to change their sentiments in regard to a defensive war, and to furnish the supplies early, so that he took the field with a numerous army, and invested *Antequera*, a large and well-built town, within twelve leagues of *Granada*, defended by a strong citadel, and, from its situation, of very great importance. The king of *Granada* practised every method in his power for its relief, but without effect. He at last attempted a negotiation, with a view of corrupting some of the *Moorish* slaves in the Christian camp, to assist in a perfidious contrivance for the destruction of their masters; but a converted *Moor* discovering the plot in time, the conspirators were very severely punished, and not long after the place was taken by assault, and the city by capitulation ^t. This so humbled the *Moors*, that they demanded a truce of seventeen months. The Infant Don *Ferdinand* put in his claim to the kingdom of *Arragon*; and, upon the demise of the king Don *Martin*, pushed his pretensions warmly by his ambassadors, the queen giving him all the assistance in her power; notwithstanding which, the troubles in that country lasted a long time ^u.

Assisted by the queen and council of Castile, in his claim to the crown of Arragon.

1411.

AN assembly of the states was held at *Valladolid*, during which the Infant Don *Ferdinand* fell dangerously ill. Don *Frederick*, duke de *Benavente*, who had been many years prisoner in the castle of *Montreal*, murdered the governor of that place, and made his escape into *Navarre*, where, at the instance of the court of *Castile*, he was secured, though he was the queen of *Navarre's* brother ^w. The states granted forty-eight millions of marvadies, to be employed in the war against *Granada*, at the expiration of the truce. In compliance with the desires of the subjects of both nations, a peace was concluded between the crowns of *Castile* and *Portugal*. The Infant still continued to solicit his claim to the crown of *Arragon*, which, as *Ferreras* rightly observes, must have proceeded upon this foundation, that the junction of the two crowns was not to be admitted; for otherwise his nephew, the king of *Castile*, had a prior right; but it is plain, that this was never insisted upon, and that the queen continued to do every thing that he could ask or desire ^x. The king of *Granada*, in the beginning of the ensuing year, desired to renew the truce, to which the queen consented. Don *Ferdinand*, finding that money was a very useful thing to a man in his situation, earnestly desired to have the money that had been laid by for the war: the council were divided upon this; some were for giving it to him, but others observed, that the queen and the Infant had sworn not to employ that money but in war; but this objection was easily removed; pope *Benedict* the thirteenth absolved them from their oaths, the Infant had the money, and by the help of it carried his point ^y. Donna *Leonora Lopez de Cordova*, who had been the queen's favourite, and disgraced, applied herself to the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, to make her peace; but the queen wrote to him to banish her into *Andalusia*, and immediately disgraced her brother, and all her relations. Towards the close of the year, the nine judges chosen by the states of *Arragon*, after long and mature deliberations, declared the Infant Don *Ferdinand* king, who immediately repaired to *Saragossa*, where he was proclaimed and crowned; notwithstanding which, he found himself engaged in a civil war, raised by the count de *Urgel*, who was in possession of many strong places, and had a numerous party at his devotion ^z.

1412.

The deaths of the king Don Ferdinand,

THE king, Don *Ferdinand*, finding that his enemy had applied himself for succours to *Thomas*, duke of *Clarence*, son to *Henry* the fourth of *England*, he judged it high time to

ⁿ Histoire del Rey Don Juan II. ^o ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ^p FRANC. TARAPH. de reg. Hispan. FERRERAS. ^q Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Hist. del Rey Don Juan II. ^r ALPHON. a Cartagena de reg. Hispan. Anacephalæsis. ^s ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^t Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de los Moros de Espana. GALINDEZ DE CARVAJAL. ^u ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^w Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ^x Chron. del Rey Don Juan II. ZURITA. Annal Arragon. BRAND. Historia de Espan. ^y RAINALD. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ^z ZURIT. Annal Arragon. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. FERRERAS.

- a make trial of the affection of the nobles of *Castile*; and, upon his signifying his request by letters, they drew together so great a force, and made so expeditious a march to his relief, as not only astonished his new subjects, but placed him in the quiet possession of his dominions, after a short and sharp dispute, which ended in his competitor's surrendering himself at discretion; and the king, to shew how much he relied upon his friends, sent him prisoner into *Spain*^a. By his interposition, the king of *Navarre* was prevailed upon to deliver up the duke of *Benavente*, who was carried back into *Castile*, and continued there a prisoner to his death^b. In order to fix himself more effectually in his new dominions, and to strengthen that union which already reigned between the two crowns, the king pressed the marriage of his eldest son Don *Alonso*, with the Infanta Donna *Maria*, to which the queen-dowager of *Castile* very readily consented, and the ceremony was soon after performed with great solemnity^c. This great point thus settled, the king was inclined to make a short tour to visit his sister; but a distemper, from which he had but lately recovered, surprized him again upon the road; and, after a short illness, carried him to the grave, on the second of *April*^d. He left behind him Don *Alonso*, who succeeded him to the throne of *Arragon*, the Infant Don *Juan*, the Infant Don *Henry*, grand master of the order of *St. James*, and the Infant Don *Pedro*; as for Don *Sancho*, grand master of the order of *Alcantara*, he died a month before his father. By the demise of this brave and prudent prince, the regency of *Castile* devolved solely upon the queen, who, with the advice of the nobility, made choice of a council to assist her. The first act which distinguished their administration, was representing to the queen, that *Agnes de Torres*, one of the ladies of her court, was a busy intriguing woman, and ought therefore to be forbid the court, together with Don *Juan Alvarez Ossorio*, who had great connections with her; to which the queen consented^e. The king of *Granada* being desirous of renewing the truce, the queen regent consented to it, upon condition that he released one hundred Christian slaves: in this year also some historians place the expedition of *Jean de Bethencourt*, for the reduction of the *Canaries*^f. In the council of *Constance*, which was held to put an end to the schism that had so long subsisted, the ambassadors of the crown of *Arragon* disputed precedency with those of *Castile*, but without effect, the point being clearly decided in favour of the latter^g. On the first of *June*, the queen regent was found dead in her bed^h. The *Spanish* writers allow her to have been a modest, charitable, and religious princess; but they likewise say, that she listened too much to the women that were about her, and that she was addicted to wine, which they insinuate to have been the cause of her deathⁱ. The archbishop of *Toledo*, whose name was Don *Sancho de Rojas*, Don *Henry*, Infant of *Arragon*, the amirante, the constable, *Juan de Velasco*, *Pedro Manrique*, and other great lords, thought it best to proclaim the king of full age, though he was scarce thirteen, which they did; and on the 20th of *October*, that young prince, in the presence of Donna *Leonora*, queen-dowager of *Arragon*, and the three Infants her sons, espoused Donna *Maria* their sister^k.
- A GENERAL assembly of the states being held at *Madrid* on the seventh of *March*, the king declared to them, that he had assumed the government, and was complimented thereupon^l. He renewed the truce with *Granada*, and received into his favour Don *Alvaro de Luna*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more at large^m. The two Infants of *Arragon*, Don *Juan* and Don *Henry*, who were men of abilities, but not of the same rectitude of intention with their father, had each of them a great desire to engross the person and favour of the young king of *Castile*, and to govern his dominions in his name. Don *Juan* having negotiated a marriage with Donna *Blanca*, daughter to the king of *Navarre*, and presumptive heiress of that kingdom, went thither to conclude it, which gave his brother an opportunity he did not slip, of seizing the king's person, which he did at *Tordesillas*, being supported in that insolent action by the constable, the bishop of *Segovia*, and some other personsⁿ. On the fourth of *August*, the king, being in his hands, married his sister; and, in the assembly of the states of *Avila*, the king justified and approved all that Don *Henry* had done, as being in his power; and disavowed the endeavours of the Infant Don *Juan* to raise forces for his deliverance. The Infant Don *Henry*, to maintain his power, was very desirous of espousing the princess *Catherine*, the king's sister, who declared her dislike, and, when he surprized the king, had fled to a cloister, from whence she would not be drawn, till he had promised, upon oath, not to force her inclinations; and yet, on the eighth of *November*, she married

A. D. 1413.

1414.

1415.

1416.

1418.

1419.

^a ZURITA. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. FERRERAS. ^b Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ^c ZURIT. Annal Arragon. FRANC. TARAPH. de reg. Hispan. ^d Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv. ^e ZURITA. Annal Arragon. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ^f Chronica de los Moros de Espana. FERRERAS. ^g Hist. Conc. Gen. ^h Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ⁱ Historia del Rey Don Juan II. FERRERAS. ^k FRANC. TARAPH. de reg. Hispan. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^l Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ^m Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla, y de Leon, y Maestro de la Orden y Cavalleria de Santo Iago. ⁿ Histoire de Royaume de Navarre. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

him^o. This gave the king an opportunity of making his escape, trusting the secret entirely to Don *Alvaro de Luna*, who made use of *Frederick*, count of *Trastamara*, and Don *Rodrigo Pimentel*, count of *Benavente*, to assist him therein. It was accomplished, but not without difficulty and hazard; so that, after crossing the river *Tagus* in an open boat, the king got to the castle of *Montalban*, in which he was besieged by the constable, and afterwards by the Infant Don *Henry*; but, the Infant Don *Juan* assembling great forces, they thought fit to retire, and leave the king at full liberty to go where he pleased^p.

His behaviour
excites that
monarch's in-
dignation in
a very high
degree.

THE king, who was alike unwilling to put himself into the power of the Infant Don *Juan*, treated him with great civility, when he admitted him to his presence, but did not suffer him to remain long at court; and at length sent him a positive order to disband his troops, as his brother had done. It was not long, however, before the Infant Don *Henry* created new disturbances; for the king, while he was under constraint, having bestowed upon him, by way of portion with his sister, the country of *Villena*, with the title of a duchy, he thought this warrant sufficient to take possession of it, and began to do it without waiting any forms. The king, Don *Juan*, was not only displeased, but thought himself at liberty to retract that grant, and therefore forbid such as held lands in or of that duchy, to acknowledge the Infant for their lord^q. Don *Henry* persisted in his first scheme; but the king persisted likewise: they would both be obeyed; and, as that was impossible, the greater part of the people chose the greater lord, and adhered to the king. In the mean time, the consort of the Infant Don *Juan* was brought to bed of a prince, who was named Don *Carlos*, whom his grandfather presently declared his successor^r. The truce with the *Moors* was renewed; and though he struggled hard, and gave the king a great deal of disturbance, yet, in the end, the Infant Don *Henry* was obliged to disband his troops, and to wear, at least, the appearance of submission, notwithstanding the king, Don *Juan*, refused to admit him to his presence.

The Infant
Don Henry
imprisoned,
and the prin-
cess flies into
Arragon.

THE troubles of *Castile* were but begun. The Infant Don *Henry* having parted with his troops, received the king's orders to come to court, which he was very unwilling to obey, insisting upon promises, and even upon hostages, for his safety; the king would have given him some moderate satisfaction, but that would not content him. At length, suspecting the use his enemies might make of his contempt, he took a sudden resolution of going to *Madrid*; but Don *Ruez Lopez de Avalos*, the constable, and *Pedro Manrique*, refused to accompany him, which, however, could not determine *Garcia Manrique*, who followed him out of personal affection. The Infant came to *Madrid* on the 13th of *June*, kissed the king's hand, and would have spoke to him that day, but the king advised him to go home and take his repose, and promised to send for him the next day. He did so, and the Infant found himself in the midst of the king's council, where he was charged with being privy to some letters written by the chancellor to the king of *Granada*, exciting him to make war, that the presence and assistance of the Infant Don *Henry* might be more necessary to the king: the Infant denied the fact, tho' the letters were shewn and read to him; and *Garcia Manrique*, who was a warm man, said, that he was ready to prove with his sword that they were forgeries, as indeed they were, which, however, did not hinder their being both imprisoned: the Infanta, though she had married Don *Henry* unwillingly, would not desert his interests in his distress, but, putting herself under the care of the constable, retired to the kingdom of *Valentia*^s. The queen was this year delivered of the Infanta *Catalina*; and the archbishop of *Toledo*, who was an active and ambitious prelate, departed this life^t. The truce between the crowns of *Castile* and *Portugal* was renewed for nineteen years, the circumstances of both nations making it equally acceptable to their ministers^u. The king of *Castile* deprived the constable of his dignity, which he gave to the count Don *Alvaro de Luna*; and distributed his estates, which were very considerable, amongst the lords who were most in his favour^v. In the month of *September* the queen was delivered of another daughter, named Donna *Eleonora*^x.

1422.

1423.

Troubles in
Castile con-
tinue and in-
crease, to the
destruction of
the kingdom.

ALL the time the disturbances subsisted in *Castile*, Don *Alonso* of *Arragon* was in *Italy*, endeavouring to procure the kingdom of *Naples*; but, being obstructed in that design, he this year returned home, upon which the king of *Castile* sent ambassadors to prevail upon him to deliver up the *Castilian* lords, and the princess his sister, who had taken shelter in his dominions. The king of *Arragon* insisted that his were a free people; and that, as they had obtained the protection of certain towns, it was not in his power to give them up. On the other hand, he solicited the king of *Castile* to set his brother, Don *Henry*, at liberty, which was refused; and the misunderstanding between the two crowns rose so high, that military

^o ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

^p GALINDEZ DE CARVAJAL.

Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

^q ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

^r Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

^s ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. Chronica de los Moros de Espana.

Chron. del Rey Don Juan II. GALINDEZ CARVAJAL.

^t Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

^u BRANDAON. FRANC. TARAPH. de reg. Hispan.

^v Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla.

^x ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hispan.

Anacephalaosif. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

a preparations were made on both sides^y. The Infanta Donna Catalina of Castile dying, to whom the states had sworn as the presumptive heir of the crown, the king, Don Juan, thought it necessary to take the same precaution, with regard to her surviving sister, Donna Leonora^z. A.D. 1424.

In the beginning of the succeeding year, this measure, which had been thought so necessary for the security of the royal family, and the welfare of the nation, was set aside by the queen's being delivered of a son, on the sixth of January, who was named Don Henry, after his grandfather, who, within a week after, was acknowledged for the heir apparent of the dominions of Castile^a. The disputes with the crown of Arragon continued in the same situation, or rather rose higher, as Don Alonso declared his resolution to have recourse to arms, for the deliverance of his brother Don Henry. The states of Castile, at the instance of their monarch, approved the commitment of that prince, and gave the king the supplies necessary for defending himself, in case he should be attacked; for which purpose he raised forces in all parts of his dominions. At the bottom, however, both monarchs were inclined to accomplish, if possible, their respective ends, without having recourse to arms^b; the king of Castile being well informed, that many of his nobility hated his favourite Don Alvaro, and wanted only an opportunity to shew it; and the king of Arragon having many affairs upon his hands, which rendered a war with Castile very improper at that season. To deliver himself from the perplexities he was under, and in order to be thoroughly informed of the sentiments of his antagonist, he summoned his brother Don Juan to return home, which, though a prudent step in him, perplexed that prince extremely, who was equally unwilling to differ with either of these kings. Upon his application to Don Juan of Castile, he drew him out of this difficulty, by advising him to comply with his brother's summons, and gave him full powers to treat of a peace^c. He went accordingly, and was extremely well received in the camp of Arragon, where he had scarce began to treat with his brother, before Providence put it in his power to treat with him on the level, by the death of Don Carlos the noble, king of Navarre; upon which Donna Blanca, the daughter of that monarch, and the wife of the Infant Don Juan, sent him the royal standard to the camp of Arragon^d. Soon after, he concluded a treaty with his brother Don Alonso, by which it was agreed, that the Infant Don Henry should be set at liberty, and should take a new oath of fidelity to the king of Castile, and be restored to all that he possessed; and that the king of Arragon should bear no ill-will to those who advised his cousin to imprison the Infant^e. 1425.

The calm derived from this treaty was of no long continuance: factions never want pretences; and those in Castile soon run as high as before, chiefly from the jealousy which the nobility had of the constable. The king, perhaps, by his advice, found a way to awe the king of Arragon, by ordering the count of Urgel, whom his father had sent prisoner into Castile, to be removed nearer the frontiers, and treated with great indulgence^f. But Don Alonso was not a prince to be long restrained; he sent his mother Donna Leonora, and his sister of the same name, to treat with the king of Castile; and, under the shadow of this negotiation, dispatched an officer, upon whom he could depend, to corrupt the governor of the castle, in which the count of Urgel was confined, who carried him swiftly and secretly into the dominions of the king of Arragon, who confined him for the rest of his life to the castle of Xativa^g. The king, Don Juan, of Navarre, was not so much pleased with his new title as with the power he had in Castile, where all the nobility, who hated the constable, considered him as their protector and support. Pedro Manrique, encouraged by them, charged Don Alvaro de Luna, whether true or falsely is a little uncertain, with very enormous offences. He suggested that he was enamoured of the queen; and that, by the help of Donna Maria Tellez, he proposed to remove the king, and to administer publick affairs at his pleasure, during a long minority. He charged him, on the other hand, with persuading the king, Don Juan, to part with that princess, and to espouse an Infanta of Portugal. After much confusion, the king found himself obliged to cause his favourite to retire, though he shewed his resentment strongly against such as had compelled him to that measure, and began to countenance the Infant Don Henry, who had little or no hand in it^h. 1426.

Success is often dangerous to a faction. The great lords, who had concurred in obliging the king to banish the constable, quickly fell out among themselves, and fearing no restraint, committed so many and so great excesses, as raised an universal clamour; insomuch that the far greater part, with the king of Navarre at their head, desired the king to recal him. Don Juan dissembled the pleasure he felt from this request, and, by a short delay, made the evil thence. 1427.

^y ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ^z ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv.
^a Historia del Rey Don Juan II. MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^b ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.
^c ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^d ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ^e Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ^f ZURITA. Annal Arragon. ^g Historia del Rey Don Juan II.
^h Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla. RODERIC SANTI Hist. Hispana, p. iv. ⁱ ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ^j Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla ROD. SANTI. Hist. Hispan. part iv.

more conspicuous, and them more earnest in their solicitations¹. About this time died Don *Ruez Lopez Avaloz*, formerly constable of *Castile*, in very mean circumstances; but when he was in his grave, his illustrious friends prevailed upon the king to restore his fame, by reversing the proceedings against him: an odd instance of respect for a man's memory, whom they had suffered to want bread². When the constable was again brought to court, he was introduced into the king's presence by the king of *Navarre* and the Infant Don *Henry*, who first quarrelled with each other about his friendship, whom not long after, by his dextrous policy, he caused, upon honourable pretences, to be removed from court³. *Mohammed*, surnamed the *Little*, having dethroned *Mohammed the Left-handed*, king of *Granada*, who, for his own safety, was retired into *Africa*, was encouraged by the king of *Castile* to attempt the recovery of his own dominions; and some hostilities passed between the *Castilians* and the *Moors*^m.

A. D. 1428.

War breaks
out between
the crowns of
Castile and
Arragon.

THE heart-burnings against the constable naturally revived, upon his being known to have more power at court than ever; the various arts he practised to maintain that power, increased the number and the rage of his adversaries, amongst whom the king of *Navarre* and the Infant Don *Henry*, perceiving that they had been both his dupes, might be reckoned the chief. The king of *Arragon* adhered to them firmly, raised an army in their support; so that a new war was on the point of breaking out, and both armies took the field; but such was the zeal and the address of the queen-dowager of *Arragon*, and the cardinal *Foix*, the pope's legate, that the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre* were prevailed on to retire, though the armies were within sightⁿ. After the retreat of their forces, Don *Juan* finding his own army much strengthened, resolved to revenge the insult he had received, having first sent a herald to the king of *Arragon* to denounce war. This produced a great deal of trouble and bloodshed on both sides; for, while the king, or rather the constable of *Castile*, plundered the dominions of *Arragon* on one side, the Infants Don *Henry* and Don *Pedro* did the like in *Castile*, and even carried their irruptions as far as *Toledo*: by degrees, however, the king Don *Juan*, and his loyal subjects, repressed the malecontents every where, gradually dispossessed the Infants of almost all their strong places; and, at length, blocked them up in *Albuquerque*, which the Infant Don *Henry* had received from his mother, whose hereditary estate it was^o. The same year, *Mohammed*, surnamed the *Left-handed*, recovered the throne of *Granada*, and *Mohammed the Little*, who had usurped it, suffered death^p.

1429.

A peace con-
cluded, and
the king Don
Juan turns his
arms against
the Moors.

IN the beginning of the ensuing year, the king came with an army before *Albuquerque*; and knowing what great advantages he might reap by dividing his adversaries, he had thoughts of treating the two Infants favourably: with this view, he advanced in person under the walls, where he ordered a general amnesty to be proclaimed to all who would accept it. Don *Henry* and Don *Pedro*, instead of accepting the king's mercy, answered with shot, stones, and arrows. The king retired upon this, and immediately proclaimed the king of *Navarre* and the Infant Don *Henry* rebels, and gave away all their estates in *Castile* to his followers; and it was remarkable, that the nobility of all ranks put in for their share, only the constable *de Luna*, out of policy, refused any part of their spoils; and a gentleman, whose name was *Dias*, to whom the king gave a handsome gratification, refused it upon a more generous motive; he said he could take no joy in the acquisition of that, for the loss of which another man must lament^q. The kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre* offered to submit all points in dispute to the judgment of the king of *Portugal*. The count *de Foix* offered his mediation; but it was rejected, with so little ceremony, that he joined his forces with those of the two crowns. At length the king of *Castile*, perceiving that the *Moors* began to be turbulent, made a truce with the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, upon condition that the exiles and malecontents of both countries should remain where they were; that the Infants Don *Henry* and *Pedro* should deliver the town and castle of *Albuquerque* into the king's hands; and that, for all points in dispute, they should be left to the decision of a certain number of judges, to be chosen by both parties. This gave offence to the king of *Portugal*, who thought himself slighted^r. Don *Juan* was now resolved to turn his arms upon the *Moors*; but first he sent an embassy to the king of *Tunis* to signify that the king of *Granada*, notwithstanding the assistance he had given him to remount the throne, had withheld his tribute, given assistance to his enemies, and made an alliance with the king of *Arragon*. Upon this the king of *Tunis* sent word to the monarch of *Granada*, that he had countermanded the succours he intended him, and that he had nothing to expect from him till he had given satisfaction to the king of *Castile*. The war that followed was very prejudicial to the *Moors*, the *Castilians* making incursions within sight of the walls of *Granada*^s.

¹ Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.² FRANC. TARAPH. de reg. Hispan. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.³ Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ^m Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.ⁿ Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ^o Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ZURIT. Annal Arragon. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.^p Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla. ^q Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ^r Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.^s Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla. ^t ZURITA. Annal Arragon. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla.^u Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Chron. del Rey Don Juan II. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. vi.

- a THE king, Don Juan, kept so strict an eye upon such of the nobility as he suspected of having any intercourse with the Infants of *Aragon*, and harrassed them in such a manner, that they were afraid to stir. At the same time, under colour of the war against the *Moors*, he raised so formidable an army, as induced all his neighbours to behave towards him with great complaisance and respect. At length, after having secured one or two great men who had been intriguing, or were suspected, he proceeded into *Andalusia*, and put himself at the head of his troops, carrying with him the queen and the prince of *Asturias*; but, when the season for action approached, he sent the prince to *Madrid*, the queen to *Carmona*, and ordered his council to remain at *Cordova*†. On the 13th of *June*, he marched from that city for the plains of *Granada*, where, on the 25th of the same month, he came to an engagement with the whole force of the *Moors*, at a place called *Caveca de los Ginetes*; some writers say, that each of the armies consisted of upwards of one hundred thousand men; but that they were pretty near equal is, on all hands, agreed, as well as that, after a long dispute, the *Moors* were defeated, with the loss of upwards of ten thousand men in the field of battle, and near twice as many in the pursuit; their camp and baggage fell also into the power of the Christians; and Don *Alvaro de Luna*, perceiving a great body of troops who had taken a strong camp on the top of a mountain, he caused it to be invested, and obliged them to surrender prisoners of war^u. After this decisive victory, in which both the kings commanded in person, it was proposed, in the council of war held in the presence of Don Juan, to seize this favourable opportunity, and to lay siege to the city of *Granada*; but to this many objections were made, and the king, following the advice of the majority of his officers, resolved to lay waste all the adjacent country, and then to retire into his own dominions. The true motive of this resolution, as the most unprejudiced historians agree, was the secret aversion of the nobility to the constable, who therefore would not suffer him to have the honour of delivering *Spain* from the *Moors*; but this step was no sooner taken, and the army upon its march towards *Cordova*, than they gave out positively, that he was the author of the retreat; and that, under colour of a present of figs, the king of *Granada* had sent him fifty thousand doubloons in gold^w. Before the end of the year, the king concluded a peace with *Portugal*, and completed his revenge on the king of *Granada*, by enabling *Joseph Ben Muley*, grandson of that king of *Granada* whom Don *Pedro the Cruel* put to death with his own hands, to dethrone *Mohammed the Left-handed*, who was forced to fly to *Malaga*, while the new king declared himself a vassal of *Castile*; upon which all hostilities ceased^x. Gains a complete victory over them, and causes the king of Granada to be dethroned. A. D. 1431.
- b
- c
- d

- THE troubles of *Castile*, which had been suspended during the war, broke out again as soon as it was over; for Don *Juan de Soto Major*, grand master of *Alcantara*, whom the king had long in suspicion, and who would never trust himself in his power, perceiving that his master was bent upon reducing him, as well as the count *de Castro*, and others, who had pursued the same measures, followed the dictates of his ambition, and resolved to join himself to the Infants *Henry* and *Pedro*; in consequence of which he delivered the town and fortress of *Alcantara* to the latter, and retired with the former to *Albuquerque*, which was become the chief seat and rendezvous of all the malecontents^y. This affair took a very strange turn; for, at the time of delivering the fortress he made prisoner therein one Dr. *Franco*, whom the king had sent to treat with him, and seized all his effects, and sent his nephew Don *Guitterez de Soto Major*, with a strong detachment of horse, to pillage the king's subjects, for the benefit of the Infants. This Don *Guitterez*, who was commander of the order, and next in authority to his uncle, had, upon his return, a conference with Dr. *Franco*, who hinted to him, that it was in his power to repair the disgrace of his family, and to establish himself for ever; and pointed out to him how it might be done. This staggered the young man; who knowing the mutability of his uncle's temper, and finding that he did not return, suspected that the Infant Don *Henry*, to make sure of him, had confined him in the castle of *Albuquerque*. Having once taken this in his head, he surmised his own turn would be next; to prevent which, he took Dr. *Franco's* advice, arrested the Infant Don *Pedro*, and declared for the king^z. This totally ruined the malecontents; for the king immediately ordered the uncle to be deposed as a traitor; and, upon his recommendation, the knights very willingly elected the nephew^a. In the next place the king threatened *Albuquerque* with a siege, and to bring Don *Pedro* to his trial. Upon this, his brother Don *Henry*, seeing no other remedy left, addressed himself to the king of *Portugal*, and desired him to propose to the king of *Castile*, that, upon evacuating all the places he held in his dominions, his brother
- e
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† Chron. del Rey Don Juan II. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iv. u Chron. de los Moros de España.
 Historia del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla. w ROD. SANTI
 Hist. Hispan. p. iv. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Cas-
 tilla. x Chronica de los Moros de España. BRANDAON. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. y ROD.
 SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ALPHONSI a Carthagená de reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. z Chronica
 del Rey Don Juan II. GALINDEZ DE CARVAJAL. a Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

should be released, which was readily accepted, and punctually performed on both sides^b. *a*
Joseph Ben Muley, by the advice and with the assistance of the king of *Castile*, made great preparations for attacking *Mohammed* in the town of *Malaga*; but, when he was on the point of taking the field, he was seized with a distemper, which carried him off in a few days; in consequence of which, *Mohammed the Left-handed* was, for the third time, placed on the throne of *Granada*; and, joining his forces with those of his competitor, became, for the present, so formidable, that the king of *Castile* thought fit to dissemble his resentment, and conclude a short truce with him^c.

1432. *Don Frederick* count *de Luna*, the natural son of *Don Martin*, king of *Sicily*, had been one of the pretenders to the crown of *Aragon*; and, in the first disputes which the king of *Castile* had with his cousin *Don Alonso*, had taken up arms against that monarch, and adhered ever after to his benefactor the king of *Castile*, who bestowed upon him the duchy of *Arjona*, and several other places; which, being a man of boundless extravagance, he had sold, and consumed the money^c. A man without principles, and in distress, is capable of any thing. He framed, in these circumstances, a design of surprising *Seville*, of plundering the citizens and merchants, and then equipping a squadron to seek his fortunes elsewhere. Into this base design he had drawn some gentlemen, who very probably were in like circumstances with himself; and, upon its breaking out, they were all secured. His accomplices were broke upon the wheel; but as for himself, his treason against the king of *Aragon* excused him from sharing their fate as he deserved, and he was only imprisoned for life^f. The queen *Donna Maria* of *Castile*, touched with pity for *Don Diego*, son to *Don Pedro the Cruel*, who was grown grey in confinement, interceded with the king, her husband, on his behalf, who gave him the town of *Coca*, in *Castile*, for his prison, where he spent the remaining part of his days^e. The war with the *Moors* was carried on with various successes, only the *Castilians* had the good fortune to render themselves masters of the town of *Huesca*; but, to balance that, *Don Guiterrez*, grand master of *Alcantara*, was defeated with a considerable loss^b. The military expeditions of the succeeding year were of the same kind, without any thing decisive in favour of either side: but the king of *Castile* *a* was in one respect, very happy, since he was now entirely free from the disturbance which had been given him by the kings of *Aragon* and *Navarre*, and the other princes of that house, who were engaged in a troublesome and fruitless war in *Italy*. There, being defeated in a sea fight, they were, together with all the *Castilian* exiles who had followed their fortunes, taken prisoners, which could not fail of affording *Don Juan*, notwithstanding their near relation to him, much satisfaction, at the same time that it left their dominions almost at his mercy^l. However, he continued the truce, in consequence of the promise he had made, some time before, to his sister *Donna Maria* queen of *Aragon*, in an interview that he had with her at *Soria*. In a short time after *Don Juan* king of *Navarre* obtained his liberty, and returned into his own dominions; and *Donna Leonora*, queen-dowager of *Aragon*, mother *e* to these princes, died suddenly, perhaps of grief, at *Medina del Campo*^k.

1435. *Donna Maria* queen of *Aragon*, in an interview that he had with her at *Soria*. In a short time after *Don Juan* king of *Navarre* obtained his liberty, and returned into his own dominions; and *Donna Leonora*, queen-dowager of *Aragon*, mother *e* to these princes, died suddenly, perhaps of grief, at *Medina del Campo*^k.
 The next year was more fortunate for the *Castilians*, in respect to their war with the *Moors*, since several towns on the frontiers of the kingdom of *Granada* submitted themselves voluntarily to the king *Don Juan*; but the most remarkable event of this year was the peace concluded between the crowns of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Navarre*, by which the tranquility of the Christians in *Spain* was effectually secured^l. The county of *Ampurias* falling to the crown of *Aragon*, the king very generously gave it to his brother the Infant *Don Henry*, and sent him home: it was this that induced the king of *Castile* to push the conferences that had been opened for a general peace to a speedy conclusion; and it was accordingly signed on the twenty-second of *September*. By this treaty the prince of *Asturias* *f* was to espouse *Donna Blanca*, daughter of the king of *Navarre*, who was to enjoy the revenues of his estates in *Castile* for four years, and after that an annual pension of ten thousand crowns, in lieu of all his pretensions. The Infant *Don Henry* of *Aragon* was to have a like annuity of five thousand crowns, and the sum of fifty thousand crowns in ready money, in full satisfaction of the Infanta *Catalina*'s portion. The *Castilians* who had embraced the interest of the king of *Navarre* and the Infants were to be pardoned, and all the places taken on either side restored. The king of *Navarre* and the Infants his brethren were

^b ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ^c Chronica de los Moros de Espana.
^d Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ^e ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ^f ORTIZ
 DE ZUNIGA. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part. iv. ^g Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ^h Chronica
 de los Moros de Espana. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ⁱ ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. ^k Chronica del
 Rey Don Juan II. ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. ^l Historia del Rey Don Juan II. Histoire du Royaume de
 Navarre. ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.

a not, on any pretence, to set foot in *Castile*, without the express leave of the king Don *Juan*; and all memory of past misunderstandings was to be buried in oblivion. To shew his sincerity, the king Don *Juan* immediately sent full powers to the king of *Navarre* for contracting the prince of *Asturias* and the Infanta Donna *Blanca*, with a promise that the marriage should be celebrated as soon as the season would permit^m.

THE king, to the many marks of favour which he had already granted to the constable Don *Alvaro de Luna*, added the gift of the town of *Montalvan*, though it belonged to the queen, and obliged her to accept of *Arevalo* in exchangeⁿ. The winter proved extremely hard, notwithstanding which the king advanced towards the frontiers himself, and sent the prince of *Asturias*, accompanied by the constable, the bishop of *Osma*, and a great train, to *Alfaro*, where he espoused the Infanta of *Navarre*, Donna *Blanca*, esteemed the most beautiful woman of her age in *Spain*^o. In a short time after this marriage, the king caused Don *Pedro Manrique* to be arrested and put into the hands of the constable, which occasioned great discontent. As soon as it was known to the amirante, he began to fortify his places; upon which the king sent for him, and even granted him a safe-conduct. In this conference it was agreed, that, as the king was determined to shew his resentment, *Pedro Manrique* should be confined for two years in the castle of *Roja*, with leave to hunt sometimes, for the benefit of his health, and that things should go no further. The reader may discern from hence, that the kings of *Castile* neither had nor claimed a power of imprisoning without crime, or of treating as a criminal, any man who was not charged with an offence^p. The war with the *Moors* still subsisted: the Christians were so fortunate as to surprize the town of *Huelma*, and were very near losing it again by their imprudence. In another expedition of more importance, their troops were not only beaten, but most of them cut off. The king, having gone before to the castle of *Roja*, *Pedro Manrique*, who was confined there, with his wife and two daughters, was removed to another place, and from thence, on the 20th of *August*, they all made their escape; but would have been presently retaken, if the amirante and his friends had not taken up arms in their defence^q. After taking this step, they endeavoured to interest the king of *Navarre* and the Infant Don *Henry* in their support, to whom *Pedro Manrique* had been formerly a great friend, but, in respect to the treaty lately concluded, they refused to interfere, otherwise than by their good offices. The king, taking advantage of the war against the *Moors*, ordered the nobility to repair with their forces to the frontiers, early in the ensuing spring; and, as most of them testified great willingness to comply with the king's order, the constable advanced money to such as wanted it for their levies^r.

WHEN they came, however, to open the campaign, it clearly appeared, that the king and his minister were totally mistaken in their measures; for a great part of the nobility after having raised their troops, joined the malecontents. The king of *Navarre* and the Infant Don *Henry*, who had obtained a safe-conduct, on account of the marriage of the prince of *Asturias*, made use of it to enter *Castile* each with a great body of troops. The king sent to compliment them, and to know the meaning of this; to which they answered, that, in a country where every-body was in arms, they thought it requisite, for their own safety, to go armed also^s. The king Don *Juan* sent for them to join him, which the king of *Navarre* did, but the Infant Don *Henry* went to the malecontents^t. After many conferences and much trouble, the king yielded to an accommodation, by which the king of *Navarre* and the Infant Don *Henry* were to be restored to their estates, and the constable was to be banished the court for six months. Yet, after a little time, the king went off from this agreement, and endeavoured to collect such a force as might reduce the malecontents to reason; but he found things strangely altered; and many of those who had formerly served him with the greatest fidelity going daily over to the malecontents^u. While things were in this situation, he received a very long letter, or rather manifesto, subscribed by the king of *Navarre*, the Infant Don *Henry*, the amirante, and all the lords of their party; in which, after very warm professions of the utmost duty and respect, they told him, that it was not against him, but against Don *Alvaro de Luna*, that they had taken up arms; because that, without his knowledge, he had imposed taxes upon the people, taken away men's goods and estates at his pleasure, caused money to be coined below the standard, had prevailed upon the king to seize persons of distinction without cause, and then carried them to be murdered without his privity; that he disposed of all civil offices at his pleasure, threatened such as

^m Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ⁿ Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna. ^o Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ^p ROD. SANTI Hist. Hisp. part iv. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. FERRERAS. ^q Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ^r Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. ^s ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. GALINDEZ DE CARVAJAL. ^t Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ALPHONSI a Cartagena de reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. ^u Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv.

were in the king's service if they did not pay a servile complaisance to his will; and that, at *Arevalo*, he had killed one man, and beat another in his majesty's presence; so that they could not look upon him as acting freely, or believe themselves or the kingdom in safety, while such a man remained about his person. The king did not much regard this letter; but found himself under a necessity of assembling the states at *Valladolid*; and, previous to their meeting, he formed the household of the prince of *Asturias*; at the head of which he placed Don *Alvaro de Luna*^w. One of the first things done at *Valladolid* was completing the marriage of the prince *Asturias* and Donna *Blanca*, as they were then both of age; which was done with great solemnity and at a vast expence^x, though, as it afterwards appeared, there was no consummation. About this time Don *Pedro Manrique*, in whose quarrel these disturbances began, deceased; and, in a short time after, the prince of *Asturias*, by the persuasion of his favourite Don *Juan Pacheco*, privately quitted the court, and retired to the malecontents^y.

A. D. 1440.

The queen and the prince of Asturias concurred with the malecontents.

THE king of *Castile* received early the next year the mortifying news of the Infant Don *Henry*'s having taken possession of the city of *Toledo*. He marched thither with such troops as he could assemble, in hopes of recovering it, but without effect: and though he proceeded to extremities, and issued various edicts and proclamations, yet they neither encouraged his own party, nor intimidated that of the malecontents. The constable, and his brother the archbishop of *Toledo*, had assembled a great strength at *Escalona*, and their friends, in several small actions, came off with great reputation; insomuch, that they accepted a challenge of deciding all differences in a single battle: but the king sending an order in writing to both parties to forbear hostilities, on pain of being denounced rebels, he was obeyed^z. Some fortunate attempts made by those who adhered to him, encouraged the king so much, that he began to seize the estates of the principal persons embarked in what was now called the league; but it gave him great concern to find both the queen and the prince of *Asturias* affecting to act as mediator between him and his subjects, while in reality they were in the interests of the malecontents: however, he yielded nothing to their intercessions. He sent for the constable and all his forces to *Medina del Campo*, where, as some writers say, he was betrayed, but, as all agree, surprized, by the forces of the league, who entered the town in the night^a. The first thing the king did, was to send to the constable and the archbishop to retire with their friends, and provide for their own safety; whilst himself, with such as he could depend upon, formed in the square, and by that disposition, hindered an immediate pursuit; but as soon as the constable had forced a passage, the king sent the archbishop of *Seville* to the lords of the opposite party, to let them know he should be glad to see them. This passed on the 28th of *June*; and the king, finding himself now intirely in the hands of those he esteemed his enemies, consented to whatever they asked, as appears from a long treaty of twenty-nine articles, which amount to no more than this, That the constable should be separated from the king one half of the year; that he should give his son as a hostage, and also nine fortresses, by way of security, that he would submit to these terms; and all forfeitures and all grants from the king were to be void^b. He went, soon after this, to *Burgos*, and consented to call an assembly of the states, as they desired him; but made choice of *Toro* instead of *Madrigal*, which they recommended: and, in the mean time, both sides carried on their intrigues^c.

1441.

By which the king is compelled to yield to their requests.

THE king, instead of caressing Don *Juan* of *Navarre*, or his brother Don *Henry*, paid a great deal of respect to the amirante, with whom also the constable endeavoured to entertain a private correspondence, which in all probability had succeeded, but for the circumstance of the count de *Castro*, who, considering that Donna *Blanch*, queen of *Navarre*, and the Infanta *Catalina* of *Castile*, were both dead, advised the king, and the Infant Don *Ferdinand* his brother, to strengthen their interest by marriage; proposing to the former Donna *Joanna*, daughter to the amirante, and Donna *Beatrice*, sister to the count de *Benavante*, to the latter; and those marriages being quickly settled, strengthened the league extremely^d. At the assembly of the estates at *Toro*, the king obtained a considerable supply, and had very probably done more, if it had not been discovered that the constable had procured the lodgings of the king of *Navarre* and the Infant Don *Henry* to be undermined, with an intent to have blown them up, which added not a little to that hatred that was already borne him; but notwithstanding this, a dispute having happened in the order of *Calatrava*, in which some

^w Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Luna. ROD. SANTI HIST. Hispan. part. iv. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan.

^x Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ALPHONSI a Carthagina reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.

^y ROD. SANTI HIST. Hispan. part. iv.

^z Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

^a ROD. SANTI HIST. Hispan. part. iv. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

^b Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ROD. SANTI HIST. Hispan. part. iv.

^c Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

^d ALPHONSI a Carthagina de reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.

^e Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

^a blood had been spilled, the king marched with the forces about him to put an end to the disorder, reduced *Talavera* in his way, and then proceeded to *Toledo*^c. In his route the constable *Don Alvaro* came to kiss his hands, and had a private conference with the king of *Navarre* and the Infant *Don Henry*, after which he returned to *Escalona*, not a little chagrined at the loss of his brother the archbishop of *Toledo*^f. The king managed his affairs with great address; for, perceiving that factions were formed, and that seditions broke out in several parts of his dominions, he commissioned the principal lords of the league to reduce these disturbers of the public quiet; and actually engaged the Infant *Don Henry* to besiege the new grand master of *Calatrava*, who had been chose without the king's consent, and who lost his life in this dispute^g. But the constable giving the king notice that his wife ^{1442.} ^b was delivered of a daughter, the king and queen went to *Escalona*, and assisted at the christening, which piqued the league extremely^h. The king coming to *Madrigal*, the prince of *Asturias* repaired thither, and proposed in the privy council that several persons should be removed from his father's presence, and all the creatures of the constable dismissed; so that, in a short time, from being a great king, *Don Juan* found himself very little better than a prisoner, and this with the bitter circumstance of being thus treated by his son.

At the opening of this year the affairs of the king of *Castile* were in a most distressed condition; the malecontents, and more especially the amirante, being so jealous of him, that they appointed the brother of that lord, and another person in whom they could confide, to keep him constantly in view; which as soon as that prince perceived, it threw him into a ^{The bishop of Avila prevails on the prince to attempt his father's release.} ^{1443.} deep melancholy. This affected the bishop of *Avila* to such a degree, that he addressed himself to *Don Juan Pacheco*, and asked him how he could be guilty of such ingratitude to *Don Alvaro de Luna*, who had made him every thing? or how he durst inspire the prince his master with sentiments of disloyalty to his father? *Pacheco* gave him to understand, that the prince needed no tutors in an affair of that kind, and that himself was sick at that time; but that he was willing to bring his master off from the league; in which he was as good as as his wordⁱ. The prince then made a treaty with the constable *Don Alvaro*, and stipulated certain terms for himself and his favourite, on which he was willing to attempt his father's release. In managing this affair he acted with the most profound dissimulation and deceit, till the bishop of *Avila* had engaged the count *de Haro*, and many other great lords, to take ^{1444.} ^d up arms in the cause of their sovereign^k. The prince of *Asturias* then put himself at their head; upon which the league took the king from *Tordesillas*, and sent him to the fortress of *Portillo*, under the care of count *de Castro*, and then marched with all their forces to give the prince battle. While they were in the field, the king, by the assistance of cardinal *Cervantes*, made his escape, and, by his own authority, quickly raised another army; so that the king of *Navarre* and his partizans had now the prince in their front, and the king in their rear; which struck them with such a panic, that many daily deserted them. At length, their army breaking up, the king of *Navarre* retired into the territories of *Arragon*, and the Infant *Don Henry*, losing all *Andalusia*, the king, who, at the beginning, was a close prisoner, found himself, before the close of the year, at least as much a monarch as he ^e had ever been^l.

THE king of *Navarre* was not long before he collected fresh forces, and gave notice to all his partisans to dispose things in the best manner they could to join him; and if they found that impracticable, to repair to his brother *Henry*, who, with infinite hazard and diligence, drew together the broken remains of the league^m. The king, having the prince his son, the constable, and a considerable body of troops about him, endeavoured to hinder the brothers from joining, but without effect; so that they brought their whole strength together at *Almedo*, before which place the king soon presented himself with his forces. On the 19th of *May* in the morning, the prince of *Asturias*, at the head of two hundred horse, went to reconnoitre the place; upon which *Don Rodrigo Manrique* issued out with a superior body of cavalry, and drove him into his father's camp. The king, provoked and astonished at this insolence, ordered his standard to be displayed, and advanced towards the town in order of battle, and kept his troops under arms till it was within two hours of night, by which time the king of *Navarre* drew out his forces in exact order, and an obstinate engagement ensued. The king's forces had the advantage from the beginning, when, a little before night, the malecontents were entirely routed, the amirante, with *Don Henry* his brother, the count *de Castro* and his son, and many other persons of distinction were made prisoners. The king of *Navarre*, and his

^c Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. Chron. de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. ^f Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ^g Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^h Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ⁱ Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^j Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ^k Chronica del Rey Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. ^l Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^m Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ⁿ ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ^o Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv.

brother the Infant Don *Henry*, who was wounded in the hand, retired first to *Almedo*, and from thence in the night towards the frontiers of *Arragon*; where, when they arrived, the Infant Don *Henry* died of his wound^a. The king, by the advice of the constable, gave a loose to his resentment, put some of the prisoners to death, and granted away the estates of most of those who had been in arms. This disgusted the prince of *Asturias*, who, with his favourite Don *Juan de Pacheco*, retired to *Segovia*; and the amirante, having made his escape, joined such of his friends as had retired to *Andalusia*; and, having drawn together a considerable body of men, fought to make his retreat out of the kingdom^b. The king went on, reducing the places belonging to the malecontents, and to that lord in particular; in which, however, he met with some obstruction; the prince very roundly declaring, that he had taken the amirante and his family under his protection^c. In the mean time, the constable of *Portugal* entered *Castile* with a body of troops, which the king, by the advice of Don *Alvaro de Luna*, had demanded, contrary to the opinion of the rest of the nobility, who foresaw that they would come too late. However, he gave them a good reception; and Don *Alvaro* had several private conferences with the constable^d. The queen Donna *Maria* of *Castile*, sister to the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, died in the beginning of the year, not without suspicion of being poisoned, by the contrivance of Don *Alvaro*; and that ambitious favourite, without so much as saying a word to his master, concluded with the constable of *Portugal* a marriage for that prince with Donna *Isabella*, daughter to the Infant Don *Juan* of *Portugal*^e. When the strangers were departed, he acquainted the king with what he had done, and the advantages he proposed from the match, with which Don *Juan* was exceedingly offended, as he proposed to have married a daughter of *France*: but Don *Alvaro* had such an ascendancy over him, that he consented to the match^f. He was soon after obliged to digest another disagreeable proposition from the prince of *Asturias*, which was the pardoning the amirante and the count of *Benavente*; at the same time he made Don *Lopez de Mendoza* marquis of *Santillana*, and Don *Juan Pacheco* marquis of *Villena*. He procured likewise Don *Alvaro de Luna* to be elected grand master of the order of St. *James*; and having deposed Don *Alonso*, the natural son of the king of *Navarre*, from the office of grand master of *Calatrava*, Don *Pedro Gironne* was placed therein, though not without difficulty, to oblige the prince, who was still out of humour, and to whom he was obliged to give the town of *Caceres*, as he did the important town of *Albuquerque*, with all its dependencies, to the grand master Don *Alvaro*^g. But, at the close of the year, deposing Don *Pedro Lopez de Ayala* from the government of *Toledo*, and ordering his process to be made for numberless crimes, the prince of *Asturias* took fresh offence thereat, and the king his father was obliged to promise him satisfaction in this and every thing else^h. There happened this year a revolution in the kingdom of *Granada*, where *Mohammed ben Osman*, the nephew of *Mohammed ben Nacer*, at this time upon the throne, having intelligence at *Almeria* where he lived of great heartburnings in the court, he came secretly to *Granada*, and causing a tumult to be raised by his partisans, proceeded suddenly to the *Alhambra*, or palace, where he seized his uncle, and, having confined him to a prison, mounted the throne. As this was conducted by the populace, and by a few inferior officers, *Abdilbar*, who was the chief magistrate, retired to *Monte Frio*, on the frontiers of the kingdom of *Jaen*, and, with others of the nobility, invited *Isbmael*, a prince of the blood, then in the service of Don *Juan* of *Castile*, to come to them, with a promise of using their endeavours to make him king; in which he had also some assistance from the monarch of *Castile*, but not enough to carry his point, though his partisans adhered to him with great fidelityⁱ.

The prince of Asturias raises fresh disturbances, and offers his father battle.

THE misunderstanding between the king Don *Juan* of *Castile* and his son the prince of *Asturias* rose higher, and grew much more public than ever; insomuch, that it was no secret to the people, that, under colour of repressing the insolence of the grand master Don *Alvaro*, he really meant to take the crown from his father's head, and to place it upon his own. Don *Juan*, being apprised of this, and having more steadiness in his temper than his son, thought the sooner this was decided the better; and therefore, hearing the prince was in the field, he marched against him with pretty near the same force^j. The two armies met between *Arevalo* and *Madrigal*; but the clergy and people of discretion, who were about the king and prince, prevailed upon them to spare their subjects blood in so unnatural a quarrel; upon which it was agreed to leave the discussion of their respective grievances to the real authors of them, Don *Alvaro de Luna* and Don *Juan Pacheco*, who, for the present, patched up an

^a Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. Hist. du Royaume de Navarre. ^c MARIAN. FER. ^e ALPHONSI a Carthagena de reg. Anecephalæosis. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. ^f ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^g Chron. del Rey Don Juan II. ^h ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ⁱ Historia del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. ^j Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. ^k Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ^l Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ^m Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. GALINDEZ DE CARYAJAL.

- a agreement to their own satisfaction, who were to be the only gainers by it, which was subscribed on the eleventh of *May*^y. The king Don *Juan* then turned his arms against his cousin of *Navarre*, and endeavoured to reduce the few strong places he had left; but while he was thus employed, Don *Juan Pacheco* revived in the prince's mind a desire of obliging the king to banish the grand master, who was become his own enemy: the king knew this well enough, and had no dislike at all to the thing, for he knew him to be a bad man, and hated him as a great one. Don *Alvaro* was not at all ignorant of this; but he shewed the king so clearly that it was by his power and abilities that he was himself kept on the throne, that he rendered him more steady to him through timidity than he had ever been through affection. By his advice the king wrote to the amirante and to the count *de Benavente*, to whom
- b he knew that his son had made propositions, assuring them that he would make fidelity more their interest than treason. A more miserable nation than this, unconquered by a foreign force, was never seen; and yet into this miserable condition must every nation come, where factions long prevail^z. The king of *Navarre*, to be revenged on the monarch of *Castile*, procured a great body of *Gascons*, hungry and out of pay, to make a quick march through his own dominions, and take up their winter quarters in *Castile*, where, to all the untoward consequences of civil broils, they added every dismal misfortune that could offend a barbarous invader. To heighten the horrors of this scene, the king of *Granada*, having first reconciled *Ishmael*, made several incursions into the territories of *Castile*, in quality of confederate to the king of *Navarre*, burnt several places, and drove multitudes into slavery; while, to
- c give the finishing touch to the piece, the prince of *Asturias*, who commanded on the frontiers, forbid any succours being sent to the places attacked, from the wicked desire of rendering his father more odious, and his administration more contemptible, as the most effectual A. D. 1446. method of compelling him to a resignation^a.

- It was not possible for any prince to have a truer or a sharper sense of his condition than Don *Juan* of *Castile*; but, for many reasons, he was obliged to dissemble; and, if that is to be esteemed, as some say it is, a royal quality, he possessed it in a supreme degree. Don *Juan*, king of *Navarre*, bearing continually in his mind what noble estates he once had in *Castile*, meditated every method possible for recovering them, and found none more promising for the present than to complete the marriage with Donna *Joanna Henriques*, daughter to the
- d amirante, which he had contracted some time before; the brother of that lady being acquainted with his intentions, conveyed her privately to the frontiers of *Arragon*, where that monarch met and espoused her^b. This alliance prompted him to raise new troubles in *Castile*; but his son the prince of *Viana* interposed, and by his great influence with the states of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, prevented him from doing what he proposed^c. Don *Juan* of *Castile* married also a second time Donna *Isabella*, daughter to the Infant Don *Juan* of *Portugal*, who, in a very short space of time, acquired his affection to such a degree, that he intrusted her with his great secret, which was, that he mortally hated, and was extremely desirous of being rid of, Don *Alvaro*, who had been so long his favourite, for which he assigned many motives, but, in all probability, suppressed one, which was none of the least, that he had
- e obliged him to marry this very princess against his inclination^d (C). The king of *Granada*,

The king of Castile espouses the daughter of Don Juan, Infant of Portugal.

^y Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv.
^z FRANC. TARAPHÆ. ALPHONSI a Carthagenæ, & auct. sup. citat. ^a Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.
 HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN. ^b ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. ^c Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.
^d BRAND. Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, por ALVAR GARCIA DE SANT. MARIA. JUAN DE MENA.
 HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN, y GOMEZ CARRILLO.

(C) This great favourite Don *Alvaro de Luna*, having maintained himself so many years in the possession of power, by studying the king's temper, and complying with it, saw plainly enough that he could not long remain a widower; and that it was of the last importance to his safety that he should receive a wife from his hand. It was this that induced him to set on foot a secret negotiation with the crown of *Portugal*, or rather with the regent and his family, that in case of any revolution in *Castile*, which he had always to fear, he might have some neighbouring country, from which he might expect succours, or into which he might retire in case of necessity. Donna *Isabella*, in all probability, came to the court of *Castile*, with sentiments of respect and gratitude for Don *Alvaro*; but when she found the easiness of Don *Juan*'s temper, and that Don *Alvaro* had lost his inclinations, though he preserved his influence over his master, she conceived a design of making herself what he had formerly been, the sole oracle of the king, and the absolute mistress of his affairs. In order to this there was no other way than to enter into the king's

secret, and to manage the destruction of her benefactor; which, though he had a very good will, the king wanted capacity to bring about. For this, the *Spanish* historians, and it is no wonder, load her memory with the strongest imputations of ingratitude, and even cruelty; since the king relented at last; and if it had not been for the queen, would have preserved this great man's life. The vanity of oblique policy is evident in the pains that Don *Alvaro* took to bring about his own destruction, while, in his own opinion, he was taking the most effectual means to support his power, or at least to preserve his person. On the other hand, the folly of female intrigues is no less apparent from the queen's behaviour, who, by sacrificing Don *Alvaro*, exposed herself to all that contempt, ill usage, and severe treatment, which she met with in the succeeding reign. They had both of them great address in turning circumstances and events to the facilitating of their private views; both of them triumphed in their turns by these sinister contrivances; and both of them perished in the end by the success of their own arts.

A. D. 1447. in quality still of ally to the king of *Navarre*, made himself master of several places that lay very conveniently for him, and which the prince of *Asturias* might easily have prevented, but for the reason that has been before assigned; which, though the worst in the world, continued to be the rule of his conduct^c: or, if that be any apology for his conduct, it was the maxim of Don *Juan Pacheco*, who then and ever after governed him at his pleasure.

An interview
between the
king of Castile
and his son.

THE grand master Don *Alvaro de Luna*, perceiving that the greater part of the nobility of *Castile* inclined to the party of the king of *Navarre*, judged it absolutely necessary, for his own safety, that the king and the prince should be reconciled; and this he brought about, as he had often done before, by gaining Don *Juan de Pacheco*. In order to this reconciliation, an interview was to be had between the father and son, to which they came with an equal number of guards, and at which the king caused the count *de Benavente*, Don *Henry Henriquez*, and Don *Suero de Quinones*, to be arrested; and the prince, on his side, did the same, with regard to the count *Alba de Tormes* and Don *Pedro de Quinones*, persons who had given umbrage to their respective favourites^f. This, as might have been easily foreseen, augmented the troubles, which were already but too great, and obliged many of the nobility to unite more strictly to the king of *Navarre*. The *Moors* also renewed their incursions; and though the prince, as a proof of his reconciliation, sent *Alonso Tellez* against them with a small body of forces, yet this served only to increase the evil; since, through his own ill conduct, most of his troops were cut to pieces^g. The count of *Benavente*, having made his escape, took up arms against the king, and gave him a great deal of trouble. The grand master Don *Alvaro*, having the king's order to protect the frontiers against the *Moors*, first went to *Toledo*, in order to borrow a sum of money; which so irritated the citizens, that they revolted, and made *Pedro Sarmiento*, who was governor of the castle, their chief. He defended the city against the king, whom he treated with the utmost insolence; and, when he found himself hard pressed, offered to declare for the prince, who thereupon required the king his father to raise the siege, as he had taken *Toledo* and all its inhabitants under his protection; which, to avoid a new civil war, the king was constrained to do^h. For these good services *Pedro Sarmiento* thought it reasonable to pay himself, by stripping most of the rich citizens of all that they were worth, which he did, with all the circumstances of oppression and barbarity that can be imagined. The prince, being informed of this, went thither and turned him out; but suffered him to carry away all his ill-got wealth, with which he retired into *Aragon*ⁱ. The *Moors* continued their incursions, and took several places upon the frontiers. The king of *Castile*, growing old and weary of continual disturbances, and becoming more and more uneasy at the power which the grand master Don *Alvaro* assumed, though he shewed him as great marks of favour as ever, resolved to reconcile himself, once for all, to the king of *Navarre* and the malecontents. While he was engaged in a negotiation for this purpose, the prince of *Asturias* fell into the like distaste of his favourite Don *Juan Pacheco*, marquis of *Villena*; but as he could never keep a secret, the design he had laid to seize him miscarried, and he was forced to give him leave to quit his court, which he did, and retired to one of the fortresses in his own possession; yet, in a short time after, this quarrel was composed, and the marquis restored to the prince's good graces^k; who, though a weaker man, was a better master than his father.

1449.
The Moors re-
new their in-
cursions.

1450.
Reconciliation
between the
king and his
son.

THE pope being fully acquainted with the sad and strange situation of affairs in *Castile*, which gave the *Moors* an opportunity not only of enriching themselves, by their annual excursions, but likewise to strengthen and enlarge their dominions, sent a bull, addressed to most of the prelates in *Spain*, requiring them to excommunicate such as refused to submit to their sovereign, and, by perplexing his affairs, gave such advantage to the Infidels. This bull being published, had a great effect; insomuch that the prince of *Asturias* found himself obliged to submit himself in earnest to his father; and to take away all grounds of suspicion, took an oath, which was administered to him by the archbishop of *Toledo*, to remain inviolably attached to him for the future. In consequence of this, *Toledo* returned to the king's obedience^l. Several of the adherents and instruments of *Pedro Sarmiento* were seized, convicted, and suffered cruel deaths. He was also condemned as a traitor, and his estates confiscated; but the king suffered him to live privately with his family, which, however, did not exempt him from the heavier sentence of another tribunal; for, falling into a violent illness, he suffered for a long time most excruciating tortures, and ended his days in the most deplorable manner^m. The prince, in virtue of his reconciliation with the king, prevailed upon him to make war with *Navarre*; which, however, was soon compromised, by the prince of *Viana*'s repairing to the king's camp, and assuring him, that he took no share in his

^c Chronica de los Moros de Espana. Condestable de Castilla.

^l ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. de los Moros de Espana.

^g Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. de Castilla. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

ⁱ RAINALD.

^f HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN. Chron. de Don Alvaro de Luna.

^h Vid. aut. supra citat.

^k HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN. Chronica

^m Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

a father's measures; the truth of which quickly after appeared by the breaking out of a war between them. On the 23d of April this year, the queen was brought to bed, some say at A. D. 1451: *Madrid*, others at *Madrigal*, of the Infanta Donna *Isabella*, who, in process of time, became queen of all Spain^a.

THE queen continued incessantly to irritate the king against the grand master Don *Alvaro*, to which she herself was chiefly instigated by the treasurer Don *Alonso Perez de Vivero*, a man of address and abilities; who, at the same time, owed all his preferments to the man whom he thus laboured to destroy, and by whom, at this time, he was entertained as a bosom friend. The king had it several times in his mind to cause him to be arrested; but the sense of continual danger had taught the grand master such an habitual caution, that every attempt b of this kind was found impracticable. Yet he who, without knowing their schemes, could defend himself against others, facilitated his own ruin by the methods he took to accomplish theirs. He persuaded the king to attack his old enemy the count *de Placentia*, or rather to lend him the concurrence of his person and authority to despoil that nobleman of his estates; which the king, who no longer considered every man as his enemy that was so to his favourite, refused^c. Of this project *Vivero* gave that nobleman a full account; who thereupon framed the scheme of a general confederacy for the grand master's destruction, which he sent to the prince of *Asturias*, and to several of the nobility. The prince, at that time, was not very clear, whether the destruction of the grand master was his interest or not, and therefore sent a loose and inconclusive answer; but the count *de Haro*, the marquis *de Santillan*, and c the count *de Benavente*, entered into the confederacy, and promised to support it at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, and it was this that brought the grand master to his ruin^d. The king and the prince of *Asturias* concurred in supporting Don *Carlos*, prince of *Viana*, against his father, and indeed he had all the plausible pretences that could be offered for such a proceeding. But Don *Juan* of *Navarre* was another sort of a man than Don *Juan* of *Castile*, and not to be frightened by appearances. His son took the field against him with a superior army, and endeavoured to force him to a battle; but, before the quarrel came to be decided by the sword, he offered him peace, upon such terms as he thought fit to prescribe. The king of *Navarre*, who looked upon the loss of his honour and authority as a far greater misfortune than the loss of life, rejected those terms, and upon this an engagement ensued; d in which, if the prince would have been content with victory, he might have had it; but attacking the king's guards, and putting his father's person in danger, his brother Don *Alonso* exerted himself with such passion for the preservation of him who had given him being, that the prince's party were not only defeated, but he was forced to deliver up his sword into his brother's hands, and so became his father's prisoner, who treated him sternly indeed, but not with cruelty^e. Battle between the king of Navarre and his own son. 1452.

THE king of *Castile* had a conference with the prince of *Asturias* at *Madrigal*, to concert measures for procuring the prince of *Viana*'s liberty; and in this conference Don *Alonso Perez de Vivero* engaged the prince to concur with his father in the destruction of the grand master, for arresting of whom some plots were laid, but without effect^f. This did not hinder the king's accepting an invitation from the grand master to go with the queen and the whole court to *Tordesillas*, where they were splendidly entertained at his expence; and it was in the midst of these diversions, that, by an accident, the grand master discovered the intrigues and correspondences of *Vivero*; upon which he first thought of destroying him, but referred it to another occasion, when he might withdraw himself from court, and stand upon his defence; but, considering that he had always a gallant company of guards, commanded by a natural son of his, Don *Pedro de Luna*, he rejected that likewise as beneath him^g. He went therefore with the king to *Valladolid*; but, when his master proposed going to *Burgos*, he demanded a safe-conduct, which was granted him. When the court arrived there, the king sent a person of confidence to the count of *Placentia*, with orders to arrest the grand master; but the count suspecting this was no more than an artifice to entrap him, declined the commission, which, however, he cheerfully accepted, upon the king's writing him a letter with his own hand. But, being confined to his bed by the gout, he committed the direction of this difficult affair to his son Don *Alvaro de Zuniga*, who, with a small body of determined men, went privately to *Burgos* in order to effect it^h. This design, though conducted with all the art and all the spirit possible, was attended with such difficulties, that the king once sent that young nobleman orders to desist; but, upon his undertaking for the

^a HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN.

^c Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla.

Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

^d Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN.

^e Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

Histoire du Royaume de Navarre

HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN. FER.

^f RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

^g Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla.

^h ALPHONSI a Carthagenæ reg. Hispan. Anacephalæsis.

success, he renewed his command to proceed. The grand master, though he had no distinct a intelligence of the measures pursued, knew in general that something was brewing against him; and therefore, upon *Good-Friday*, called a council of his particular friends to concert the properest means for securing his safety, to which, amongst the rest, Don *Alonso Perez de Vivero* was invited. The place where this consultation was held was the top of a tower of the palace in which he lodged; and, having first shewn Don *Alonso* his own letters, and the king's, which he could not deny, he then turned his back upon him; on which signal two of his friends caught up Don *Alonso*, and threw him over the tower, by which his brains were beat out in the street". Upon this they set up a great cry, as if it had happened by accident; which, however it deceived the people, could not deceive the king, who by this action was determined in his measures. At length Don *Alvaro de Zuniga* invested his house, b and would have forced it, but the king sent an order to the grand master to submit himself prisoner, which he offered to do, provided he had the king's promise that nothing should be attempted against his life or honour: this he accordingly received, tho' some say the words of that promise were, nothing should be *unjustly* attempted". However, upon this he submitted. His castle of *Portilla* being soon after reduced, the king ordered him to be sent thither, and directed a commission to twelve lawyers and lords of the council to form his process, and to proceed to judgment, which they did, and unanimously pronounced sentence of death on him*. He was transferred from thence to *Valladolid*, by Don *Diego de Zuniga*, who had the custody of him, where he suffered death, on a scaffold, on the seventh of *June*, c as *Ferreras*^y says, though *Mariana* and other writers affirm, on the 5th of *July*^z. He died with great steadiness and courage; and it is said that the king, if he had not been withheld by the queen, would have preserved him even on the morning of his execution (D). This action has been considered by different authors in very different lights; for some regard him as a criminal who met with no worse usage than he deserved, while others represent him as a victim of state, whose only crime was being a very able minister to a very weak prince (E). In this, however, most historians agree, that the king regretted the loss of him when it was too late, and when experience taught him that faction was not buried in the grave of the grand master, but that the powers of repressing it were much lessened by his death. He enriched himself exceedingly by the forfeitures, and by seizing the treasures of that great minister; though, by a kind of composition, he left much wealth to his widow and children. d

The grand master of St. James suffers death upon a scaffold at Valladolid.

^u HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN. *Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.* de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla. RODERIC SANTII *Hist. Hispan.* part iv. *Espara*, part ix. sect. xv.

^w FERRERAS.

^x *Chronica* y *Historia de*

^z *Historia general de España*, part ix. sect. xv.

(D) It was contrived by those who were about the king of *Castile*, that this sacrifice of the great master of St. *James*, and high constable, Don *Alvaro de Luna*, should be accompanied with all the pomp and solemnity possible, that it might make the greater impression on the people. The scaffold was erected in one of the most public places in *Valladolid*; there stood upon it a table covered with black velvet, upon which was a cross, between two flambeaux of white wax lighted; to which, as soon as he came upon the scaffold, he made a profound reverence. Upon the reading of his sentence, he said, My sins have deserved not only this, but a much heavier punishment. He then gave his hat and his ring to one of his pages, saying, These are the last favours I have to bestow; upon which the youth burst out into such a passion of tears, as affected all the spectators. He cast his eyes next on the master of the horse to the prince *Asturias*; *Baraza*, said he, tell your master from me, that he will do well not to follow his father's example in the rewarding of his old servants. Observing a very high post with an iron hook upon the top of it, he said to the executioner, My friend, what is that for? It is, returned the executioner, to place your head on when I shall have severed it from your body. Don *Alvaro*, without the least emotion, replied, when I am dead, you may do with my remains what you please; no death can be shameful, which is supported with courage and intrepidity, or untimely, after a man has for many years been at the head of affairs, and conducted all things with dignity and reputation. He then laid himself along upon the cloth prepared for that purpose, for in *Spain* they do not behead, but cut the throats of persons condemned for high treason, and afterwards separate the

head from the body. Immediately before he lay down, the executioner would have tied his hands behind him with a cord; but Don *Alvaro* putting his hand into his bosom, pulled out a ribband, which he gave him for that purpose. As soon as he was prostrate the executioner struck his long knife into his throat, and presently after divided his head from his body, which, after it had been exposed to the people, was placed upon the pole before-mentioned, and remained there nine days, though the body lay on the scaffold but three. A basin was placed near it, to receive the alms of charitably disposed people, to defray the expence of burying, says *Mariana*, a man, who in power and wealth, but a few days before, was equal to some sovereign princes. Others, with more probability, say this money was bestowed to procure masses for his soul. He was at first interred at St. *Andrews*, where malefactors were usually buried; but leave was afterwards procured to remove his body to the church of St. *Francis*, in *Valladolid*: some years after, with the king's permission, it was transferred to *Toledo*, and finally buried with great pomp in the chapel of St. *James*, belonging to the cathedral in that city, which was of his own foundation. This was the end of him who had served his master forty five years, thirty of which he had governed at his pleasure both the king and kingdom.

(E) We might expect to find some distinct account of the crimes of which he was convicted in the sentence that was read to him on the scaffold, in the hearing of the people; but upon perusal of the sentence, it will appear that it consists only of general suggestions, and seems to ground the opinion of the king's justice upon the notoriety of his offences.

a On the 15th of *November* the queen was delivered of the Infant Don *Alonso*, at *Tordesillas*^d. About the same time a revolution happened in the kingdom of *Granada*, where *Ishmael* at length found means to set himself on the throne, at least he was proclaimed king, though not without a rival, as will be seen hereafter^e. The king of *Navarre*, at the request of the states of that kingdom and of *Arragon*, released the prince Don *Carlos*, upon certain terms; neither ought we to omit that the prince of *Asturias* was separated from his princess Donna *Blanca*, daughter to the king of *Navarre*, and sister to Don *Carlos*, on account of a reciprocal frigidity towards each other; a cause which then, and ever since, has been considered in a proper, that is, in a ridiculous, light^f. The king of Navarre sets his son at liberty. A. D. 1453.

b THE king, Don *Juan*, having now learned from experience, the proper mistress of such kind of men, that the only way to be safe, after a reign like his, was to be armed, kept eight thousand lances about his person, which had a good effect^g. The intelligence he received of the discoveries made by the king of *Portugal*, and the great advantages that he was like to reap from them, chagrined him so much, who, during a very long reign, had gained no advantage at all to his people, that surmising these discoveries to be inconsistent with the grant which his predecessors had obtained from the pope of the *Canary Islands*, and whatever depended upon them, he threatened *Portugal* with a war, if the king did not desist from all thoughts of discovery; but that monarch having made him a general promise not to invade his rights, pursued them without any regard to the threats of Don *Juan*^h. His sister, the queen Donna *Maria* of *Arragon*, being come into *Castile* on purpose to confer with him, he went, though he was ill of a fever, from *Avila* towards *Medina del Campo* to meet her, but was taken so extremely ill upon the road, that those about him thought he was dead; yet, upon exhibiting a proper cordial, he recovered so much strength as to be carried to *Medina del Campo*, and from thence to *Valladolid*, where he relapsed, and, with great patience and resignation, breathed his last, on the twenty-first of *July*ⁱ. By his testament he devised to the queen Donna *Isabella* the towns of *Soria*, *Arevalo*, and *Madrigal*, with all their dependencies; to the Infant Don *Alonso* the administration of the grand mastership of *St. James*, and to the Infanta Donna *Isabella* the town of *Cuellar*, with its revenues and territory. He recommended in the strongest terms to the prince of *Asturias* unanimity in the royal family, and a proper regard in him for his mother-in-law, and for his brother and sister; of which, however, it does not appear he had any great hopes (F). His demise was not much regretted by his subjects, and perhaps it would have excited still less sorrow if they had not been so well acquainted with his successor^k. Death of Don Juan king of Castile, who is succeeded by his son Henry IV.

c As soon as the obsequies of the late king were performed, his son, Don *Henry* the fourth, took possession of the kingdom, at *Valladolid*, with great ceremony, the principal nobility and prelates of the realm repairing thither to pay their allegiance, and testify their regard for the new king^l. Upon this occasion Don *Henry* affected, by his behaviour as a king, to efface all memory of the strange things that had been done by the prince of *Asturias*. He caused Don *Diego Manrique*, count of *Trevino*, whom he had, for some time, kept in prison, to be set at liberty; and he did the like with respect to Don *Hernando Alvarez de Toledo*, count of *Alba*, who had been restrained for a much longer time; which acts of grace were very acceptable^m. Soon after he sent ambassadors to renew the antient alliance with the crown of *France*; and, within as short a space as could be expected, he regulated with Donna *Maria*, queen of *Arragon*, the treaty of accommodation which had been begun by his fatherⁿ. This settled and extinguished all the pretensions of the king of *Navarre* and his family, as well as their adherents. That monarch, his son Don *Alonso*, and his nephew Don

^d RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

Arragon. HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN.

^e ZURIT. Annal. *Arragon*. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

Anacephalæosis. HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN.

^f Annal. *Arragon*. P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

^g PEDRAZA l'Histoire de Granada.

^h Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

ⁱ ALPHONSI a Carthagenæ reg. Hispan.

^j Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO

^k Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO ENRIQUES del Castillo.

^l Annal. *Arragon*. P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

^m ZURIT. Annal.

ⁿ PEREZ DE GUZMAN.

(F) We are told by *Mariana* that this unfortunate prince died on the twentieth, instead of the twenty-first, of *June*, 1454; and he assures us, that though, by his last will and testament, he assigned the great offices of grand-master and constable to the Infant Don *Alonso*, it was much less than he designed, and yet even that was more than was in his power. The truth, in the opinion of this and of other historians, was, that he meant to have disinherited the prince of *Asturias*, as incapable and unworthy of the royal dignity, and one who had forfeited his right to it by his frequent rebellions. *Ferreras* takes no notice of this, and yet he seems to con-

firm the truth of it, by observing, that, in the fit which the king had a little before his death, one of his principal ministers sent immediately for the prince Don *Henry*, from an apprehension that some of the nobility might get the person of the Infant Don *Alonso* into their hands, in order to create new troubles. This is scarce intelligible, unless some such intention of the king his father was known; and allowing this, it will enable us to understand and account for many things that would otherwise appear very strange at least, if not altogether incredible, in the succeeding part of the history.

Henry, had each of them a large annuity as a satisfaction for their estates; and for their partizans they were, a few only excepted, restored to their titles, dignities, and possessions, without being liable to any enquiry for what was past; the intire settlement of so perplexed an affair being referred to a congress^a. As to the affairs of *Arragon*, the king *Don Henry* thought fit to settle these by an embassy sent for that purpose to king *Don Alonso* in *Italy*; and this being in a fair train, he called an assembly of the three estates of the kingdom, in which his design of attacking the *Moors* was highly approved, and a liberal supply granted him for that purpose. He likewise negotiated a marriage with *Donna Joanna* Infanta of *Portugal*, which was concluded, though that princess was no stranger to the suspicions created by the dissolution of his former marriage with the Infanta of *Navarre*^p, which indeed were the common topics of discourse through *Spain*.

A. D. 1454.
Makes war
upon the
Moors.

In the congress held at *Agreda* all the points in difference between the crowns of *Castile* and *Navarre*, and their allies and adherents on both sides, were very happily terminated, on the conditions that have been already mentioned. The war with the *Moors* was undertaken in the spring with a great force, but with no great effect, since the king only ravaged the open country about *Granada*. This displeased some of the nobility; who, perceiving that the king was as much held in leading-strings by the marquis *de Villena*, as his father had ever been by *Don Alvaro de Luna*, resolved to seize on the person of their monarch, and then to make such alterations as they should think convenient. But this design was discovered and prevented^q. He went afterwards to *Cordova*, where he espoused *Donna Joanna* of *Portugal*^r. In the autumn he made a new irruption into the territories of *Granada*, where he did infinite mischief; insomuch, that *Ishmael* king of *Granada* entered into a negotiation, which, however, was attended with no effect; and at length, the season being spent, the Christian army retired^s. The grand masterships of *St. James* and *Alcantara* being vacant, the king took their revenues to his own use; but the marquis *de Villena* was secretly ambitious of attaining the first. In this he was traversed by *Michael Luc*, whom the king had lately taken into his good graces, and who, though a man of very mean birth, was supported by the duke *de Medina Sidonia*, the bishop of *Cuenca*, and others of the nobility, out of spleen to the marquis; though the people in general bore an equal hatred to them both^t: but, of the two, *Don Michael* had a better character, and deserved it.

1455.

Makes an ex-
cursion to the
coast of Bar-
bary.

THE late treaty of peace concluded at *Agreda* appeared to the king of *Castile* of so great consequence, that he resolved to send ambassadors to the king of *Arragon*, then at *Naples*, in order to have his concurrence, in which he met with all the success he could desire. In the war with the *Moors* it was otherwise; he gave them, indeed, a great deal of disturbance, destroyed their country, and took some places of little importance, but there happened nothing decisive; and it was of very ill consequence to let the Infidels see armies of forty or fifty thousand men entering their territories in a hostile manner, and quitting them again in a few weeks^u. After his summer expedition was over, the king had a strong inclination to visit all the sea coast as far as *Gibraltar*, which he accordingly did, under the protection of a proper escorte. There, having a sight of the opposite continent of *Africa*, upon the invitation of the governor of *Ceuta*, he took a resolution of going thither, and that in a small vessel, and with a few attendants, which alarmed the principal persons about him exceedingly. The king, persisting in his own scheme, traversed the strait of *Gibraltar*, and, after a few days amusement at *Ceuta*, where the governor omitted nothing that could give him pleasure, he returned safely, though not without some difficulty and danger, to *Tarifa*; and there he was so unlucky as to hear that the bishop of *Jaen*, and the count of *Castenada*, being defeated in a battle against the *Moors*, were carried prisoners to *Granada*^v. Towards the close of the year, he sent the marquis *de Villena* to regulate with the chief justice of *Arragon* the disputes that still subsisted in reference to the commanderies of the order of *St. James* in that kingdom, which were to have been restored by virtue of the late treaty, and which, notwithstanding, remained in the hands of those to whom the king of *Arragon* had given them. The marquis, instead of executing this commission as he ought, took occasion from thence to enter into engagements of quite another kind. He suggested to the chief justice, *Lanuza*, that, very possibly, there might come a time when he might be as much persecuted in *Castile* as the grand master *Don Alvaro*; in which case he was desirous of being sure of the king of *Arragon's* protection: with this view he offered, and actually took, an oath of fidelity to that monarch, which was administered to him by the chief justice *Lanuza*: and

^a Vide auct. sup. citat.

Quarto, de *DIEGO ENRIQUES* del Castillo.

^r Chronica de los Reys Catholicos, &c. FERFERAS. Ciudad Real.

de Palencia.

^p EMANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA. ABARCA.

^t FARIA Y SOUSA.

^q Chronica del Rey Don Henrique

^s Chronica de los Moros de Espana.

^u Cartas del Bachiller FERNAND. GOMEZ de

Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO

thus,

- ^a thus, without taking any care of his master's business, he returned to the court of *Castile*, very well satisfied with what he had done in his own². The whole country of *Biscay* being in commotion, through the disturbance excited by the factions of the *Gamboas* and the *Otanex*, the king found himself under the necessity of going thither: arriving at *St. Sebastians*, he embarked there on board a small vessel, that he might, with greater facility, examine the sea coast: and, having ordered several small castles to be demolished, as serving only for retreats to such as were disposed to trouble the peace of the country, visited most of the great towns, and quiered the whole province. He appointed Don *Juan Hurtado de Mendoza*, governor of *Biscay*, and prepared to return into *Castile*³. Before he could put this in execution, he received an unexpected account of a new confederacy, into which the arch-^{Confederacy a-}gainst him.
- ^b bishop of *Toledo*, the amirante, the count *de Haro*, the marquis *de Santillan*, the count *de Alba*, the count *de Benavente*, and several other noblemen had entered, in order to procure a reformation in the government. They represented to the king, that, through his indolence and inattention, the laws had lost their vigour, industry was almost every-where ceased; that, jealous of his nobility, he gave up a great part of his private life to persons unworthy of his conversation; that, from hence, the civil administration was contemned, his military expeditions had no effect, and, while he governed, as it were, at random, and without any system, things were every-where declining into ruin and confusion. The king was exceedingly chagrined at this news; but, by the advice of the archbishop of *Seville* and the marquis *de Villena*, he resolved to have an interview with the king of *Navarre*, in order to prevent
- ^c his giving any countenance to this new confederacy: they met accordingly on the frontiers, where it was agreed, that the Infant Don *Alonso* of *Castile* should espouse the Infanta of *Navarre*, and that the Infant Don *Hernando*, or *Ferdinand*, of *Navarre*, should espouse the Infanta *Isabella* of *Castile*². These points settled, the king went to *Segovia*, and, having acquainted the lords of the confederacy, that, after the campaign was over, he would call an assembly of the states, in which all the grievances they had enumerated should be redressed, he desired them not to impede the progress of the war, which was of so great consequence to religion and the public welfare. With this they seemed to have acquiesced, since the king took the field against the *Moors* with a great army, and yet there passed nothing of more importance than the year before; at length the king of *Granada* proposed to acknowledge
- ^d himself the vassal of *Castile*, and to pay a large annual tribute, to which Don *Henry* listened; but hostilities, notwithstanding, continued to the close of the year³. The rebellion of Don *Alonso Fijardo* in *Murcia*, which had broke out about seven years before, continued still to give the king a great deal of trouble, in consequence of the support which, from time to time, he received from the *Moors*. He laboured this year, by an embassy sent expressly for that purpose, to reconcile the *French* king *Charles* the seventh to his son the Dauphin, though without effect^b.

Rebellion by
Don Alonso
Fijardo:
A. D. 1457²

HISTORIANS agree that it was not without foundation this monarch of *Castile* was suspected of impotence, notwithstanding which he had several mistresses, for the sake of one of which, of the noble family of *Castro*, he treated the queen extremely ill. The disorders of his family, though they might resemble, were by no means comparable to those in his government; for, knowing that he was hated by many, he suspected most of his nobility, and laboured to secure himself from the effects of their resentment by raising up new families, supposing that gratitude must naturally follow favours. With this view he made *Michael Luc* his secretary constable, and gave him several towns that belonged to the crown; which places, however, refused to acknowledge him for their lord. The mastership of *Alcantara* he bestowed on *Gomez de Solis*, a gentleman of good family indeed, but very poor. Don *Juan de Valencuela* he made grand prior of *St. John*, and *Bernard de la Cueva* master of his household^c. The deaths of the marquis of *Santillan* and of the count *de Triveno* were favourable to the king, as they proved the cause of some disputes amongst their relations.

^f The rebellion of *Fijardo* was entirely suppressed, and the war with the *Moors* carried on with various success, that is, with various losses to both nations. This year died Don *Alonso* king of *Arragon* and *Naples*, in the last-mentioned city, leaving all his dominions in *Spain* to his brother Don *Juan* king of *Navarre*, who became now a very potent, as he had been always a very active, prince^d. The former league amongst the nobility being in some measure broken, was again renewed, by the industry of the archbishop of *Toledo*; upon which the king surprized some of their places, and amongst the rest deprived the unfortunate house of *Luna* of the best part of their estates, though they had given him no sort of

² ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto

³ Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos, &c. ^a Chron. de los Moros de Espana.

² ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. Chron.

^b P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

^c Chronica de los Reys Catholicos de HERNANDO del Pulgar.

^d ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.

provocation. The marquis *de Villena* was sometimes in full possession of his master's favour, and at others under a cloud. His brother Don *Pedro Giron*, master of *Calatrava*, who had been a malecontent from the beginning of the king's reign, was, by his brother's interest, restored to the good graces of his sovereign, about the end of this year, or the beginning of the next^a.

THE confederate lords transmitted to the king, by the hands of *Diego de Quinones*, a memorial, in which they exhorted him to observe the laws of the kingdom, which he had sworn to at the time of his accession, and not to violate the liberties of the church, the nobility, or the people; to cause exact and impartial justice to be every-where administered; to dismiss the *Moors* that were about his court; to reform his household, to carry on the war against the king of *Granada* with effect, in virtue of the great supplies he had received; to cause the Infant Don *Alonso* and the Infanta *Isabella* to be educated in a manner suitable to their rank; and to declare the former his successor to the throne, since he had no posterity of his own. The king answered, that he would consult of those things with the lords of his council^b. Don *Bernard de la Cueva* was now become his principal favourite; and, being very desirous of making his fortune, he proposed to the marquis of *Santillan* that he should marry his youngest daughter, in which he prevailed. By restoring him to his estates, and giving the title of count to his son-in-law, Don *Bertrand*, he detached him from the confederacy: but what gave him the greatest uneasiness was, the knowledge he had that Don *Juan* king of *Arragon* and *Navarre* had deserted his alliance, and subscribed the confederacy; to shew his resentment for which, he entered into a secret negotiation with the prince Don *Carlos*, and offered him his sister the Infanta Donna *Isabella*, in breach of his former agreement with the king his father^c. The next year was a scene of strange confusions; Don *Henry* took the *Catalans* under his protection who had revolted from their sovereign, on behalf of the prince Don *Carlos*; he invaded *Navarre*, and took some places there, reconciled himself to most of the malecontents, and, to gratify them, made various alterations in his government; brought the Infant and Infanta to court; so that there was a seeming harmony beyond any thing that had appeared during his reign. There was, however, much deceit and falshood on both sides. The king trusted these great lords by force, and there was abundance of fraud in their service; for, in the midst of the war they carried on against the king of *Arragon*, they held a private correspondence with that prince, as did also the marquis of *Villena*, and some others of the favourites. By these intrigues a new treaty was made between the two crowns with such secrecy, that the prince Don *Carlos* could learn nothing of its contents; and this raising many suspicions in his mind, threw him into a fever which cost him his life^d.

Death of the
Infant Don
Carlos.

The queen is
delivered of a
daughter.

In the beginning of the year the queen Donna *Joanna* of *Castile* was delivered of a daughter, styled the Infanta Donna *Joanna*, on account of which vast rejoicings were made^e. The king had treated her, during the course of her pregnancy, not only with the utmost tenderness, but with all possible marks of affection, and even of fondness, with a design to persuade his subjects that this was his daughter as well as the queen's; which, notwithstanding all the pains he could take, very few or none believed. However, she was solemnly baptized; the marquis of *Armagnac*, a *French* nobleman of the first rank, and ambassador from that crown, the marquis *de Villena*, and the Infanta Donna *Isabella*, being sponsors; the archbishop of *Toledo* performed the ceremony; and two months after the king caused her to be acknowledged heiress of the crown, the Infant Don *Alonso* and the Infanta Donna *Isabella* being the first who swore to the succession^f. Yet some of the nobility privately protested against this preposterous proceeding; and the whole nation was so thoroughly persuaded that the child was not the king's, but the daughter of Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, that they bestowed upon her the surname of *Bertraneja*^g. The archbishop of *Toledo*, supported by the rest of the secret friends of the king of *Arragon*, prevailed upon the king Don *Henry* to make a tour to *Alfaro*, while the monarch before-mentioned was at *Tudela*, that, being so near each other, all the little points that were still unadjusted might be the sooner settled. But, while the king of *Castile* was thus employed, the queen, whom he had left at *Aranda*, miscarried, by an unlucky accident, of a son, upon which he went immediately away to comfort her, and sent the marquis *de Villena* to *Saragossa* in order to conclude and sign the treaty with the king of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, which he accordingly did. Upon his return to the court, then held at *Madrid*, he met with a very gracious reception from the king his master; notwithstanding which he could not help envying the credit of the count of *Ledesma* both with the king and queen^h. The war with the *Moors* was still continued, through the perfidious behaviour of the king of *Granada*; and as the king trusted the war

^a Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, &c. de Palencia.

^b ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.

^c Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO

^d Cartes del Bachiller FERN. GOMEZ de Ciudad Real.

^e Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

^f P. DANIEL Hilkoire de France.

Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO ENRIQUES del Castillo.

^g FERRERAS.

^h ABARCA.

- a to his favourites, and supplied them abundantly, it was carried on in such a manner as drove the Infidels to the greatest distress, and at length excited a mutiny in the city of *Granada*ⁿ. The most glorious event, however, of the campaign, was the reduction of *Gibraltar*, with which the king was highly and justly pleased (G). Such, however, was the inconstancy of this prince's temper, that, notwithstanding the peace lately concluded with *Arragon*, he entered into new intrigues with the *Catalans*, who pretended to prove from an old genealogy that he was their legal master; and, upon his sending a body of troops to their assistance, they proclaimed him their sovereign on the thirteenth of *November* in the city of *Barcelona*^o; not out of affection to him, but to obtain assistance against the king of *Arragon*. Gibraltar reduced.
The king of Castile proclaimed sovereign of Catalonia.
A. D. 1462.
- b As the step which the king had taken, in relation to the principality of *Catalonia*, was altogether inconsistent with the notions of his favourites, they endeavoured to persuade him to refer all points in dispute to the arbitration of *Lewis* the eleventh king of *France*, which, by a piece of very dextrous management, they brought about^p. All things, however, had like to have been overturned again, by the arrival of fresh deputies from *Catalonia*, whose propositions the king would needs hear himself in council. They began with shewing, that, by several notorious breaches of the constitution, the king *Don Juan* had lost all right to the realms of *Arragon* and *Valentia*, to which he might form just pretensions, which most of the nobility would willingly support: and as to the principality of *Catalonia*, as the king, by his own consent, had been proclaimed their sovereign, they had the same claim to his protection as the rest of his subjects. In the council, however, the archbishop of *Toledo*
- c and the marquis of *Villena* alleged, that the *Catalans* were naturally a mutable, restless, and rebellious people, whom it was impossible to content; and that, besides, having referred all things to the decision of the king of *France*, nothing ought to be undertaken till that was known; in which, though against his own opinion, the king acquiesced^q. It was afterwards agreed, that the two monarchs of *France* and *Spain* should have an interview on the frontiers, and that, in the mean time, hostilities should cease between the crowns of *Arragon* and *Castile*. It was not long after that the *French* monarch, as umpire of the disputes between the two crowns, made his award to this effect; That the king of *Castile* should quit all pretensions to the sovereignty of *Catalonia*, and withdraw his troops immediately out of *Arragon* and *Navarre*; and, on the other hand, that the king *Don Juan* should yield to his cousin
- d of *Castile* the town of *Estella*, with all its dependencies, and pay him likewise the sum of fifty thousand florins in gold, for the expences of the war: it was also settled that the queen of *Arragon* should remain as a hostage in the hands of the archbishop of *Toledo*, till this sentence should be complied with in all points^r. The king of *Castile* had afterwards an interview with *Lewis* the eleventh on the river of *Bidassoa*, which was very short, but they

ⁿ Chronica de los Moros de Espana. ^o Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos de HERNANDO del Pulgar. Rob. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^p Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. ^q Rob. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^r P. DANIEL Histoire de France. ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.

(G) The recovery of this important fortress was so much the more acceptable, as it was altogether singular and unexpected, since these were times in which it was infinitely more probable that the Christians should lose than that they should gain any thing from the *Mohammedans* (1). It happened in this manner: there dwelt in the town of *Gibraltar* a Moor, whose name was *Ali el Zurro*, who was desirous of becoming a Christian. With this view he retired to *Tarifa*, and disclosed his sentiments in that respect to *Alonso de Arcos*, who was then alcaide, and who, approving his design, caused him to be baptized by the name of *Diego Zurro*. He then told him that it would be no difficult matter for the Christians to recover the place from which he came, since, upon the breaking out of a civil war at *Granada*, the whole garrison was marched thither to support one of the competitors to the crown. *Don Alonso* was too well acquainted with the *Moors* to give hasty credit to such a piece of intelligence; he sent therefore a detachment of eighty horse and one hundred and fifty foot, with orders to seize some of the inhabitants, which they executed, and from them he understood, that *Diego* had told him no more than the truth: upon this he assembled some troops belonging to the count *d'Arcos*, the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and of the governors of the adjacent places, with which he invested *Gibraltar* very unexpectedly.

The inhabitants, however, made a very gallant defence; insomuch, that many were inclined to raise the siege; but *Diego Zurro* exerted himself in such a manner, and solicited with such vehemency, that they remained before the place. They were daily joined by fresh troops; and *Don Rodrigo*, the son of the count *d'Arcos*, actually possessed himself of a great part of the town, and might have had the rest by capitulation, if the duke of *Medina Sidonia* had not sent to desire that he might have a share in the glory. He arrived accordingly with his forces, and the very same night entered into a private treaty with the *Moors*, who delivered up the place to him the next day. This sinister behaviour produced a feud between the families of *Medina Sidonia* and *Arcos*, which lasted many years, and cost a great deal of blood (2). The king was no sooner acquainted with this unexpected piece of good fortune, than he named *Don Pedro de Porras* governor of the place, and ordered the duke of *Medina Sidonia* to put it into his hands under the severest penalties, which he immediately obeyed. As a farther proof of his satisfaction, he ordered the title of king of *Gibraltar* to be added to his titles; following therein the example of *Abu Malic*, a *Moorish* monarch, who had done the same thing long before (3).

(1) Mariana. Mayerne Turquet. Ferreras. (2) Chronica del Rey Don Henrique IV. de Alonso de Palencia.
(3) Historia general de Espana, par Mariana, lib. xxii.

parted with a thorough hatred and contempt of each other; the king of *Castile* having about a him a great number of his favourites, but particularly the count of *Ledesma*, most richly dressed, and, in a manner, covered with jewels: whereas the duke of *Burgundy*, the marshal (there was then but one) and the admiral of *France*, in compliance with the king's humour, were very modestly dressed, and *Lewis* himself so plain, that it was impossible, by any exterior mark, to know the king¹. Don *Henry* of *Castile* and Don *Juan* of *Arragon* were equally dissatisfied with his sentence. The former had lost much, the latter was to lose something, and the humour of kings is to part with nothing. The king of *Arragon* hoped to effect this by chicane; for, instead of delivering up *Estella*, he put a strong garrison into it, and, on the complaint of the marquis of *Villena*, threw the fault upon the states of *Navarre*, declaring that he would take no umbrage at seeing the place reduced by force. In a little time b a new negotiation was set on foot; and the marquis, after having brought the king his master into *Navarre*, with so poor an army that he was able to do nothing, accepted a few inconsiderable places as an equivalent for *Estella*; upon notice of which the archbishop of *Toledo* released the queen of *Arragon*, as if the treaty had been fully executed². By this the king of *Castile*'s eyes were opened, and he not only refused to approve of this convention, but dismissed the prelate from his councils, and threatened the marquis with his resentment. In the autumn the king marched with a numerous army against the *Moors*; but, being on the frontiers of the kingdom of *Granada*, that monarch sent his tribute, and very rich presents besides; upon which the king dismissed his troops, and went to pass his *Christmas* at *Seville*³.

A. D. 1463.

Another powerful league formed against the king of Castile, by the archbishop of Toledo and divers noblemen.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the king, for his amusement, made a tour to *Gibraltar*, the recovery of which he considered as the great glory of his reign. On his arrival there, he heard that the king of *Portugal* was at *Ceuta*, upon which he sent him a civil invitation to come to *Gibraltar*, which was accepted: but while he was employed in concerting some schemes with that prince, to whom he promised his sister *Isabella*, and renewing the truce with the *Moors*, things had taken a very wrong turn in *Castile*⁴. The archbishop of *Toledo* and the marquis of *Villena*, finding that they were totally shut out of the government, resolved once more to put themselves at the head of a confederacy, in which the amirante, the counts of *Placentia*, *Benavente*, *Paredes*, *Mirande*, and *Offorne*, the archbishop of *Compostella*, the grand masters of *Calatrava* and *Alcantara*, very readily entered; so that this league became more formidable than any that had been hitherto made⁵. The king being d informed of this by the queen, resolved to return, without delay, into *Castile*, where he found the great affair of the peace of *Arragon* set upon an equitable foundation, through the fear that the archbishop, the marquis, and even the king of *Arragon* himself, were under, that their contrivances should reach the ear of *Lewis* the eleventh, who, in that case, would not fail to enter *Arragon*: the king, therefore, seeing no reason to refuse it, ratified the peace, not without hopes that this might pacify the malecontents: he carried the queen also to an interview with the *Portuguese* monarch at *Guadaloupe*, where he again promised him his sister *Donna Isabella*, and really meant to keep his word; but, when he mentioned it to the Infanta, she shewed no inclination to become queen of *Portugal*, but pretended that a princess of *Castile* could not marry without leave of the states, to whom, therefore, the king e engaged to propose it⁶. As he persuaded himself that he had still a great influence over the marquis of *Villena*, he had a mind to confer with him, in hopes of dissipating the league; to which, after hostages given, the marquis consented, as having an inclination to detach the archbishop of *Seville*, the most able man the king had about him, and to bring him over to the malecontents. At this conference, therefore, he told the king, that the archbishop was the principal object of his own apprehensions, and of those of his associates; and that, if he would arrest and keep him confined, he made no question of bringing all the lords back to his service. The king very readily consented; and the marquis no sooner left him, than he sent a domestic to inform the archbishop of the danger he was in; upon which that prelate, knowing no other way to be safe, went immediately to the count of *Placentia*, one of the f league, and to whom he had been the greatest enemy, to demand his protection⁷. The count received him with open arms; the detachment of the king's guard, sent to secure him, returned without their prisoner; and thus the marquis of *Villena*, not satisfied with betraying the king, contrived to make him an instrument in betraying himself⁸. The success attending this enterprize, encouraged him to form one still more extraordinary; and this was to surprize

¹ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo. P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

² ABARCA. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS.

³ ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA. Chronica de los

Moros de Espana.

⁴ FARIA Y SOUSA. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

⁵ Chronica del Rey

Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo.

⁶ ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. BRANDAON.

Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Placentia.

⁷ ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iv.

FERRERAS.

⁸ Cartas del Bachiller FERNAN. GOMEZ de Ciudad Real. MARIAN.

a the king at *Madrid*, to deliver the Infant and Infanta out of his custody, and to bring away the count of *Ledesma*; but, though it was well laid and well conducted, this scheme miscarried, and the king threatened him with the utmost weight of his resentment^b. This did not deter him from a bolder enterprize than the last: he prevailed upon Donna *Maria de Padilla*, the wife of *Ferdinand Carillo*, who lay in the room contiguous to their majesties bed-chamber, to admit his adherents in the night; and, by this means, he hoped to secure the persons both of the king and queen; in which, also, he very narrowly failed^c. After all this, he engaged the king to promise an interview with some of the malecontents, to which, as he was on the road, he had intelligence of their having assembled a great force in order to seize him and those who were about him, upon which he thought proper to retire; b which, if he had not done with great precipitation, would have been to no purpose^d. To shew in a particular manner how much he was piqued at the marquis, he with great solemnity invested Don *Bertrand de la Cueva* grand master of the order of St. *James*, which he knew was the principal object of the other's ambition^e. The king of *Aragon* and *Navarre* having entered into the league, the confederates held a general assembly at *Burgos*, where, upon the twenty-ninth of *September*, they subscribed an instrument, comprehending the reasons of their revolt, and their plan of regulating public affairs, to which they not only subscribed, but solemnly swore to adhere inviolably to each other, till every point of it was accomplished; and this league they caused to be transmitted to *Rome*, to prevent the king's obtaining any bulls from pope *Paul* the second against them^f. In the mean time, the king c being informed that one of the principal points of the confederacy turned upon his impotency, and compelling the nobility to swear to a supposititious child, he pretended to establish his capacity by judicial proofs, and the testimony of his physician, which served only to lessen and debase his character. Yet, before the end of the year, without the participation of his council, he ventured upon another private interview with the marquis of *Villena*, at which he concluded an agreement with the malecontents, upon the following terms; that he should deliver the Infant Don *Alonso* to the marquis, and acknowledge him for his heir and successor; that Don *Bertrand de la Cueva* should renounce the grand mastership of St. *James*, and the pope he desired to confer it, by a bull, upon the Infant Don *Alonso*, agreeable to his father's will; that the regulation of public affairs in general should be left to four lords, d two of which should be named by the king, and two by the league, and, if they could not agree, the judgment of *Alonso de Oropeza*, prior of the order of St. *Jerom*, was to be decisive: for the due performance of all which Don *Bertrand de la Cueva* was to constitute himself prisoner in the fortress of *Portillo*, under the care of *Gonsalez de Sabavedra*, and the count de *Benavente* was to do the like in the fortress of *Mucientes*, in the hands of count of St. *Martha*, by which the king hoped to secure his own quiet and that of his subjects^g. A. D. 1464.

WHEN the contents of this convention were known, several of the king's faithful subjects laboured to shew him how much he had been deceived, and that the sole aim of the confederates was to get the Infant Don *Alonso* into their hands, with a design to place him at their head, and perhaps to make him king. This alarmed Don *Henry* extremely; but his e secretary Don *Alvaro Gomez*, who was the creature of the marquis de *Villena*, terrified him so much with the thoughts of reviving all past disturbances, if he did not execute punctually every article of his treaty, that he no sooner understood the marquis of *Villena* was come to *Sepulveda* to receive the Infant, than he carried him thither, and put him into his hands^h. He afterwards repaired to *Cabazon*, where he gave audience to all the confederates in a body, and after each of them had kissed his hand, Don *Alonso* was declared his successor to his dominions, and promised to espouse Donna *Joanna*ⁱ. Don *Bertrand* count of *Ledesma*, being present, they summoned him to resign the grand mastership of St. *James*, the most honourable and most beneficial office in the kingdom. I will do it, answered Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, with much greater pleasure than I received it, because it is to render a service to that most gracious monarch, to whose favour I owe that and all that I have, and am glad of affording a f testimony to his subjects, that he has raised at least one man of fidelity and merit. This answer astonished the whole league, and made the marquis of *Villena* blush^k. The king rewarded him bountifully, gave him the town of *Albuquerque*, with the title of duke, four other lordships, with a pension of three million and a half of marvadies^l. They proceeded next to name commissioners; the king chose Don *Pedro de Velasco*, eldest son to the count

^b Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo.

^c ROD. SANTII Hist.

Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS.

^d Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

^e ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

^f ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique

Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

^g ABRACA, Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRI-

QUES del Castillo.

^h ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS.

ⁱ FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg.

Hispan. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

^k Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

^l ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.

His refusal to perform articles.

The confederates depose him, and declare for the Infant Don Alonso.

de Haro, and *Gonzalez de Sabavedra*; and the league appointed the count of *Placentia* and the marquis *de Villena*. The marquis in a little time corrupted the king's commissioners, so that he carried every thing at his pleasure, and without being obliged to consult *Alonso de Oropesa*, a person of incorruptible integrity, whom the confederates named for umpire, merely to give a lustre to their cause^m. The king having discovered the defection of his commissioners, and the treachery of his secretary, the marquis *de Villena* had recourse to a new artifice; he prevailed upon the archbishop of *Toledo*, and the amirante, to make shew of quitting the confederacy, and going over to the king. Don *Henry* received them so graciously, and trusted them so entirely, that they began to be in earnest on his side, when the marchioness of *Villena* came to *Madrid*, and, by her arts, recovered them to the league; and, which was more extraordinary, persuaded the king that her husband was still loyal in his heart, and would take an opportunity of doing his majesty good serviceⁿ. By the advice of the archbishop of *Toledo* and the amirante, the king annulled all that had been done by the commissioners, summoned the confederates to restore to him his brother, and threatened to declare them traitors if they did not. Upon this they called a general assembly at *Placentia*, and soon after another at *Seville*, where it was publicly debated, whether they should depose the king, and advance the Infant Don *Alonso* to the throne? The agent of the archbishop of *Toledo* argued warmly for the affirmative, which was as warmly opposed by the marquis *de Villena*; but at length, after taking the opinion of some lawyers, they agreed that the king should be deposed^o. The king was at this time preparing to reduce *Salamanca*, and the count of *Alba de Tormes* was the first nobleman in *Spain* who declared for him. The archbishop of *Toledo* and the amirante attended him upon this occasion; and, by their advice, he resolved next to besiege *Arevalo*, upon which they took their leaves, and promised to repair thither with their forces, receiving each of them money from the king for that purpose. The king waited for them long, and sent to them often; at length the prelate sent him word not to tire him with any more messages, for that he would quickly let him see who was the true king of *Castile*; and, at the same time, the amirante seized *Valladolid*, and declared for the Infant Don *Alonso*^p. The king, amazed at this behaviour, retired sorrowfully to *Salamanca*, and had sunk under his misfortunes, but for the prudent counsels of his sister Donna *Isabella*. As for the confederates they went roundly to work, and having deposed the king Don *Henry*, with great solemnity (H), they declared the Infant Don *Alonso* king, and raised an army to make him so^q. The archbishop of *Toledo*, who had the best head and the worst heart in the whole assembly, proposed marching, without loss of time, to crush the king at *Salamanca*, which he shewed them plainly might be done both safely and speedily. The marquis *de Villena* raised many difficulties, and in the end diverted that motion. At the same time he gave notice to the king to be upon his guard^r. His sole view was to keep

^m Cartas del Bachiller FERNAN GOMEZ de Ciuda Real. FERRERAS. ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

^o ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part. iv. ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA. Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo. ^p Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos de HERNANDO del Pulgar. FERRERAS. ^q ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. part. iv. ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA. ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. ^r Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

(H) There is not any event in the *Spanish*, or to say the truth, in any other history, the record of any transaction more extraordinary or more extravagant than this; the malecontents caused a theatre of vast extent, in the great plain that lies on one side of the town of *Avila*, to be erected, so that all the multitudes resorting thither might see and hear every thing that was said or done (4); upon this a magnificent throne was placed, upon which was seated the figure of the king Don *Henry*, with the crown upon his head, the sceptre in his hand, the sword by his side, the royal robe on his shoulders; and, in a word, with every other ensign of majesty then in use. A herald then mounted the theatre, and read with a loud voice, a declaration, containing the motives which appeared to them sufficient for deposing and depriving him of the royal dignity. At the same time that he began to read, the archbishop of *Toledo*, the marquis of *Villena*, the count *de Placentia*, the grand master of *Alcantara*, the counts of *Benavente* and *Paredas*, went up to the figure, and as he read, the archbishop took off the crown, the marquis *de Villena* took away the sceptre, the grand master pulled off the sword, and the other three stripped away the rest of the ornaments; after which they kicked the

figure away from the throne with their feet, adding the most abusive and insulting language to these actions, which the populace beheld in profound silence, except that here and there some burst into tears (5). Then the Infant *Alonso* mounted the theatre, and being carried on the shoulders of those who were present, was at length seated on the throne; after which, all the prelates, noblemen, and persons of rank and property, who were present, did homage to him, and the trumpets sounding, the standards were displayed in his name; those who assisted in this strange scene crying, according to the custom of those times, "*Castile! Castile! Long live the king Don Alonso of Castile, Leon, &c.*" (6). Besides those who were actually concerned in this act of deposition, the amirante, the grand master of *Calatrava*, the counts of *Luna*, *Castro*, *Castaneda*, *Ossorno*, *St. Martha*, and many others, concurred in approving and applauding this subversion of the constitution, and pretended to own for their king a child hurried about by a faction, who assumed a power of deposing their king for those acts of prodigality, to which they were indebted for their titles and splendour (7).

(4) Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos de Hernando del Pulgar. Palencia, &c.

(6) Zuniga, Pulgar, Palencia.

(5) Diego Henriques del Castillo. Alonso de Mariana, &c.

- a the world in storm, as not knowing how to steer in calm weather. The confederates marched with their forces, and besieged *Simencas*. The king was, for once, the better for marquis's advice, and wrote to the nobility in pressing terms to come to his assistance. The count *Alba de Tormes* was again the first, the duke *de Albuquerque*, the count *de Trastamara*, the marquis *de Santillan*, the count *de Medina Cæli*, soon after joined him. By this time, the archbishop of *Toledo* began to grow jealous of the marquis *de Villena*; but that subtle politician had the address to deceive him again into a better opinion of him than ever. He feigned himself indisposed, grew in a few days dangerously ill, and having received those spiritual comforts that are only given at the point of death, he made a will, by which he recommended his widow and children to the care, and left all his estates to the direction, of the
- b archbishop, who, being thoroughly convinced by this of his friendship, rejoiced very sincerely at his recovery*. This prelate having taken several places in person, repaired with all his forces to *Simencas*, to the relief of which the king advanced, with an army so much superior to the malecontents, that they retired with some precipitation, and if the king had pursued them, and prosecuted the war with vigour, he might have reduced them and reigned the rest of his days in peace; but, by a most unaccountable fit of credulity, he consented to an interview with the marquis *de Villena*, who engaged him to consent to a suspension of arms, and to dismiss his forces, which he accordingly did, after paying them punctually, and assuring them that he would reward them for their services, as he afterwards did very liberally, bestowing *Carpio* and some other places on the count of *Alba*; *Astorga*, with the
- c title of marquis, on the count of *Trastamara*; *Agreda* and its territory he gave to the count of *Medina Cæli*; and the county of *Gijon*, with the title of duke to the count of *Valentia*: neither was he unmindful or ungrateful with regard to persons of less distinction. This year died *Ishmael*, king of *Granada*, and was succeeded by his son *Albohacen*, a prince of a generous and martial spirit".
- d In the beginning of the year, the archbishop of *Toledo* sent some of the clergy, who were his creatures, to *Rome*, in order to persuade the pope, that himself and his partizans had done nothing amiss in solemnly deposing their king; but, on the other side, the king sent the dean of *Salamanca* thither, to espouse his cause; which he did so effectually, that the pope would give no countenance to the rebels in *Spain*". The city of *Valladolid* declared for the king, who, though he had been so often betrayed by him, would have gone from thence to meet the marquis of *Villena*, if he had not been withheld by the nobility about him". The king, however, received the archbishop of *Seville*, who came from him, and listened to one of the strangest projects that was ever devised. He proposed that Don *Pedro Giron*, grand master of *Calatrava*, and brother to the marquis *de Villena*, should marry the Infanta Donna *Isabella*; upon which the archbishop of *Toledo*, the grand master, the marquis, and all their dependants, would become once more good subjects, give the king a large sum in ready money, and sacrifice the Infant Don *Alonso*; but all this the king was desired to keep a profound secret, and in the mean time to dismiss from the court the bishop of *Calaborra*, and the duke of *Albuquerque*, who they knew were men not to be imposed upon by such artifices. The king consented to all this, the bishop and the duke retired, the grand master resigned his dignity to his third son, and the most pompous preparations were made for the wedding, though the Infanta declared from the beginning that she would never give her consent. But when all things were ready, and the king disposed to force his sister, Don *Pedro* fell sick upon the road of a fever, and died in a few days". The archbishop and the marquis returned immediately to the party of the Infant Don *Alonso*, who received them very graciously, because he was afraid of them. The rest of the year was spent in war, without any other effect than that of ruining and destroying the people, and in treaties that came to nothing, through the artifices of the marquis *de Villena*, notwithstanding all the pains the pope's legate could take, which rendered the marquis as odious to the malecontents, as he ought to have been to the king, who, notwithstanding, could never divest himself of that affection for him, which he so little deserved".
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- f

THE weakness of this prince was such, that even his best as well as his worst subjects, were driven into rebellion. The archbishop of *Seville*, in the beginning of this year, had prevailed upon him to go and confer with the malecontents at *Bejar*, where a scheme was laid to seize his person. All representations to prevent this false step were to no purpose; so that the inhabitants of *Madrid* were forced to take up arms to keep the king in his palace, from whence, when he had laid aside all thoughts of going to *Bejar*, he proceeded to *Segovia*". In the

* ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo.

de reg. Hispan.

de Palencia.

Hist. Hispan. part iv.

W RAINALD. FERRERAS.

7 ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. FERRERAS.

8 Cartas del Bachiller FERNAN GOMEZ de Ciuda Real.

1 Chronica del Rey Don Henrique.

2 Chronica de los Moros de Espana. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ

3 Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO

4 Chronica del Rey Don Henrique

5

Battle of Medina del Campo.

mean while, the infant Don *Alonso* went to *Toledo*, where some commotions had happened in favour of the king, where he was joyfully received, publicly proclaimed, and treated with all royal honours^b. The king, perceiving that the rebels were reducing one place after another, and that many of the nobility grew cold in their affections for his service, resolved, while he had yet sufficient strength, to put the issue of things to a battle, and accordingly advanced for the relief of *Medina del Campo*. The rebels resolved to wait for him there: when the two armies were very near, the archbishop of *Toledo* sent to give the duke of *Albuquerque* notice that forty persons had sworn not to suffer him to return alive, if he appeared in the field; and therefore advised him to take care of himself. The duke, suspecting the truth of this intelligence, invited a soldier of the enemy's advanced guard to come and speak with him, and sent him a passport; the man came accordingly, and being asked if this intelligence was true, he assured him it was, and that every body knew it in the camp: why then, says the duke, tell those forty men that I shall be in the field to-morrow, armed in such a manner, and with a scarf of such a colour, and dismissed him with a reward^c. This action happened on the 20th of *August*; the Infant Don *Alonso* was there, in person, having the archbishop of *Toledo* by his side, who wore over his robe a crimson scarf, embroidered with white crosses. The king, at the instance of the constable of *Navarre*, retired, with thirty horse, to a place at some distance; his army consisted of eight hundred lances, seven hundred light horse, and two thousand foot; that of the rebels was of much the same strength; the engagement began in the afternoon, and did not end but with the light. It was far from being decisive, though there might be about five hundred men slain on both sides, the king ordered his standard to remain in his camp, being unwilling to display it against his people, and by that accident it was taken. Both sides claimed and made rejoicings for their victory, which belonged to neither^d. The town of *Segovia* was shortly after betrayed to the Infant, who by that means got his sister, the Infanta *Isabella*, into his custody, but the *Alcazar*, in which were the king's treasures, was preserved^e. The king, notwithstanding this, was prevailed upon to go thither, to confer with the malecontents, to whom he spoke better than his friends expected. He told them he would say little either of or for himself; he could not govern so great a country, but by his ministers and magistrates; that these he had often changed; and notwithstanding, had been generally abused; if they knew where to find him better, he was willing to employ them. But what he had chiefly at heart, and what he wished at theirs, was the misery and distress of the poor people, the innocent victims of their passions and follies. He said it was plain that he was not accountable for this, either to God or man, as they had left him no power to protect them; but, forgetting what was passed, if they would yet take measures to make his subjects happy, and restore him to his authority, he would exert it for that purpose. They promised to consider of the matter, and the king delivered his queen into the hands of the archbishop of *Seville*, as a hostage for his making good his promises. The true design of this conference, was to cheat the king out of the *Alcazar*, which they could not so easily reduce, and to engage him to confirm to the marquis of *Villena* the grand mastership of *St. James*, which he had obliged the Infant Don *Alonso* to resign in his favour. This he very willingly did; and in return, the marquis hindered any peace from being made, to which most of the lords of his party were inclined, and for which the bishop of *Leon*, the pope's legate, after severe reproaches, excommunicated them all^f.

The malecontents excommunicated by the pope's legate.

Death of the Infant Don Alonso.

As the rebels found themselves not a little hurt by these ecclesiastical censures, they sent two of their party to *Rome*, to make an apology to the pope, from whom they received a very bad reception, who told them they were rebels to their king, and tyrants to their fellow subjects, bidding them go home, and pacify these troubles; and, as the *Spanish* historians say, telling them, if they did not, God would speedily call the Infant, whose name they abused, and who was no more than an image in their hands, to another life, and leave them to answer for their own offences^g. While they were thus employed, the king Don *Henry* went in person to assist in the execution of an enterprize for the recovery of *Toledo*, in which he narrowly escaped with his life; for tho' his party received him privately into the city, yet the populace no sooner understood that he was in the cathedral church, than they attacked it with the utmost fury, and it was with great hazard that he escaped. A few days after, the populace changed their minds, and, by the help of a little persuasion, drove out the partizans of the royal Infant, and invited the king back, who went thither, and was received with the loudest acclamations by those who, but a little before, had thrust him out of the same place^h. The Infant Don

^b Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo. de Espana, p. ix. sec. xv. ^c FERRERAS, Histoire del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. ^d ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ^e MARIAN. FERRERAS. ^f CHRON. part iv. FER. ^g RAINALD. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. ^h MARIAN. Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos de HERNANDO del Pulgar.

- a *Alonso* was then at *Arevalo*; and his party being astonished at the news, thought it proper that he should go to *Avila*. On the road he dined with his sister at *Cardenosa*, and retiring afterwards to sleep, was, in the space of an hour, found dead upon his bed, or at least senseless and dying¹. This happened on the 5th of *July*, when that prince was about fifteen (I). The archbishop of *Toledo*, and the grand master of *St. James*, conducted the Infanta Donna *Isabella* to *Avila*, where, at the desire of the party, the archbishop began to dispose her to take the title of queen, to which she answered very modestly, that she was much obliged to them for their good affections, but that the crown of *Castile* did not belong to them to bestow, but was held from God by the laws. Yet, if they would interpose with the king, her brother, that she might be declared the presumptive heir of the crown, which she took to be her right, she would be thankful; neither was she moved from this resolution, when she heard that at *Seville* and several other places they had proclaimed her². The archbishop acquiesced, and in a short time the accommodation was made. On the 19th of *September*, the king, and his sister the Infanta, met the pope's legate, released the lords from the oaths they had taken to the princess *Joanna*; after which they swore to the succession of the Infanta *Isabella*; and the king, at the same time, undertook to send the queen and her daughter into *Portugal*³. The marquis de *Castellan*, who had served the king with great fidelity, thinking those services less considered than they ought to have been, and having Donna *Joanna* confided to his care, solicited the queen to come to him; also promising at all times, and at all events, to defend her, and to support her daughter's title; the queen joyfully accepted this offer, and, at the hazard of her life, made her escape from the archbishop of *Seville*. Being let down by cords out of the window of her apartment in the castle of *Alaejos*, she mounted behind Don *Lewis Huriado*, and retired to the marquis⁴. Yet some writers say, that she found a gallant there, and that this gallant was the archbishop's nephew, which others treat as a calumny. The states were ordered to assemble at *Ocana*, but there were very few of the deputies came thither; and the king believing his affairs to be in a better situation than they had been, did not treat with much complaisance those that did come; so that the assembly was quickly prorogued to the next year⁵. The marriage of the presumptive successor was now the great point in view, upon which it was very evident that the security of the crown and the happiness of the people must, in a great measure, depend; the old king of *Arragon*, Don *Juan*, never lost sight of his first purpose of procuring that princess for his son the Infant Don *Ferdinand*; and, the better to qualify him for so great a match, he gave him the title of king of *Sicily*, which island was then a part of his dominions⁶. In order to bring this important design to bear, he sent his agents into *Castile*, with instructions to apply themselves to his old friend the archbishop of *Toledo*, to his father-in-law the amirante, to the counts of *Medina Celi*, *Triveno*, and other great lords. At the head of these agents was the constable of *Navarre*; and, besides

The succession settled on the Infanta Isabella.

A. D. 1468.

¹ FRANC. TARAPH. de reg Hispan. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv. ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.
² Chronica del Don Rey Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.
 RAINALD. FERRERAS. ³ Cartas del Bachiller FERNAN. GOMEZ de Ciuda Real. Chronica del Rey
 Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo. ⁴ RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. part iv.
⁵ ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.

(I) Amongst all the obscure passages in the history of these distracted times, there is none darker than the death of the Infant Don *Alonso*: an author, indeed, who wrote expressly the history of his reign, as he was pleased to call it, does not hesitate in the least in declaring that he was poisoned by eating a trout, that made part of his dinner; and with the like freedom he tells us, that the author of this execrable action was the marquis of *Villena* (1). *Mariana* seems to doubt the truth of this, but he assigns no better reason than this, that it is hard to conceive how a nobleman, like him, could be guilty of so base an action (2); and, perhaps, the reader will wonder how he could conceive this objection, after having enumerated so many base actions that this unworthy nobleman had done. Other writers incline to think he died of poison, without fixing the blame any where (3). Some have ascribed his death to a stroke of the apoplexy; and others allege that he died of the plague (4). In what manner or by whose hands he received his death, must therefore remain, in some measure, undecided. In two points the Spanish historians agree, though no inference can be drawn

from it; the first is, that his death was predicted by pope *Paul* the second; the other that he expired within a few miles of the place where the theatre had been erected for his brother's deposition, and for his own election (5). He was a youth of very pregnant parts, and had given some instances of firmness, and a love for justice, which could not be very acceptable to some about him, who might possibly apprehend that the time was approaching, when, from being treated and called, he might think and act like a king (6). The setting up therefore of the Infanta Donna *Isabella* would have answered their purposes as well; without exposing them for the present to the like fears (7). But she very prudently declined it; and, as some writers say, alleged the death of her brother; as the reasons of her declining it; intimating, that Providence did not seem to favour these kind of counsels, and that, though she wished to preserve her own rights, she was by no means inclined to invade those of her brother, but would repose herself on Providence, and contentedly wait the disposition of things, without creating any discord or disturbance.

(1) *Alonso de Palencia*. (2) *Historia general de Espana por Mariana, lib. xxiii.* (3) *Diego Henriques del Castillo. Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos, &c.* (4) *Mariana. Mayerne Turquet, &c.* (5) *Diego Henriques del Castillo. Alonso de Palencia. Hernando del Pulgar.* (6) *Alonso de Palencia. Alcocer. Ferreras.* (7) *Mariana. Ferreras. Mayerne Turquet, &c.*

excellent instructions how to manage the affair, they had blanks filled with promises, with the king's signature and seal, to be addressed to such persons as they should find it necessary to gain, and what was like, perhaps, to go farther than all their instructions and credentials, they had a very large sum in ready money, with full powers to dispose of it as they thought fit^p. The constable of *Navarre* found, on his arrival at the court of *Castile*, the archbishop of *Toledo* perfectly well inclined to the business; and, by his and the amirante's assistance, many of the chief nobility were gained; and the gold, and the king's letters, being properly distributed amongst the Infanta's domestics, brought them to prefer the king of *Sicily* to all the princes upon earth^q. The grand master, now in more favour with the king than ever, was exceedingly disturbed at this, and engaged many of the old malecontents, more especially such as had been enriched by the forfeitures of the house of *Arragon*, to concur with him in opposing a marriage so prejudicial to their interest. To augment the strength of this party he devised a new intrigue, which indeed was his great talent; for he struck in with the marquis de *Santillan*, and proposed to the king, with his consent, that Donna *Isabella*, his sister, should be given in marriage to the king of *Portugal*, and Donna *Joanna*, whom he owned for his daughter, to the Infant of *Portugal*. With this scheme the poor king was highly pleased, and assured them of his concurrence^r. The grand master founded next the archbishop of *Toledo*; but that prelate gave him a very round answer; he said, his ambition and his artifices had already cost his country too dear; that for himself he was confident that he was now on the right side, from which nothing should ever move him to depart. The monarch of *Portugal*, at the request of Don *Henry* and his ministers, sent the archbishop of *Lisbon* to demand the Infanta *Isabella*, who very decently, but at the same time very peremptorily, refused her consent^s. The grand master, who foresaw this, had provided another match, and procured a *French* ambassador soon afterwards to make the like demand, in favour of the duke of *Berry*, the king's brother; but he also met with a refusal, which, though very civilly expressed, he bore but very impatiently^t. The grand master directed his bosom friend, the archbishop of *Seville*, to post several bodies of troops in such a manner about *Madrigal*, where the Infanta *Isabella* then was, that she found herself in a manner imprisoned; but the archbishop of *Toledo* and the amirante quickly delivered her, and carried her to *Valladolid*. She had not been long there before the archbishop of *Toledo* and the lords of his party determined, that it was fittest for her safety and theirs to conclude and solemnize this marriage without delay. Don *Ferdinand* had notice of this, having first signed such articles of marriage as that prelate had drawn (K), set out pri-

Who espouses
Ferdinand
king of Sicily,
son and heir
of the king of
Arragon.

^p *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. ZURITA Annal. Arragon.* ^q *ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. vi. ABARCA.* ^r *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo.* ^s *BRANDAON. FARIA Y SOUSA. Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos de HERNANDO del Pulgar.* ^t *P. DANIEL Histoire de France.*

(K) These articles, to the punctual performance of which the king Don *Ferdinand* was sworn, in the presence of Don *Gomez Manrique*, who was sent into *Arragon* for that purpose, were in substance as follows: 1. He shall always acknowledge the pope for head of the church, and maintain all the ecclesiastical immunities. 2. He shall have all possible respect for the king Don *Henry*, his brother-in-law, and shall permit him to reign in perfect tranquillity, conforming himself in all things to the accommodation that was made when he acknowledged that princess for his heir. 3. He shall administer justice impartially, and shall not infringe, in any respect, the laws, usages, prerogatives, and privileges, of any of the cities, towns, places, or persons, in his dominions, agreeable to the oath taken by the kings of *Castile* at their accession. 4. He shall not alienate any town, place, or fortress, without the consent of the princess. 5. That all the royal orders shall be signed by them jointly, and that he shall not put into the council, government, or any other offices of state, any but natives of *Castile*. 6. That all dignities, ecclesiastical and civil, shall be at the nomination of the princess. 7. That he shall grant a general amnesty, with respect to all things that may have happened in the former civil wars, and shall never set up any claim or pretensions to those lands and estates, which his father possessed in *Castile*, and which have been given away by the crown, and are in the hands of several of the nobility. 8. That the archbishops of *Toledo* and *Seville*, and the grand master of *St. James*, shall ever enjoy their ranks and pre-eminencies in the government of the monarchy, as shall also all the other lords

and knights who have steadily adhered to the princess's party, and have contributed to secure to her the succession of the crown. 9. That the king Don *Ferdinand* shall come and reside in the dominions of *Castile*, and shall make war against the *Moors* as soon as it is in his power, but otherwise shall not take up arms against any, without the consent of his consort; in case, however, that any civil war should break out in *Castile*, he shall furnish, as long as it lasts, a thousand lances from *Arragon*, to remain, during that space, in the pay of that crown. 10. That, over and above the sum of one hundred thousand florins of gold, the princess shall have and enjoy the towns of *Borja*, *Magalon*, *Elcha*, and *Cervellen*, in the kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valentia*; and *Siracuse* and *Catanea*, in the kingdom of *Sicily* (1). It is true that *Mariana* omits some of these articles, and interprets others in a stricter sense, so as to leave the king no other share in the government than his consort should be inclined to allow him (2); but our readers will hereafter learn upon what motives we have preferred the authority of the *Arragonian* writers. As they stand here, they sufficiently shew the prudence and public spirit of the prelate by whom they were drawn and it must give every man of conscience and honour no small uneasiness, to reflect, that, with so great parts, and with such a perfect knowledge of the constitution of his country, this great prelate was frequently led by his passions and private views to act with the utmost violence against his principles; so that it may be truly said, there was hardly any good or any hurt done in his country in his time, of which he was not the author, or in which he was not an actor (3).

(1) *Annales de la Corona de Arragon, por Geron. Mayerne Turquet. Belligarde, &c.*

(2) *Historia general de Espana, por Mariana, lib. xxiv.*

(3) *Mariana. Ferreras. Mayerne Turquet.*

^a vately for *Castile*, and being safely conducted to *Valladolid*, secretly espoused and afterwards publicly married the Infanta, in the cathedral of that city, on the 25th of *October*^u. The A. D. 1469. king was extremely offended at the news; and though, upon the receiving a letter from the princess at *Truxillo*, he seemed to be in a better temper, yet he gave no answer to it; but pursued his secret intrigues for altering the succession in favour of *Donna Joanna*, according to the advice of the grand master and his adherents, who, for the present, were wonderfully attached to that princess^w.

ALL imaginable pains were taken by the archbishop of *Toledo* and the amirante, as well as by Don *Ferdinand* and the Infanta *Isabella*, to dispose the king in their favour, but he remained absolutely silent; and if at any time he gave an answer, it was, that he would consult the grand master of St. *James*, and other great lords. This favourite, in the mean time, was labouring and endeavouring to procure an embassy from the *French* monarch, to demand *Donna Joanna* for the duke of *Berry*, whom the Infanta *Isabella* had rejected, which at length he obtained; and the person sent upon this occasion was cardinal *Albi*, the same who had shewn himself so much piqued upon the former occasion. While the two courts were thus employed, there was a civil war carrying on in almost every province in the kingdom; in some, between such as adhered to the king, against those who were attached to the king of *Sicily* and the Infanta; in others between noblemen, who, setting the laws at defiance, decided the quarrels that arose between them by open force, and, in some popular factions, raised disturbances in almost every great town; so that peace was scarce any-where to be found. The king Don *Henry* was extremely pleased upon the arrival of the *French* ambassador, paid him all the honours, and laboured to give him all the satisfaction imaginable; he also issued an edict, annulling all that he had said or sworn upon the treaty of accommodation with the Infanta *Isabella*, declaring the right of succession to be, as it always was, in the Infanta *Joanna*, his and the queen's lawful daughter^x. The *French* cardinal, however, expected farther proofs; which the king resolved to give: accordingly on a day fixed, and which was the 20th of *October*, the king held a great assembly in the plain of *Lozoia*, to which, by his command, the marquis of *Santillan* brought the queen and her daughter: there the edict was publicly read in the king's presence; and all who were there took their oaths to the Infanta *Donna Joanna*; except the marquis *de Santillan* and his family, who excused themselves, by saying they had taken that oath before; the cardinal then insisted that the queen should swear, as she did, that the princess was the issue of her body by the king; the king likewise swore, that he verily believed her to be his own daughter; after which the count of *Boulogne* espoused her, with great solemnity, in the name of the *French* prince^y. The king, as soon as this ceremony was over, issued his letters to all the towns in the kingdom, to inform them of this great event; and, on the other hand, Don *Ferdinand* and *Donna Isabella* emitted a manifesto, setting forth and insisting upon their rights, which they required all the people in the kingdoms of *Castile*, *Leon*, *Toledo*, &c. to maintain and defend, which only served to increase those disorders, by which these unhappy countries were but too much distracted and distressed^z. The king Don *Henry* having procured two briefs from the pope, one against the bishop of *Segovia*, and the other against the archbishop of *Toledo*, caused them to be signified to both these prelates. This had some effect upon the former, but none at all upon the latter; who, on the contrary, wrote to the king, as he had often done before, that his misfortunes were the effects of his credulity and irresolution; that he (the bishop) had nothing in view but the general good of his subjects; and that he would do well to think of his own oath, and the concessions he had made in the treaty of pacification^a. Don *Henry*, in the fury of his resentment, sent for four canons of the church of *Toledo*, pursuant to the pope's brief; and, having admitted them into his privy council, formed a process against the archbishop for high treason. The grand master of St. *James*, however, interposed, in behalf of his uncle the archbishop, and advised his master to have recourse to milder measures. An offer was thereupon made ^b him of an immense sum of money, large grants in favour of his church, and still greater to his two sons; but all without effect: that prelate giving for answer, that as he was at length on the right side he would remain there, and stand or fall with it, let the pope or the king do what they please^b. As a proof that he was in earnest, he seized three of the four canons in their return to *Toledo*; but the king making reprisals upon some of his domestics, they were at length discharged. The disturbances throughout the kingdom rather increased than diminished; and, to heighten the miseries of the people, the *Moors*, with impunity, made an irruption into and plundered the frontiers^c. Towards the close of the year, the king, attended

The Infanta Joanna is betrothed to the duke of Berry, and declared heiress to the crown of Castile.

Which is harassed by domestic broils.

A. D. 1471.

^a ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. FRANC. TARAPH. de reg. Hispan. MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^w Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. ^x ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo. ^y P. DANIEL Histoire de France. MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^z ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. ^a RAINALD. FERRERAS. ^b Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo. ^c Chronica de los Moros de Espana. FERRERAS.

by the grand master, had an interview with the king of *Portugal*, to whom he offered the Infanta Donna *Joanna*; but that monarch looked upon things to be then in so unsettled a state, that he declined the proposition; and the king Don *Henry* and his favourite retired exceedingly dissatisfied ^a.

A scheme set on foot for marrying the Infanta Joanna to Don Henry of Arragon.

THE grand master was seldom at a loss for expedients; and tho' his address had failed him upon this occasion, yet he quickly devised a new scheme, more plausible and more likely to be attended with success than the former. This new contrivance was to bring about a marriage between Don *Henry* of *Arragon*, son to the Infant Don *Henry*; who had formerly created so many and great disturbances in *Castile*, and the Infanta Donna *Joanna*, whom the king acknowledged. His master approved this expedient exceedingly, assured him of his full consent, and desired him to leave no step untaken for the speedy accomplishment of this important negotiation ^b. The grand master saw, without any sign of pity, civil war raging in all parts of the kingdom, but he could not hear, without emotion, all these mischiefs attributed to himself. He perceived that the far greater part of the nobility envied and hated him; and that, by the common people throughout his master's dominions, he was held in perfect execration; which induced or rather obliged him to labour with the utmost diligence in bringing this business to perfection, which, with very good reason, he considered as the king's business and his own. With this view he was resolved to gain, if it was possible, the marquis de *Santillan*, and the potent family of *Mendoza*, of which he was at the head. He proposed therefore an interview with that nobleman and his friends, which was accepted, and there he explained the many advantages that would result from the marriage which he had projected; he observed that it was the highest mark of gratitude they could give to the king and to his family; that Don *Henry* was of the royal blood of *Castile*; that his marriage with the Infanta would divide the house of *Arragon*; that it would infallibly gain the count of *Benavente*, who was Don *Henry*'s uncle by the mother's side; and that it would protect them from the resentments of Don *Ferdinand*, and the Infanta Donna *Isabella*, from whom they had all things to fear. These arguments made a great impression upon the assembly; and the grand master, that he might absolutely determine them to a concurrence in this scheme, offered, as he was lately become a widower, to marry a lady of the house of *Mendoza*; but, as there was no such lady to give him, the confederates proposed that he should espouse Donna *Maria de Velasco*, the daughter of the count de *Haro*, which he accepted, and the marriage was soon after celebrated in the king's presence with great solemnity ^c. The prince Don *Ferdinand*, in the mean time, made a tour into his father's dominions; where he met with the cardinal Don *Roderic de Borgia*, legate from pope *Sixtus* the fourth, who presented him with a dispensation that was necessary to render his marriage valid; and the extraordinary honours that prince and his father rendered to the cardinal, attached him entirely to their interest, in the support of which he was afterwards very serviceable ^d. At the same time Don *Ferdinand* acquainted the king Don *Juan* with the new scheme the grand master had formed of marrying Donna *Joanna* to Don *Henry* his nephew, to prevent which, his advice was to secure the person of Don *Henry*, which was in his power; but the king, who had always treated him as his son, could not be prevailed upon to take so harsh a step, as he persuaded himself that he would do nothing in an affair of such consequence without his consent, of which also he received the strongest assurances from Donna *Beatriz Pimentel*, his mother ^e. It appeared, however, from the event, that Don *Ferdinand* had formed a better judgment of the young man's disposition; for his thoughts were so elevated with the prospect of a crown, that he went privately into *Castile*, in order to complete the marriage. He was received there with all possible respect, and treated in so magnificent a manner, that he began to consider himself as the presumptive heir to the crown, and behaved himself with so much haughtiness towards the nobility, as lessened his interest with his friends; at the same time, that, by offering to decide all differences with Don *Ferdinand* in a single combat, and saying, rashly, that he would give the city of *Toledo* if his competitor would accept the challenge, he provoked the house of *Arragon* to an irreconcilable enmity ^f. Before we conclude this year, it is necessary to observe, that, amongst other disturbances, there happened one at *Toledo*, which occasioned a great deal of blood to be spilt ^g.

A. D. 1472.

THE arrival of the pope's legate in *Castile* was very acceptable to the king, upon account of that deference and respect which had been always expressed towards him by the court of *Rome*; so that, at his first audience, he treated him with much kindness and esteem. But when the king and his ministers found that this cardinal was entirely in the interest of the princes, and that he approved the conduct of the archbishop of *Toledo*, they were much chagrined. He was suffered, however, to hold a general assembly of the clergy at *Segovia*, where

^a FARIA Y SOUSA. MARIANA.

^b Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENR. QUES del Castillo.

^c FRANCISCI TARAPH. de reg. Hispan. FERRERAS.

^d ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.

^e Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

^f ZURITA. Annal. Arragon.

^g Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo.

- a he made many useful regulations, and obtained a subsidy for carrying on the war against the *Turks*, which was his principal business; and which, as soon as he had obtained, he returned into *Arragon*^k. The seditions and disturbances in all parts of *Spain* were as frequent as ever. The nobility brought armies of several thousands into the field in their private quarrels; towns were sometimes taken by them after regular sieges, but more frequently they revolted or were surprized. In some places the people fell upon the *Jews* upon various pretences; but in many more the new converts, or, as they are called in *Spain*, the new Christians, were exposed to the worst treatment imaginable, both in their persons and properties. In a sedition of this kind at *Jaen*, the constable Don *Michael Luc* was killed by a shot from a cross-bow, as he was hearing mass in the cathedral; with which, when the king was acquainted, he bestowed that high office upon the count *de Haro*, whose daughter the grand master had married^l. The duke *de Medina Sidonia* and the marquis of *Cadiz* had made war against each other in *Andalusia* for some years, as if they had been independent princes; but the former, that he might have some colour of authority, thought fit to declare, about this time, for the prince Don *Ferdinand* and the Infanta Donna *Isabella*^m. While things were in this state, Don *Henry* of *Arragon* expressed great impatience that the match was so long delayed; but the grand master, who perceived this young prince wanted a tutor more than the king, but was of a temper quite opposite to his, resolved to frustrate the match; in order to which, he told the king, that the only way to secure the crown to his daughter was to marry her to a crowned head; that the sending for Don *Henry*, contrary to his expectations, had strengthened the party of the princes, and that therefore the most prudent step he could take, was to delay the marriage, and, if possible, to renew the negotiation with the king of *Portugal*. Other kings were not more accustomed to command than Don *Henry* to obey; he therefore pacified Don *Henry* and his friends as well as he could, by promising them to propose the marriage in the next assembly of the states, which was to be held in a little time, and, during this interval, the grand master convinced the partizans that Don *Henry* was like to give them more trouble than Don *Ferdinand*, and that therefore they must find such a husband for Donna *Joanna* as, with their assistance, might be able to clear the kingdom of both; with which they were well enough satisfiedⁿ.
- d THE treasures of the king Don *Henry*, which were still very considerable, remained in the *Alcazar* at *Segovia*, of which he had given the command to Don *Andres de Cabrera*, a very brave man, and his faithful servant. The grand master was very desirous of having this place, which was indeed the best, if not the only, thing the king had to give; but finding him more tenacious in this respect than in any other, and not being able to obtain more than half a promise, he resolved to supply the other half by force. He had observed, that a great many of the inhabitants of *Segovia* were new Christians; his emissaries were employed to instigate the other inhabitants to fall upon them; and when this disturbance was at the greatest height, the grand master was to come in with a body of regular troops to the assistance of the old Christians, and so make himself master of the place. This scheme was very closely laid, and very briskly executed, but without effect; for *Cabrera* had taken care to arm all those new Christians, and, when the insurrection was highest, issued from the castle, with a numerous body of horse and foot; upon which the grand master retired, much disappointed, to *Escalona*^o. In the assembly of the states few things were regulated; and the king, having obtained a free-gift, gave himself little trouble about the marriage, notwithstanding that the count *de Benavente* had quarrelled with the grand master upon that head. The whole court, in the mean time, being very much alarmed at the great cities declaring gradually for the princes, this increase of danger made the favourite more and more uneasy about the fortress of *Segovia*; so that at length he teased the king into giving an order to Don *Andres de Cabrera* to put it into his hands; which being signified to that old officer, he answered, that his loyalty and affection to the king would not suffer him to comply with an order which it was not fit for the king to give^p. Under this dilemma, the grand master prevailed upon the king to go in person to *Segovia*, and try to persuade Don *Andres de Cabrera* out of the fortress. The king went, and was received with all the duty and submission possible; but when Don *Andres*, and his wife, Donna *Beatriz de Bobadilla*, who had been long about the person of the Infanta *Isabella*, had him by this means to themselves, they very boldly laid before him the true state of his affairs. They told him, that Don *Juan de Pacheco* was a very little gentleman, till the breath of his majesty's favour had swelled him into a great lord; that he had repaid this favour with ingratitude; had displayed his colours in the field against his majesty's royal standard; had assisted in the ceremony when his majesty was deposed, and had placed his sceptre in the

Wars maintained by private noblemen against each other.

The grand master attempts to surprize the castle of Segovia.

^k RAINALD. ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo. Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

^l MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^m Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. ⁿ MARIANA. FERRERAS.

^o Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. ^p Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

Reconciliation
between the
king and the
Infanta Isabella.

A. D. 1473.

hands of the royal Infant; that he had offered the crown to the Infanta *Isabella*, to whose a
generous refusal his majesty owed the return of his favourite, and that he still wore that crown
upon his head. They advised him, therefore, to disgrace a man who had so often sacrificed
him to his interest, and to consent to a reconciliation with Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Isabella*,
which would restore a legal government to his subjects, and secure to his majesty the peace-
able possession of his crown, which, otherwise, he could never expect¹. The king heard
them without any token of displeasure, and at length seemed well enough pleased with the
expedient. Donna *Beatrix* went to acquaint her mistress, in the disguise of a peasant; and
the Infanta Donna *Isabella*, by the advice of the archbishop of *Toledo*, resolved to put herself
upon the fidelity of *Cabrera*, and accordingly, on the 27th of *December*, she came to *Segovia*; b
upon the first news of which the marquis of *Villena*, son to the grand master, fled out of the
town². The king saw her at his return from hunting, and behaved towards her with great
civility and respect. He made her a visit the next afternoon in the *Alcazar*, and was so well
pleased with her company, that he stayed and supped; the third day they walked together
publicly in the streets; and, on the fourth, the king, having presented most of the nobility
about him to his sister, obliged her to go out of the *Alcazar* on horseback at the head of
them, himself on foot holding the bridle³. Such was the strange temper of this monarch, and
such an ascendancy over him had all who knew how to comply with his humours while they
were about him.

He after-
wards endeavours to ap-
prehend her
and her hus-
band Don
Ferdinand.

THIS ample and unexpected reconciliation was speedily made known by the Infanta to her
husband Don *Ferdinand*, whom she invited to *Segovia*, and, by the advice of the lords who c
were about him, he went thither, and was well received by the king⁴. The lords who
attended that monarch thought that a more public testimony of the perfect harmony that
reigned amongst the royal family was requisite; and therefore the king, the Infant, and the
Infanta, went publicly to the cathedral on the feast of the *Epiphany*; afterwards they dined
together in public: but, towards evening, the king complained of a violent pain in his side,
and was carried to his palace in a very feeble condition; upon which there wanted not many
who said he was poisoned⁵. The prince Don *Ferdinand* and the Infanta Donna *Isabella* visited
him every day, during his illness. In that space their friends solicited Don *Henry* to renew
the declaration he had formerly made in favour of his sister as to the succession; but, though
this was very artfully and assiduously managed, the king could never be brought to give any d
other than an evasive answer⁶. As soon as he began to recover, he resumed his private cor-
respondence with the grand master, who had lately compromised all differences, and entered
into a strict league with the duke of *Albuquerque* and the count of *Benavente*. The next thing
he did was to contrive, as closely as possible, to send troops into the town, to hide them in
the church towers, and to dispose every thing for surprising the princess, together with Don
Andres Cabrera and his wife Donna *Maria*, in the *Alcazar*. But Don *Andres* perceiving some
motions, easily guessed at the rest, and took his precautions so speedily and so effectually, that
the grand master was forced to drop his project⁷. However, by the advice of the Infanta
Donna *Isabella*, Don *Ferdinand* left *Segovia*, under pretence of paying a visit to the amirante.
As the archbishop of *Toledo* was the only member of the king's council who openly espoused e
the cause of the princess, he took it amiss that they seemed to have a greater confidence in
cardinal *Mendoza*, who was also of the king's council, and of their party, but secretly. The
archbishop wrote his sentiments upon this to Don *Juan* king of *Arragon*, and, after expostu-
lating the matter freely, desired to withdraw from their service. The king, and afterwards
the princes, did all in their power to satisfy him; and Don *Ferdinand*, having a mind to see
the Infanta, desired his opinion whether it was safe for him to come to *Segovia*; to which the
prelate answered, he might be safe for three days, but not longer⁸. He went thither accord-
ingly, retired at the time prescribed, and afterwards assisted the marquis de *Santillan* in taking
Carrion from the count of *Benavente*, which, upon the interposition of the king, was done
by treaty. About this time the ambassadors of the duke of *Burgundy* came to pay their f
respects to Don *Ferdinand*, and to invest him, by their master's command, with the order
of the Golden Fleece: after receiving which he went to pay the Infanta another visit, but made
a very short stay⁹. He not long after surprized *Tordesillas*, which was in the hands of one
of the king's favourites, who used the people most cruelly: but tho' he took care to represent
this to that monarch in the fullest light possible, Don *Henry* could not help shewing that he
was extremely offended with that action, the news of which he received at *Madrid*, having

¹ MARIANA. FERRERAS.

² Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

³ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

⁴ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

⁵ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

⁶ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

⁷ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

⁸ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

⁹ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

a left the Infanta at *Segovia*, to which place Don *Ferdinand* went for a little time, and then, the affairs of that kingdom requiring his presence, he set out for *Arragon*^a.

It was the great object of the grand master's politics, and consequently of the king's, to keep the princes from the succession, from a very strong apprehension that the lofty structure of his greatness would quickly be demolished, if they were once seated on the throne. To prevent this, he judged two things absolutely necessary; first a great and well-conducted strength at home, and next a powerful foreign support. The shortest way to obtain the former appeared to be uniting in his own hands the three grand masterships: as that of *Alcantara* was then in dispute, he ordered his bastard son Don *Alonso Pacheco* to reduce, with a good body of troops, most of the places belonging to the order, and to take himself the title of grand master; not doubting that his favour with the king, and his money at *Rome*, would bear him out. To bring about the latter, he engaged the king in a hunting party towards the frontiers of *Portugal*, and, being now reconciled to the duke of *Albuquerque*, whose large estate, as well as his own, was derived from the prodigality of the king, he confided him to his care, while he went to press the *Portuguese* monarch to marry the Infanta Donna *Joanna*, which would have rendered his system complete. He managed this, as he did every thing of the same kind, with great dexterity and address, and at length brought the king of *Portugal* to promise, that he would take the matter into his serious consideration, and accept the proposition, if he could dispose things so as to afford them a probability of success. When he made a report of this, at his return, to the king Don *Henry*, it did not afford him that satisfaction which he expected; for, finding his health daily decaying, he foresaw that he should not live to receive any benefit from the expedient. He resolved, however, to go to *Madrid*, the air of which was more favourable to him than that of any other place, and, at the pressing instance of his favourite, gave orders to the governor *Truxillo* to surrender that place into his hands. This order was no sooner received, than the grand master marched with a body of forces to *Santa Cruz*, at a small distance from *Truxillo*, to enforce it; but, finding this method would be equally tedious and uncertain, he laboured to corrupt the governor, in which, at length, he succeeded. Yet, before the bargain was completed, he was suddenly attacked with a sharp pain in the throat, occasioned by an abscess, which quickly brought him, and all his great designs, to an end, on the 4th of *October*. Those who were about his person, and in his secrets, concealed his death till such time as *Truxillo* was surrendered, and then his body was transferred to *Segovia*, and buried there, pursuant to the directions he had given in his illness^b. Death of the grand master.

THE news of the grand master's death gave infinitely more disquiet to the king than to any of his subjects: to shew that he not only lived but died in the full possession of his favour, he replaced him immediately by Don *Diego Lopez Pacheco*, marquis de *Villena*, his eldest son, whom he confirmed in the possession of all his father's estates; and requested of the pope a bull that might invest him likewise with the dignity of grand master of St. *James*^c. But as there were other noblemen who were ambitious of that high dignity, they pressed the knights to hold a chapter immediately, in order to secure to themselves a free election. This, however, was attended with an unexpected inconveniency; the knights of the province of *Castile* met at *Tarancon*, and chose Don *Roderic Manrique*, count of *Paredes*; while those of the province of *Leon* assembled likewise, and chose Don *Alonso de Cardenas*^d. The marquis de *Villena* applied himself to the count de *Osorno*, brother to Don *Roderic Manrique*, in hopes of bringing him to a treaty; and, going to make him a visit, the count took care to be out of the way; but having given proper instructions to the countess, she caused the marquis to be arrested. This outrage was highly resented by the king, who, by the advice of the archbishop of *Toledo*, caused the fortress in which he was detained to be immediately invested, and, in a short time, the marquis was released upon a treaty, by which he obliged himself to deliver a place which his father had formerly promised to the count de *Osorno*, but which, notwithstanding, he could never be brought to surrender^e. The recovery of his favourite's liberty was the last considerable action of the king's life; for, very soon after his return to *Madrid*, the physicians who attended the king declared, that, from the rigour of the season, the gradual diminution of the king's strength, and the return of his vomitings and pain in the side, he could not last long; and that therefore they would do well to put him in mind of departing this world in a manner suitable to his rank as a king, and his hopes as a Christian. Cardinal *Mendoza*, the count de *Benavente*, and the marquis de *Villena*, went accordingly to carry this melancholy piece of news; and the king, having called for the prayer of St. *Jerom*, confessed, and received the sacrament, the prior then asked him whom he declared heir to the crown, who were

^a ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. Chron: del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

NUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

del Pulgar. FERRERAS.

^d Chron: del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia.

^b EMA-

^c Chronica de los Reys Catholicos de HERNANDO

^e MARIAN.

The king dies
at Madrid.

the executors of his testament, and where he desired to be interred. The king answered, that the Infanta Donna *Joanna* was his sole heir; that the executors named in his will were cardinal *Mendoza*, the counts of *Placentia* and *Benavente*, and the marquis *de Villena*; and that he desired his remains should be deposited near those of his mother, in the convent of *Guadalupe*. He fell soon after into an agony, and expired in the middle of the night of the twelfth of *December*. His body was deposited in the convent of *St. Jerom*, at *Madrid*, where his obsequies were celebrated with great pomp, and afterwards cardinal *Mendoza* caused his body to be transported to *Guadalupe*, where, in gratitude for the favours he had received from him, he caused a magnificent monument to be raised, on the right hand of the high altar, to the memory of that prince, at his own expence ^f.

Thus died *Henry* the fourth, king of *Castile* and *Leon*, with all the dependencies on those crowns, after sitting many years on the throne, without having ever ruled. The *Spanish* writers say, that he was pious and religious, which must be understood of exterior acts of devotion; for his behaviour towards his father, and that indolence and want of application which rendered him contemptible while he wore the crown, were surely no testimonies either of piety or religion. He made the fortunes of a few of his minions, while he ruined those of his subjects: he was not, perhaps, cruel in his nature, and yet he caused rivers of blood to be shed through his indiscretion. It may be, he wished to make a better king; but history has recorded no proofs of his having endeavoured it. He wanted firmness in opposing his brother's usurpation; he wanted gratitude to his sister, who refused a crown, that he might wear it; he wanted spirit, justice, and common sense, in preferring Donna *Joanna* to the Infanta *Isabella*, if he was conscious of his own impotence, as the *Spanish* writers affirm. But in this we agree with *Ferreras*, that if, in the reigns of his predecessors, kings may discover what qualities they ought to acquire, and what methods they must take, to render their subjects happy, and themselves beloved, this reign alone will be a sufficient mirror for them to contemplate whatever they ought to decline or despise. These reflections are due to justice and to truth, and with these we shall conclude a period, fertile in great and glorious events, though, from the errors of this weak and unhappy prince, it ended meanly; for which, however, the splendour of the ensuing reign made full amends.

^f *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de ALONSO de Palencia. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. ZURITA. Annal. Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de DIEGO HENRIQUES del Castillo. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. MARIAN. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET.*

S E C T. VIII.

A general description of the kingdom of Arragon, its situation, extent, produce, and inhabitants, &c.

The great
power and ex-
tensive domi-
nions of the
crown of Ar-
ragon at the
time of its
union with
Castile.

THE method we have hitherto pursued of treating the kingdoms erected in *Spain*, after the expulsion of the *Moors*, separately, obliges us, in this section, to give the reader as clear and as concise an account as it is possible of the kingdom of *Arragon*, which, in consequence of the marriage of Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Sicily*, heir, and afterwards king, of *Arragon*, became united to the crowns of *Castile* and *Leon*, and the great dominions annexed to them, by the courage and conduct of the monarchs who had governed those realms. At the time this union was made, *Arragon* was one of the most potent sovereignties in *Europe*, and little, if at all, inferior to *Castile*; for, besides the principality of *Catalonia*, and the kingdom of *Valentia*, which had been long united to this crown, the kingdom of *Navarre* belonged to it likewise (in what manner will be hereafter explained), together with the kingdom of *Majorca*, including that island and *Minorca*, and those dependent upon them, as also the kingdom of *Sicily*^a. So that, in point of territory, of commerce, and maritime power, it was, as we have said, very considerable. Some have carried this so far as to assert, that, till this union, the monarchy of *Spain* was hardly known beyond the limits of the mountains and seas by which it was bounded^b; which, however, is carrying things much too far; since, as we have already seen, the monarchies both of *Castile* and *Arragon* had a very apparent influence on the affairs of *Europe*; and therefore those who say this, seem rather to reflect on the ignorance of their own nations, than on the crowns for which they express so unjust a contempt^c.

^a *CLUVER. Introduct. Geograph lib. ii. cap. v. LUYTS Introduct. ad Geograph. sect. ii. cap. viii. Geographie Moderne, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, part i. chap. iii. art. xiii. HEYLYN'S Geography, book i.*

^b *THUAN. Hist. sui Temporis.*

^c *MARIANA. FERRERAS. Abbé DE VAYRAC, &c.*

- ^a THE kingdom of *Arragon*, properly so called, is bounded on the north by the *Pyrenean* mountains, on the west by the kingdoms of *Navarre*, *Old* and part of *New Castile*, on the south by the kingdom of *Valentia*, and on the east by part of the same kingdom, and the principality of *Catalonia*. In antient times it was inhabited by the *Celtiberians*, the *Jaacetans*, and the *Sedetans*^d. In length, from north to south, it contains about fourscore leagues, and its greatest breadth is about fifty. The common opinion is, that it derives its name from the river *Arragon*; but whoever considers the smallness of that river, in comparison of several others, but more especially with the *Ebro*, or, as the ancients called it, *Iberus*, will scarce be satisfied with that account, and perhaps will think it more probable, that the denomination of *Arragon* arose from the corruption of *Tarraconensis*, the name of the *Roman* province, by striking off the first letter^e. Besides the great river, that is, the *Ebro*, which runs from north-west to south-east, and divides this country almost into two equal parts, it is watered by some other streams that are pretty considerable; such as, on the north of the *Ebro*, the *Cinca*, antiently *Cinga*, the *Gallego*, antiently *Gallicus*, and the *Isuela*; on the south side of that great river, the *Xalon*, antiently *Salo*, and the *Xiloca*. We may add to these some that are still less, such as the *Arragon*, *Riguelo*, *Guerva*, *Rio de Aguas*, *Rio Martin*, *Guadalupe*, *Guadalaviar*, and *Albambra*^f. But, after all, this country, if we take it in general, is but dry and barren, the soil generally sandy, and, where it is not mountainous and stony, in some parts it is very nitrous, and every where naturally hard and dry. In the vallies, however, where they have the advantage of rivers or rivulets, and in the plains, where the want of these can be supplied by canals, it is very pleasant, and tolerably fertile, producing corn, wine, oil, flax, fruits of different sorts, and in some places saffron^g. The mountainous country is at present as wild and desert as can be imagined, and consequently useless and poor. It was not, however, always in this condition; for, in antient times, these mountains, that are now so despicable, were rich in gold and silver mines, and, it is more than probable, may be so still; but here, as in other parts of *Spain*, industry is extinct.

- WE have already observed, that the principal inhabitants of this country, in antient times, were the *Celtiberians*: but, concerning the origin of this nation, the most learned authors are very much divided^h. Some say that the *Celtes* from *Gaul*, having settled on the other side of the *Iberus*, joined the name of that river to their own, and called themselves, or were called by others, *Celtiberians*ⁱ. But it is at least equally probable, that the *Celtes* were seated on the north, and the *Iberians* on the south side; and we are told that, after they had for many years wasted each other by obstinate and bloody wars, they at length concluded a peace, and very wisely contrived, in order to render it more lasting, to blend both nations into one by continual intermarriages; and from thence the *Celtes* and *Iberians*, being both lost, this new nation was stiled *Celtiberians*^k. This seems to be the account hinted at by the poet *Lucan*, who might be well supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with its antiquity, being himself a native of this country. We have been the more particular with respect to this nation, because they were always famous for a kind of supercilious haughtiness, that made them look upon their neighbours with an eye of contempt, which, whatever disadvantages it might be attended with, kept them pure and unmixed; so that their characters answered, for many ages, very exactly, to what was recorded of them by the *Latin* writers^l. They were active, hardy, enterprising, enthusiastically fond of liberty, very magnificent, but withal very industrious. *Marcellus*, after a short war, taxed them at six hundred talents of gold^m. These dispositions were little, if at all, altered by their falling under the dominion of the *Goths*, from whom they sometimes revolted, and with whom they had continual struggles for the preservation of their liberties, which never any nation better deserved, since they were never by any nation either longer or better defendedⁿ.

- WE may, therefore, justly presume, that when the rest of *Spain* was overborne by that dreadful inundation of *Moors*, these generous people retired in great numbers into their mountains and other inaccessible places, where they might enjoy that freedom which was to them felicity^o. It is also not at all improbable, that the districts which are still distinguished by the name of the county of *Arragon*, the principality of *Sobrarve*, and the county of *Ribagorça*, of which we shall take occasion to speak more particularly, were the countries to which these brave men retired, and in which, for their own security, they, by common consent, erected such a form of government, as least diminished their freedom^p. But to enter into the

^d CELLAR. Geograph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. i. CLUVER. Introduct. Geograph. lib. ii. cap. 5. LUYTS Introduct. ad Geograph. sect. ii. c. 8. Geograph. Moderne, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, part i. c. 3. art. xiii. ^e *Etat present de l'Espagne*, liv. i. ^f ANTON. NEBRIX. JOAN. VASÆI Annal. ^g CLUVER. LUYTS, DU BOIS. ^h *Etat present de l'Espagne*, liv. i. ⁱ *Tout thro' Spain and Portugal* by UDAL AP RHYS, p. 236. ^j STRAB. Geograph. lib. iii. ^k PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. iii. ^l PTOLEM. Geograph. lib. ii. ^m LUCAN. ⁿ APPIAN in Ibericis. ^o Epist. Liv. lib. xlviii. ^p PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. iii. ^q APPIAN in Ibericis. ^r ZURIT. Indic. Rer. ab. Arragon. Reg. gest. lib. i. ^s ABARCA. MORET. ^t MARIAN. FER. ^u ZURIT. Indic. Rer. ab. Arragon. Reg. gest. lib. i. ^v HIERON BLANCÆ Arragonens. rerum. Comment.

long and intricate dispute, which has embarrassed the most judicious *Spanish* antiquaries, a whether the kings of *Sobrarve* were more antient than those of *Navarre*, would be fatiguing our readers and ourselves to very little purpose; and, if it is to be discussed at all, it belongs more properly to the history of *Navarre*, where we shall take occasion to resume it^a. At present it shall suffice to say, that, however this controversy may be determined, it is generally allowed, that *Don Sancho the Great*, king of *Navarre*, was also count or earl of *Arragon*, in his own right, and master also of the other two little countries, now esteemed but provinces of this kingdom, as he became afterwards earl of *Castile* by succession, and consequently was the sole sovereign of what the Christians possessed in *Spain*, the kingdom of *Leon* and the earldom of *Barcelona* only excepted^b. He it was who, by dividing his dominions amongst his four sons, erected three new kingdoms; of one of which, that is, *Castile*, we have already given the reader a long history: our present business is to gratify his curiosity in the like manner with respect to the other two, and this as succinctly as perspicuity will allow.

Arragon erected into a kingdom in favour of his son Don Ramiro, by Don Sancho the Great, king of Navarre.

WE have elsewhere shewn that this potent prince died in the month of *February* 1035; and we have likewise mentioned the fable of his eldest son's charging the queen his mother with adultery, and of the spirit with which his natural son vindicated her innocence^c. Without recapitulating, therefore, these tales, which have been so fully refuted^d, let us proceed to facts that admit of no dispute. The kingdom of *Navarre*, with the principality of *Biscay*, and the province of *Rioja*, he left to his eldest son *Don Garcia*; to *Don Ferdinand* he gave the county of *Castile*, which he erected into a kingdom; to *Don Gonfales* he gave the counties of *Sobrarve* and *Ribacorga*, with a regal title also^e. These three were his children by *Donna Munia Major*, daughter to the count of *Castile*: but, besides these, he had another son by a mistress of his, as most writers say, though a learned writer of the history of *Navarre* has, with great warmth, vindicated his legitimacy. The name of this son was *Don Ramiro*, and upon him he bestowed *Arragon*, of which country, if he was not the first independent prince, he was, undoubtedly, the first king^f. But, before we proceed to the history of him and his successors, it will be necessary to shew precisely, or at least as exactly as we can, what the territories were, which he and his brother *Don Gonfales* possessed, in virtue of their father's will^g.

WHAT now assumed the name of the kingdom^h, must have been, in fact, a country very little, if at all, more extensive, than that which now bears the title of the county of *Arragon*ⁱ, d having the *Pyrenean* mountains on the north, the kingdom of *Navarre* on the west, the territories of the little *Moorish* prince of *Huesca* on the south, and the country of *Sobrarva* on the east^j. In this little tract there are several fruitful and pleasant vallies, which were, in those days, thoroughly peopled, and exceedingly well cultivated. The city of *Jacca* was its capital, seated very pleasantly on the river *Arragon*, in the midst of a small plain, at the foot of the *Pyrenees*, abounding with corn and fruits, famous for its sheep pastures, and plentifully stocked with wild fowl^k; a place of great antiquity, and celebrated in those earlier ages for being the capital of the *Jaccitani*^l. It is for want of this distinction between the bounds of the kingdom of *Arragon*, at the time of its first erection, and those under which it is now comprehended, that many, indeed most, of the histories of that crown are, in a manner, e unintelligible, more especially to strangers. But when we remember that the kingdom given to *Don Ramiro* was not above an eighth part of what we now call *Arragon*, the subsequent narration will be, in all respects, consistent and conspicuous.

THE country of *Sobrarva* lies east from the kingdom of *Arragon*, as we have just now defined it, having the *Pyrenees* on the north, the country of *Ribagorça* on the east, and the territories of some *Moorish* princes to the south^m. The capital is the town of *Anisa*, upon the river *Ara*, not far from the angle which it makes in falling into the *Cinca*ⁿ. The country of *Ribagorça* has the *Pyrenees* on the north, *Sobrarva* on the west, the territory of the *Moorish* prince of *Huesca* on the south, and *Catalonia* on the east, from which it is divided by a river called *Noguera Ribagorzana*: the whole territory is about fifteen leagues in length, and six f in breadth, composed of many rugged mountains, and some few pleasant vallies^o. These countries taken together, and which were not either much bigger or less than the kingdom of *Arragon*, formed the new kingdom that was now erected in favour of *Don Gonfales*^p.

Don Ramiro espoused Gifberga, daughter of

Don Ramiro, the year after he was settled in the kingdom of *Arragon*, espoused *Gifberga*, or *Ermisenda*, for we find her called by both names by cotemporary writers, the daughter of

^a Etat present de l'Espagne, liv. i. ^b MARIAN. ZURIT. MORET. ^c Historia general de Espana. por MAR. lib. viii. ^d P. MORET Investigaciones de las antiquidades del Reyno de Navarre, lib. viii. ^e MONACH SILLON. PET. MARSIL. FER. ^f Los Reyes de Arragon en Anales Historicos distribuidos por PEDRO ABARCA, l. i. ^g ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. part i. ^h ZURIT. ABARC. MAR. &c. ⁱ Delices de l'Espagne par Don JUAN ALVAREZ de Colemanar, p. 666. ^j CLUVER. LUYTS. DU BOIS. ^k Delices de l'Espagne, p. 666. ^l STRABO Geog. l. iii. ^m PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. iii. ⁿ P. DE MARCA, M. H. lib. ii. ^o CLUVER. LUYTS. DU BOIS. ^p Delices de l'Espagne. ^q Geographie Moderne, par Du Bois, part i. chap. 3. art. xiii. ^r HIERON BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment.

- a *Bernardo Rogerio*, count of *Vigorra*; a princess much celebrated for her beauty. About two years after *Don Gonfales* passing over the bridge of *Monclus*, as he was hunting, was assassinated by a domestic of his, whose name was *Ramonet*, who struck him to the heart with his javelin, but for what cause we no-where find¹. As he died without issue, the people thought fit to proclaim *Don Ramiro*, who, by this means, added the countries of *Sobrarva* and *Ribagorca* to his own; so that now he was master of half that part of the kingdom of *Arragon* which lies on the north of the *Ebro*. By this accession of territory he was become so formidable, that, for fear of a rupture with him, the *Moorish* princes of *Saragossa*, *Huesca*, and *Tudela*, paid him each of them an annual pension, by way of tribute; and the first of these princes consented, at his request, to the establishment of a bishop in his capital, to superintend the ecclesiastical affairs of his Christian subjects². This success had, as it too often happens, a bad effect on the mind of this prince; who, forgetting the ties of blood, and the respect due to justice, made, in conjunction with the Infidel monarchs before-mentioned, an irruption into the territories of his brother, *Don Garcia* king of *Navarre*, and laid siege to the town of *Tafalla*. The inhabitants of that place making a gallant defence, gave the king *Don Garcia* time to assemble his troops, with whom, in the midst of a dark night, he fell upon his enemies so unexpectedly, and with such vigour, that the best part of their forces were cut in pieces, *Don Ramiro* himself narrowly escaping upon a horse without bridle or saddle³. *Don Garcia*, pursuing his blow, entered the kingdom of *Arragon* with an army, and reducing a great part of the country, forced his brother to retire into the mountains of *Sobrarva*. On his submission, however, and the interposition of some of the clergy, *Don Garcia* consented to a peace, and restored the places he had taken⁴. This harmony subsisted between them during the remainder of their lives; and the great power of *Don Ferdinand* king of *Leon*, being equally formidable to *Don Ramiro* of *Arragon* and to *Don Sancho* the son and successor of *Don Garcia*, in the kingdom of *Navarre*, they concluded a defensive alliance, for their mutual security⁵. About two years after, the king of *Arragon*, being advanced in years, having first settled the affairs of his kingdom and family by his will, made war upon the Infidels, from a principle of devotion, and took from them the town of *Lobarria*, which lies about four leagues from *Huesca*⁶. The very next year he held the famous assembly of *Jacca*, at which assisted several prelates from the Christian states in this neighbourhood, in which assembly *Jacca* was made a bishop's see, and endowed with very considerable revenues. The king established very strict ecclesiastical discipline throughout his dominions, and, as far as he was able, bound his successors to maintain and support what at this time was established⁷. Three years after, finding the king of *Castile* engaged in a war with the *Moors*, he judged it a favourable opportunity to fall upon them likewise; upon which, with a formidable army, he laid siege to *Grao*, which belonged to the king of *Saragossa*. This obliged the *Moorish* prince to demand the protection of the king of *Castile*, to whom he had been for some time tributary. *Don Ferdinand* was at that time in the southern parts of his dominions; but his son *Don Sancho*, at the head of a small body of chosen troops, having the famous *Cid* for his lieutenant, came to the assistance of the *Moors*; and having surprised the army of *Arragon*, defeated it entirely, made a great number of prisoners, and a dreadful slaughter, the king himself being among the number of the slain⁸. This was the end of *Don Ramiro*, on whom, some say, pope *Gregory* the seventh conferred the title of *Most Christian*⁹, when he had governed his realm twenty-eight years. His body was interred in the monastery of *St. Juan de la Pena*; and he left behind him two sons, *Don Sancho* and *Don Garcia*, and two daughters, *Donna Sancha* and *Donna Theresa*. He had also a natural son *Don Sancho*, to whom he gave the county of *Ribagorca*, but he died without issue¹⁰.
- Don Sancho Ramirez* succeeded his father, with the general acclamations of his subjects¹¹. We are told by *Mariana*, that he was eighteen years old at the time of his accession, which he places near five years too late, and consequently he could have been but thirteen at the time of his father's demise: but, as he married that very year, this must appear improbable; and, if what a learned historian asserts be true, it is utterly impossible. He says that this was not his first marriage; but that the name of the lady, whose death made way for the princess he now espoused, was *Donna Beatrix*, whereas she to whom he was married in the first year of his reign was *Donna Felicia*, daughter to *Hilduin* count of *Robey*, though many of the *Spanish* historians say she was the daughter of the count of *Urgel*, which very possibly may arise from his first wife's being the daughter of that count; for of this marriage they take no notice¹². I,

ter of the count
of Vigorra.
A. D. 1036.

Invaues the
territories of
his brother
Don Garcia
king of Na-
varre.

1057.

1060.

1063.

I: slain in a
battl. with the
king of Castile.

Succeeded by
his son Don
Sancho Ra-
mirez;

¹ Chron. MONACH. PENNAT.

² Rod. Tolet. rer. Hispan. Lucæ Tudensis. FER.

³ RODERIC

Tolet. rer. Hispan. Lucæ Tudensis. MAR.

⁴ Rod. Tolet. rerum Hispan. lib. ii.

LUCÆ Tud.

⁵ MONACH. PENNAT.

⁶ Chron. antiq. de rebus Arragon.

⁷ Chron. MONACH. PENNAT.

⁸ ZURIT.

ABARCA. MARIAN. FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.

⁹ Hieron. BLANCÆ Arragonens.

Commentarii.

¹⁰ ZURIT. BLANCA. ABARCA. MAR. FER.

¹¹ Chron. MOACH. PENNAT. ZURIT. ABARC.

¹² Hier.

BLANCÆ Arragonens. Commentarii.

is also said, that he abrogated the old *Gothic* code of laws, and introduced those of the empire, which, however, is not very certain. He was a prince of great parts, as well as of a martial disposition; and, therefore, having provided for the domestic security of his kingdom, in conjunction with the count of *Urgel*, he undertook an expedition against the *Moors*; in which that count, having gained two victories, was slain *. The king *Don Sancho* was, at that time, before the town of *Balbastro*, a place of importance, situated on the little river *Vero*, not far from its confluence with the *Cinca*, the territory of which, being well watered, is very fruitful, in olive trees especially, of which they make very good oil, and in pretty large quantities. The *Moors* made a long and brave defence, but at length the place surrendered, and the king caused it to be strongly fortified, making it also a bishop's see, by transferring the episcopal chair from *Rhoda* *. Some years after he would have turned his arms against the *Moorish* prince of *Saragossa*; but, when he was ready to take the field, that prince very wisely put himself under the protection of *Don Sancho* king of *Navarre*, in respect to whom the king of *Arragon* dropped his design for that time. Upon the assassination of this good prince, his brother *Don Raymond*, about three years after, at the intercession of the greatest part of his subjects, called *Don Sancho* of *Arragon* to the throne of *Navarre*, though, at the same time, there was a strong party formed, as hath been already shewn in another place, in favour of the king of *Castile* and *Leon*, which, it was feared, would have produced a war between the two crowns; but, by the great prudence and moderation of *Don Sancho* of *Arragon*, it was prevented, and he was left in the quiet possession of that part of *Navarre* that lay on the same side of the river *Ebro* with his own hereditary dominions *. At this juncture pope *Gregory* was extremely pressing upon both monarchs to acknowledge themselves feudatories of the holy see; to which end he employed a person of great capacity as his legate, but with no effect: for, being born kings, they could not be brought to become subjects *. His power being now much augmented, it was not long before he took several places from the *Moors* of *Saragossa* and *Huesca*, who applied themselves thereupon to all their neighbours, representing it as a religious war, by which they were soon enabled to assemble a numerous army, and to offer *Don Sancho* battle, which he did not decline; and, having gained a complete victory, contented himself with securing the places he had taken, by which he extended and strengthened his frontier *. The next year he took the field again, besieged the town of *Bobea*, and took it by assault. In the summer following he took *Grao*, and repeopled and fortified several places on the confines; to prevent which, the *Moors* ventured another battle at *Piedro Pisida*, in which they were again defeated, and the king *Don Sancho* left at liberty to accomplish all he had undertaken b.

As soon as he had perfected his barrier in such a manner as to cover his country from the insults of the Infidels, he began to think of acting again offensively. While he meditated this irruption, the queen *Donna Felicia* died, on the 24th of *April*, which, however, did not hinder the king's taking the field and investing *Moncon*, a place very strong both by art and nature, situated on the slope of a hill, and commanding a considerable district round it c. The enterprize was difficult: but, being conducted with courage and caution, the king at length became master of it, and rendered it one of the principal fortresses in his territories. These facts, however, shew us plainly, that those authors are probably in the wrong who affirm that he was present this year at the taking of *Toledo*. After allowing his subjects some years of repose, and causing several places to be repaired in *Navarre*, he once more assembled a puissant army, with a design to make a complete conquest of the little principality of *Huesca*; but the *Moors*, discerning his superiority, offered to become his vassals, and to pay him a large annual tribute, which he accepted, resolving to turn his arms against *Saragossa* e. It was with this view that he caused a strong place, to which he gave the name of *Castellar*, to be erected on the frontier, as near as possible to that city, by which it was, in a manner, always blocked up, and which might at any time be converted into a place of arms, as soon as he found himself strong enough to besiege that important place. As this had a very good effect, he proceeded soon after to take the same method in regard to *Huesca*, which quickly created some disturbances, and these furnished the occasion which he sought of declaring war f. His mind being extremely set upon this conquest, it is said that he sent his son *Don Ramiro* into *France*, to take the habit of *St. Benedict*, in hopes this might procure him the Divine assistance in this great and hazardous enterprize *. The prince of *Huesca*, being thoroughly apprized of his design, had put the place into an excellent state of defence, raised very large magazines, and drawn numbers of brave men from different parts of *Spain*, to augment his garrison, and had besides a considerable body of auxiliaries from his neighbour of *Saragossa*.

* ZURIT. ABARC. MARIAN.

FER. 2 Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon. FER.

b HIERON BLANCÆ Arragonensium Rerum Commentarii.

PENNAT.

f HIERON. BLANCÆ.

* Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon.

a ZURIT. ABARC. MAYERNE TURQUET. FER.

c Chron. var. antiq.

e ZURIT. MONACH. PENNAT.

y ZURIT. ABARC.

ZURIT. MONACH.

- a. This did not hinder Don *Sancho* from executing his design; and sitting down before the city, with a very numerous and well appointed army, he carried on the siege with such vigour, that the place had stood more than one assault, when, in bringing up a body of troops that had been repulsed, the king was, as he extended his arm in giving orders, mortally wounded ^{Is mortally} by an arrow from the wall. Being carried to his tent, he expired, as some say, on the first ^{wounded at the} of *June*^h, or, as others assert, on the fourth of that month¹, in the year of our Lord one ^{siege of Hu-} thousand and ninety-four, and in the thirty-second year of his reign, leaving behind him three ^{esca.} sons, Don *Pedro*, Don *Alonso*, and Don *Ramiro*. The two eldest were with him in the camp; and, before he died, he caused them to be sworn in his presence, never to abandon the design of reducing *Huesca*, which he looked upon as the first step towards driving the *Moors* out of that part of *Spain*^k.

- THE Infant Don *Pedro* was immediately proclaimed king by the army; and, having A. D. 1094. caused his father's body to be removed to the monastery of *Jesus of Nazareth*, at *Mont Arra-* Don *Pedro* pro-
gon, he turned the siege into a blockade, posting a strong body of troops in the castle of ^{claimed king.} *Luna*, which the king his father had built in a very proper situation for that purpose^l. We are told by some writers, that Don *Pedro* bore the title of king of *Sobrarva* before his father's death; and that, having espoused a lady whose name was *Bearta*, he had by her a son of his own name, and a daughter *Donna Isabella*^m. He was in the prime of his life, and not at all inferior to his father either in conduct or in courage; and therefore he laboured assiduously, though with as little stir as possible, to draw together an army numerous enough to return to the siege. *Abdaramen*, the *Moorish* chief of *Huesca*, suspecting this, repaired his fortifications, and sent to all his neighbours and allies to demand assistance; assuring them that he was but the first sacrifice, and that all the little princes of the *Moors* were in danger of being gradually destroyed; he likewise sent to the king of *Castile*, putting him in mind that, as he paid him an annual tribute, it was but just that he should protect him in the day of his distress. That monarch did not refuse him, but sent a considerable corps, under the command of Don *Garcia* count *de Najera*, and *Albocamen* king of *Saragossa* marched with almost all the troops he had to his reliefⁿ. Don *Pedro* of *Arragon*, perceiving the enemy in full march towards him, resolved to leave but a small body before the place, and to advance with the rest of his army into the plain of *Alcaraz*, that the *Moors* might see he had no inclination to decline fighting. Both sides, therefore, being much in earnest, they came to a decisive engagement ^{Defeats the} on the 28th of *November*, in which, though the *Moors* and their auxiliaries did all that could ^{Moors in the} be expected from men of determined courage, yet, after a very obstinate dispute, which ^{plain of Alca-} lasted many hours, they were totally defeated, with the loss of forty thousand men killed, ^{raz.} and the count Don *Garcia*, and most of the forces he commanded, were made prisoners. This was, certainly, one of the most important and most signal victories obtained over the Infidels, and, according to the humour of those times, it was ascribed to St. *George*, the patron of *Arragon*, who was reported to have fought in the first ranks, mounted on a white horse, having on his left arm a broad shield with a bloody cross; whence, though it is not very clear when they were assumed, the arms of *Arragon* are said to have been taken; viz. On a field, argent, a cross of St. *George*, gules, with four *Moors* heads proper^o. As the price of this victory *Huesca* was surrendered on the 15th, and the great mosque, being ^{1096.} cleansed and purified, was consecrated the 17th of *December*, when the bishop of *Jacca* took ^{He takes Hu-} possession of it^p. This city, which stands on the bank of the river *Isuela*, at the distance of ^{esca.} thirty leagues north-east from *Saragossa*, is, after that, the fairest and finest in *Arragon*, situate in a fertile plain, well cultivated; and producing the best wine that is made in this country; and the remains of its old fortifications, which are still preserved, shew, that, at the time it fell into the hands of the Christians, its walls were flanked with ninety-nine towers. After this happy success, the king caused his father's body to be carried to the royal monastery of St. *Juan de la Pena*, and to be interred near the body of his consort *Donna Felicia*, under a stately tomb^q.

- THE settling things in the territory of such an important conquest took up some time. This once accomplished, we find the active and victorious prince in the field again, sweeping several places of less consequence from the *Moors*, and at length depriving them of the castle of *Calefans*, after a very stubborn defence, which gave him an opportunity of extending his dominions, and securing his frontiers^r. He also applied himself to pope *Paschal* the second, in order to obtain a bull for transferring the see of *Rhoda* to *Balbastro*, which was his father's

^h Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan.¹ Annal. Compstet. HIERONYMI BLANCÆ.^k ZURIT. MARIAN.FER. ^l Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. Chron. MONACH. Annal. Compstet. ^m Ibidem ibid. ⁿ Rod.Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Luc. Tudensis Chron. ^o Diploma Reg. Arragon. Annal. Complut. MAR: Historiageneral de España, lib. x. ^p Indices rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. P. MORET InvestigacionesHistoricas de las antiquidades del Reyna de Navarra. ADARC. FER. ^q Rod. Tolct. de reb. Hispan.ZURIT. ^r Annal. Complut. Annal. Toletan.

conquest, though most of the historians of this kingdom ascribe it also to him; in which, if there be any truth, the *Moors* must have surprized it again, of which there is not the least hint to be found^a. After this the king Don *Pedro* seems to have applied himself chiefly to the arts of peace, and to the establishing and improving that extent of country, which, by the blessing of Providence on his own and his predecessor's arms, had been recovered from the Infidels: but the satisfaction he enjoyed from those princely labours was sadly interrupted by the loss of both of his children, in the month of *August*, which, partly through grief, and partly through disease, brought himself to the grave, on the 28th of *September*, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and four, in the eleventh year of his reign. His body was interred near those of his father and mother, in the monastery of St. *Juan de la Pena*^b.

His death.
A. D. 1104.

His brother
Don Alonso
succeeds to the
throne.

1109.
Marries Don-
na Urraca
daughter to
the emperor of
the Spains.

He was succeeded in the kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Arragon* by his brother Don *Alonso*^c, who, by the active display of his martial virtues, obtained the surname of *il Guerrero*; that is, *the warrior*. He was esteemed, at the time of his accession, one of the handsomest and bravest princes of his time, which induced Don *Alonso* the sixth of *Castile*, who had caused himself to be solemnly crowned emperor of the *Spains*, to cast his eyes upon him, for the second husband of his daughter and heiress Donna *Urraca*, which took place in the second year of his reign^d; and, considering himself as the successor of that prince, in right of his wife, he stiled himself *Alonso* the seventh, king of *Castile* and *Leon*, and sometimes also emperor^e: the conclusion of this marriage seemed to promise as great advantages, as, in its consequences, it produced miseries and mischiefs to the Christians in *Spain*. The present possessor of *Castile*, and all the extensive territories lately annexed to it, was a woman, and her heir apparent a child; by which they were grievously exposed to the impressions of the Infidels, more vigilant then than in former times, through the losses they had sustained, the revolutions that had happened in their governments, and several other causes. The marriage of Donna *Urraca* to Don *Alonso* not only repaired the loss of the deceased emperor, and furnished the young heir of *Castile* of the same name with a powerful protector, but created, at the same time, a new and unexperienced authority, which threatened the *Moors* with immediate expulsion; since, except the two counties of *Barcelona* and *Portugal*, this Don *Alonso* was master, in his own and his wife's right, of all the states that the Christians possessed in *Spain*, and so able to bring into the field of battle more numerous and potent armies than hitherto had been ever employed against the common enemy. Besides, it seemed a most happy and effectual provision against those factions that commonly arise in all monarchies, when the throne is occupied either by women or children. But so uncertain are all events in this sublunary state, and so short-sighted is human policy, that the hopes of the Christians and the apprehensions of the *Moors* were equally disappointed; and this, almost as soon as they were excited: for, in a few months after the marriage was concluded, those differences broke out between the king and queen, which could never afterwards be reconciled; and which, almost as soon as they broke out, threw every thing into confusion; so that through their intestine discords, or rather through the appointment of divine Providence, if the Infidels had not been wanting to themselves, they might have had a fair opportunity of restoring their power, and of recovering a great part, at least, of those countries that the Christians had lately taken from them. But as we have given a full account of those matters in another place, we shall content ourselves with observing here, that, after a great deal of confusion and bloodshed, the marriage between Don *Alonso* and Donna *Urraca* was declared null, in the council of *Palencia*; and the king, thereupon, turned his thoughts entirely to the care of his own hereditary dominions^f.

1110.

1111.

1113.

1114.

Reduces Tudela.

THE glory his father had acquired by his victories over the *Moors*, and the reputation raised by his brother by the conquest of *Huesca*, joined to some insults and provocations which himself had received from the *Moors* of *Saragossa*, inflamed the king Don *Alonso* with the desire of adding that noble city to his dominions. He foresaw that this would be a difficult and hazardous enterprize, and, by a policy peculiar to a prince of his disposition, he contrived to obtain the means of carrying it into execution by divulging his project, which had all the effect he proposed, since it brought many of the *French* nobility, eager to obtain honour in a religious war, to his assistance, particularly *Gaston* lord of *Bearn*, *Rotrou* count of *Perche*, the count of *Comminges*, the viscount of *Gavardan*, and the bishop of *Lescar*^g. He had quickly a specimen of their great military skill, as well as of their bold and enterprising dispositions; for his troops being continually harrassed, and their convoys cut off by

^a Chron. var. antiq. HIERONYM. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. ^b MONACH. PENNAT.
^c HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. Indices Rerum ab Arrag. Regibus Gestarum. ROD. Tolet de reb. Hispan. ^d LUCÆ Tudenf. Chron. Adefons Imperat. FER. ^e ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. ^f LUCÆ Tuden. Chron. HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. ^g Chron. MONACH. PENNAT. P. DANIEL Histoire de France. FER.

- a excursions from *Tudela*, which the *Moors* were likewise in possession of, he detached *Rotrou* count of *Perche*, with a considerable body of troops, to restrain those people. The count made a sudden and silent march into the neighbourhood of that city, and having posted his forces in such a manner, as that they could not be discerned, he ordered a small party of horse to advance within sight of the place; upon which the *Moors*, supposing them to be the rear guard of a convoy, issued out with their whole force, and upon their retiring according to their instructions, pursued them beyond the place where the count lay with his forces, who thereupon attacked them in flank, and having gained an easy victory, pursued them with such vigour, that part of his troops entered with them into the town, and having seized an advantageous post, supported themselves, while he
- b arrived with the rest of his infantry, and carried the place by assault, to the no small astonishment both of the *Moors* and the Christians^a. But the king, notwithstanding this unexpected success, being informed that the *Moors* in *Saragossa* had received numerous succours, thought fit to suspend his expedition, in order to make the necessary preparations for rendering it effectual, which took up the remaining part of this and all the succeeding year.

- THE measure upon which the king principally relied, was disturbing and distressing the inhabitants of that city, from the fortress of *Castellar*, which stood upon the *Ebro*, and gave the Christians an opportunity of disturbing all communication between that city, either by land or water. After many months wearying and harrassing them in this manner, which served only to keep his own troops in breath, and gave him leisure to repair and fortify all the places he had taken, he brought a numerous army into the field, and besieged the strong fortress of *Almadobar*, which, as it in some measure covered *Saragossa*, the *Moors* had provided with a stout garrison, and with all things necessary for a good defence^b. This he took after a brave resistance, and then turned his arms against *Salici*, *Robles*, *Gurrea*, and *Zucra*, all of which he obliged to surrender. Having thus cleared that side of the river, and established a free communication between his own camp and the kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, he at length invested *Saragossa*^c. The siege was very tedious, the besieged made frequent sallies, and the besiegers were repulsed in more than one assault. This disgusted the *French* lords, who loved to be upon the wing; and, except the lord of *Bearn* and the count of *Perche*, they quitted the camp. The king, Don *Alonso*, upon this, drew
- d his forces nearer the place, and prosecuted the siege with greater vigour than before; however, the inhabitants found means to press the *Moors* of *Tortosa*, *Merida*, and *Valentia*, to come to their assistance, assuring them that the Christian army was much inferior to what it had been. Accordingly they assembled a very numerous army, under the command of *Temin*, and marched speedily to their relief. The king Don *Alonso* was no sooner informed of this, than foreseeing the disadvantages that must attend his being attacked in his lines, left a small body of troops before the place, and marched with the rest of his forces to give the enemy battle, whom he entirely defeated, killed a great number upon the spot, and made a multitude prisoners, amongst whom was their general. This had the consequence that was expected from it; the place began immediately to capitulate, and on the 18th of *December* A. D. 1118.
- e the king took possession of it with great solemnity^d. As this was beyond comparison the finest place in his possession, and indeed one of the best built cities in *Spain*, he not only restored it to its ancient honour of being an episcopal see, but made it also the capital of his dominions. Having rewarded generously those strangers who had assisted in reducing it, he caused it to be repopled with Christians, and then demolished the fortifications, declaring that the seat of his monarchy should have no other defence than the force and courage of its inhabitants^e. While he was thus employed, he had intelligence that numbers of people began to retire out of *Tarragona*, and other places; upon which, resolving to make a right use of the consternation the *Moors* were in, he marched thither with his army: though a place of strength and consequence, he reduced it with a very little trouble, and concluded
- f this glorious campaign with the taking of *Boja*, *Alagon*, and other places on the banks of the river *Galego*^f. The next year, while the places he had reduced were repairing, he made another expedition, in which he swept the river *Xalon*, made himself master of the ancient town of *Calatayud*, and took several places of less importance from the Infidels. He found it convenient after this, to remain for some time quiet in his own dominions, in order to provide effectually for their security, notwithstanding the many thousands of *Moors* that were now become his subjects^g.

THESE precautions taken, he again assembled his forces; and having signified to the nobility of *France*, how well pleased he should be to have them again for his companions in arms,

^a Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. ^b Chron. var. antiq.
^c Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. IUC. Tudenf. Chron. ^d Annal. Tolet. Annal. Compostel. Annal.
 Complut. Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. MONACH. PENNAT. FER. ^e Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ
 Regibus Gestarum. MARIANA. FER. ^f Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens.
 Rerum Comment. ABARCA. ZURITA. ^g Rod. Tolet.

they very readily accepted the summons, and joined his troops by that time they were in a state of action. The king Don *Alonso* first ravaged the territory of *Lerida*, afterwards invaded *Valentia*, and at length penetrated as far as *Murcia*, acquiring vast reputation to himself, and immense riches to those who served under him^a. The *Moors* had been hitherto so much astonished at the boldness of this enterprize, that they made little or no resistance; but, perceiving that his army was not very numerous, that he was at a great distance from his own dominions, in the very centre of theirs, and that it was impossible for any of his forces to escape, in case of a defeat, they began to recover their spirits, and eleven of their alcaides, having joined the strength of their respective governments, advanced to give him battle near the city of *Alcaraz*. Don *Alonso*, according to his usual custom, placed all hopes of safety in a frank declaration to his people, that if they were beat they were undone; the sense of which operated so powerfully, that, notwithstanding the inequality of the contest, they gained a very decisive and glorious victory; after which he took winter quarters in the enemy's country, and kept his *Christmas* at *Alcaraz*^b.

In the spring of the ensuing year, when the *Moors* expected that he would have begun his retreat, he made a fresh irruption into the plains of *Cordova*, and having ravaged all the open country, threw himself next into the territories of *Jaen* and *Granada*, where he committed the like devastation. But after all this success, it is very doubtful how this campaign might have ended, if he had not received an unexpected and almost miraculous succour, which enabled him to return in triumph to *Saragossa*^c. While his army continued in the field, ten thousand Christian families came down from the *Alpujarros*, and the mountains of *Alcaraz*, where they had maintained themselves from the days of Don *Rodrigo*; and having demanded and obtained his protection, returned with him into *Arragon*, where, having reduced *Molina*, *Ariza*, and some other places, he settled them to their satisfaction, and having dismissed his army, began to apply himself to the arts of peace^d.

The Infidels
lose another
great battle.

At the close of the last war, some difference had arisen between the king and the *French* lords, who had served in his army, whom he had rewarded less liberally than formerly, on account of the number of *Mozarabic* Christians, for whom he was obliged to provide; and in this discontented humour the *French* returned home^e. The *Moors* having intelligence of this, and having received prodigious succours from *Morocco*, eager to revenge their past losses, resolved to invade his dominions, and assembled a very powerful army for that purpose. The king, on the first intelligence of their design, compromised all matters in dispute with his old friends, and engaged the count of *Perebe*, the viscount of *Bearn*, and other lords, to join him with their forces, which, with his own troops, enabled him to secure his frontiers in such a manner as totally disappointed the views of the Infidels^f. The next spring he made an irruption into the kingdom of *Valentia*, which not only added to the reputation of his arms, but furnished an immense booty to his troops. *Amorga* the *Moorish* general, endeavoured to give some check to his progress; but the attempt was only fatal to his own troops. However, *Albamin*, at the head of a numerous army, having joined *Amorga*, and having seized the passages in the mountains, the king Don *Alonso* found it impossible to recover his own territories, being in a manner besieged in the midst of a wild and uncouth country, where it was impossible to subsist, and from which it was equally impossible to remove. In this critical situation he ordered three days of solemn humiliation, to implore the favour of heaven; and on the fourth, which was the sixteenth of *August*, he caused his provisions to be equally distributed, and when his army were thoroughly refreshed, he attacked the *Moors* with great fury. The action lasted many hours, was very obstinately fought, and the victory gained by the king, at last, was esteemed one of the most considerable that the Christians ever obtained, and, in consequence of which, he marched without any molestation home^g. He was engaged the next year in a war with Don *Alonso*, king of *Castile*, which was quickly compromised, as we have shewn in another place; as another rupture of the same kind was, about two years after, in which the king of *Arragon* was the aggressor; but being persuaded by his prelates that a war must be unprosperous that was unjust, he retired in time.

A. D. 1126.

Reduces
Bayonne.

THE close connections which the king of *Arragon* had entered into with the *French* lords, his neighbours, engaged him in a war on that side, the particular cause of which is no where explained: all we know of the matter is, that he made a descent, with a well appointed army, into *Gascony*, where he invested and besieged *Bayonne*. While he was thus employed, the *Moors* of *Lerida*, *Tortosa*, and *Valentia*, taking advantage of his absence, made incursions into his dominions, against whom the bishop of *Huesca* and the viscount of *Bearn* marched

^a Hieron. Blancæ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. P. DAAIEL. FER. ⁱ Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. ZURITA. ABARCA. ^k Rod. Tolet. de reb Hispan. LUCÆ Tudens. Chron. ^l ZURITA. ABARCA. FER. ^m Chron. var. antiq. ⁿ Hieron. Blancæ. ZURITA. ABARCA. ^o Annal. Complut. Hieron. Blancæ Arragonens. Comment. Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. FER.

- a with a small body of troops; but engaging with a superior force, were defeated and killed^d. The king Don *Alonso*, notwithstanding this, continued the siege of *Bayonne* with that vigour and obstinacy which were natural to him; and, having at last taken it, returned with his forces into his own dominions^e. The disturbances his subjects received from the *Moorish* A. D. 1133. pirates, who came in small vessels up the *Ebro*, and the mischiefs that were done by a numerous garrison they had in the old town of *Mequinenca*, at the confluence of the *Segro* and the *Ebro*, determined him to besiege that place, though covered by a fortress that hitherto had been esteemed impregnable. He attacked it with great vigour; and, though the *Moors* made a gallant defence, he at length carried it by assault, and put the whole garrison to the sword^f. This success encouraged him to invest *Fraga*, which derives its name from the corruption of *Flavia Gallica*, by which it was known in the time of the *Romans*. It stands upon an eminence on the left side of the *Cinca*, three leagues from *Lerida*, on the frontiers of *Catalonia*, strong by its situation in the midst of mountains, having the river before-mentioned in front, the banks of which are inaccessible, and covered behind by a craggy mountain, on which there was a good fortress. It was at this time the capital of a *Moorish* government, full of a hardy and martial race of people, well fortified for those days, and, though seated in the most sterile parts of *Arragon*, plentifully supplied with provisions. The king continued before it all the remainder of this year, and the beginning of the next; and, as he was not accustomed to desist from his enterprizes, the *French* lords, his confederates, and several of his own prelates, brought him great reinforcements early in the spring. On the other hand; *Aben Gama*, governor of *Valentia*, assembled all the forces of that province, and made two attempts to raise the siege, but without effect, being as often repulsed by Don *Alonso* with great loss.

- THE people of *Fraga*, finding themselves extremely pressed, much diminished in their numbers, and without hopes of relief, offered to surrender the place, provided he would suffer them to march out, and retire where they thought proper, which he refused, insisting upon their submitting at discretion. In the mean time, the forces of *Seville*, *Cordova*, and *Granada*, were advanced into *Valentia*, where *Aben-Gama* had likewise received a reinforcement of ten thousand men from *Texefin Ben Hall*, king of *Morocco*, and with this numerous and potent army he advanced a third time to the succour of *Fraga*. It happened unfortunately, that, at this juncture, the king Don *Alonso* had detached a corps of his best troops, to secure a great convoy of provisions, so that the dispute was extremely unequal. However, upon the approach of the Infidels, the king quitted his camp, and, having made the best disposition he was able, advanced to give them battle. His forces behaved with great intrepidity; and himself, and the nobility about him, exerted all the skill and courage that could be expected from persons grown old in arms, and entured to victory. But at length, being absolutely overpowered by numbers, the army was defeated, the greatest part slain upon the spot, and amongst them the bishops of *Huesca* and *Roda*, most of the *French* nobility who served as auxiliaries, and many also of the lords of *Navarre* and *Arragon*^g. The king Don *Alonso* seeing all lost, made a great effort with seven hundred men, and having penetrated through the *Moorish* army, continued his route, having passed by *Saragossa*, to the monastery of *St. Juan de la Pena*, where he arrived with ten of his great lords, amongst whom was Don *Garcia Ramirez*; and, falling there into a deep melancholy, he died eight days after of pure grief^h. His body was interred with those of his ancestors, but without any tomb erected to his memory; which, with the concealing of this melancholy event for some days, gave occasion to many strange reports, which, on no better foundation than vulgar tradition, have found a place in some otherwise esteemed histories.

- THIS monarch is justly and universally acknowledged to have been; in all respects, one of the greatest princes of this age. He was, though most conspicuous for his military exploits; one of the mildest and most courteous princes that ever sat on a throne; and it was this that gained him, almost at first sight, the esteem and affection of all the *Castilian* nobility, who had the prosperity of their country at heart, and were not bent upon raising fortunes by scandalous intrigues, or base complacencies at the court of queen *Urraca*. He was very religious, according to the notions of that age in which he lived, and very liberal to the clergy, which renders very improbable what the *Castilian* writers say of his plundering the churches during the war in that country. He added to his hereditary kingdom of *Arragon*, *Saragossa*, *Tudela*, *Tarrazona*, *Calatayud*, *Daroca*, and a great extent of country on the south side of

^d Hieron. Blancæ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. ZURITA. ABARCA. FER.

reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

^e Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum.

^f Rod. Tolet de

Tolet. de reb. Hispan. Lucæ Tudenfis Chron. Hieron Blancæ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. Indices Rerum

ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. ABARCA. MARIANA. FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^g Rod. SANTI

Hist. Hispan. Luc. Tudenfis Chron. ZURIT.

the *Ebro*; so that he may, with propriety, be stiled the founder of the modern kingdom of *Arragon*, since he rendered it by his victories, and left it at his death, two thirds larger than when it descended to him. Some ancient writers say, that the battle of *Fraga* was the twenty-ninth he had fought against the *Moors*, to whom he was an implacable and terrible enemy^a. It is certain that this monarch left his dominions in very great confusion; but, though it is generally reported, *Mariana* makes no scruple of recording it as a fact out of dispute, that, by a will made at the siege of *Bayonne*, he disposed of all his territories to the knights templars, the knights of St. *John*, and the guardians of the holy sepulchre at *Jerusalem*^w. Yet the story has such an air of fable, that it has been justly rejected by the best judges of history, as being to the full as improbable as the tale of his going privately to *Jerusalem*, after the battle of *Fraga*, and performing great exploits against the Infidels in the *Holy Land*.^b

Separation between the kingdoms of Arragon and Navarre.

It is however certain, that, whatever will he made, or was made for him (since forgery was not unknown in those times) his subjects took not the least notice of it; but as soon as they were recovered a little from that consternation into which they were thrown by the irruption of the Infidels after their late victory, they began to consider how to repair this loss, by setting a new prince upon the throne. It is generally agreed, that a meeting for this purpose was held at *Borja*, on the frontiers of both kingdoms, for the electing a king of *Arragon* and *Navarre*; where disagreeing, the former adjourned to *Huesca*, and the latter to *Pampeluna*. But, all circumstances strictly weighed, it seems at least as probable, that *Don Ramiro*, brother to the two last kings, and who was a monk in the monastery of St. *Pons de Tomiers*, in the diocese of *Narbonne*, was proclaimed king at *Huesca*; and that the people of *Navarre* took this opportunity of shaking off a yoke which they had born but very impatiently, and setting up *Don Garcia Ramirez*, who was a direct descendant from their ancient kings. By this means these monarchies were again separated; and this with circumstances which excited great heart-burning and jealousy between the two nations.

Don Ramiro, brother to the late king, ascends the throne of Arragon.

At the time of his accession to the throne, it is very clear that *Don Ramiro* the second had been forty-one years a monk^x: some writers assert, that he had been abbot of *Sahagun*, afterwards bishop of *Burgos*, then of *Pampeluna*, and at this time of *Balbastro*; but of this there are no clear proofs^y. He was no sooner seated on the throne, than it was judged expedient that he should have a wife, and application for this purpose was likewise made to *Anacletus*, who then assumed the title of pope at *Avignon*; and, in virtue of a dispensation from him, the king espoused *Donna Ines*, or *Agnes*, sister to *William*, duke of *Aquitaine*,^d

Don Alonso, king of Castile, enters Arragon as a friend, and leaves a garrison in Saragossa.

who, it appears, from the *French* historians, was a widow^z. It is somewhat doubtful, whether, before or after the celebration of this marriage, *Don Alonso*, king of *Castile*, entered the frontiers of *Arragon*, and advanced towards *Saragossa*. Some authors say, that *Don Ramiro* was so much amazed at the approach of a force which it was not at all in his power to resist, that he retired immediately into the impenetrable mountains and forests of *Sobrarva*; but the historians of *Castile*, who lived nearest these times, affirm quite the contrary; and their account deserves the more credit, as it is perfectly natural and probable. They say, that *Don Alonso* declared, that he did not enter *Arragon* as an enemy, or as forming any pretensions to the crown; but that, on the contrary, respecting the memory of their late king, whom he had been formerly accustomed to stile father, he came to protect them against the *Moors*, and to prevent their making any lasting advantage of their late good fortune; which act of friendship was very kindly taken, and his offer, so generously made, very thankfully accepted^a. Upon which *Don Alonso* put a strong garrison into the city of *Saragossa*, and then retired. At first sight, this may seem to have been no more than a political feint to get possession of so considerable a place; but, if we consider the situation things were in, the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the consequences of domestic troubles, and the efforts of a foreign enemy, and that, as soon as the people of *Arragon* were in a condition to keep and defend it, *Saragossa* was again put into their hands, we shall see plainly that *Don Alonso* of *Castile* acted like a wise and great prince, and upon motives much more noble than those of a conqueror. It did him great honour to have succoured and protected a neighbouring prince, which was also his interest, for the sake of his own dominions; and it reflected no discredit on *Don Ramiro*, that he was very grateful for so high a favour, and received his benefactor with all possible marks of deference and esteem. This was certainly a more prudent and a more royal manner of proceeding than hiding himself in woods and caverns, and abandoning his country and his subjects to the mercy of a stranger, who, if this had been his conduct, would probably not have treated him so well^b.

^a Chron. var. antiq.. ZURIT. ABARCA. FER.

^w Historia general de España, lib. x.

^x Hieron.

BLANCÉ Arragonens. Rerum. Coment. ZURIT. ABARCA.

^y Chron. var. antiq.

^z P. DANIEL

Histoire de France. Hieron. BLANCÉ. ROD. Tolet. ZURITA.

^a Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. LUC.

Tudens. Chron. ABARCA. FER.

^b MARIANA Historia general de España, lib. x. FER. MAYERNE

TURQUET.

- a** THE distaste which had arisen between the two nations, rose in a short time so high, that it was very near producing a rupture between the crowns of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, though against all the rules of policy, and without any just cause on either side; but, by the interposition of the prelates, this difference was compromised, the kings were each of them to hold their respective dominions, to which *Don Ramiro* consented, because he knew himself unable to conquer *Navarre*; and, on the other hand, *Don Garcia* was willing to do homage to *Don Ramiro*, as well on account of his being the brother of his late sovereign, and much his superior in age, as because he was in hopes, on his demise without children, he might succeed him in the throne^c. They were both disappointed in their views, for this was far from producing a settled peace; and, towards the end of this year, or the beginning of the
- b** next, the queen of *Arragon* was delivered of a daughter, who was styled the Infanta *Petronilla*^d. We have seen that, notwithstanding his claim of right, the accession of *Don Ramiro* to the crown of *Arragon* was, in a great measure, owing to the affection of his people; but, as there is nothing more common than for them to grow quickly sick of their own choice, so it seems *Don Ramiro* very speedily experienced the truth of this observation. Some very ancient chronicles report, with circumstances that render it probable this report was not without some foundation, that he took a very singular method of recovering the respect due to his authority. In order to this, he directed an assembly of the states at *Huesca*, where he suddenly seized and put to death the most turbulent of the nobility^e. It is added, according to the custom of this age, that, having sent to the abbot of *St. Pons de Tomiers* for his advice, he carried his messengers into the garden of the convent, and with a scymitar cut off the tops of the highest plants, bidding them report to the king what they had seen him do, from whence *Don Ramiro* took the hint, as indeed it might be easily taken, of this rigorous proceeding. As this circumstance seems to have been invented, or rather copied, for the amusement of the great vulgar, so there was another continued for the amusement of grosser understandings: the king is said to have given out before this assembly, that he would cause a bell to be made, the sound of which should be heard throughout his dominions: in order to keep his word, he caused the heads of fifteen of the most seditious to be nailed round the bottom of a wooden bell frame, and, having shewn this shocking sight to their nearest relations, told them this was the bell he meant, and that he would toll it at their expence, if they had not wit enough to change their conduct from this example. As this tradition of the bell of *Huesca* subsists to this hour, and as some very ancient writers report, not only the fact of the king's putting the chief of the nobility to death, but mention also their names, and assure us, that there were five of the noble family of *Luna*, though it is easy to conceive the circumstances fabulous, it is very hard to believe the whole a fiction^f.
- c** It is, however, a glaring mistake that some have committed, who have reported that this bold action had its effect; and that, as before no prince could be more contemned, so afterwards none was ever better obeyed. The truth, however, is directly the reverse; for either this or some other act of that unfortunate prince, or the whole strain of his administration, lost him the affections of his people to such a degree, that he took a sudden, and, in his situation, a wise resolution of resigning the government, which, in all probability, he heartily repented he had ever undertaken. The method he took in doing this was so proper and prudent, that we may reasonably conclude it was the effects of mature deliberation. When he had digested his design in his own mind, he called an assembly of the states at *Balbastro*, where, on the 11th of *August*, he acquainted them with the resolution he had taken of giving his daughter and heiress *Petronilla* in marriage to *Don Raymond*, count of *Barcelona*, in case she should live to an age fit to become his wife; that in case of her decease before that time, it was his desire that he should enjoy the kingdom; and that, for the present, as he was desirous of leading a life of repose, he would put the administration into his hands, with the title of count or prince, which, with the consent of that assembly, he did, and then retired to *Huesca*, where he lived privately with the clergy belonging to the church of *St. Peter*, for the space of ten years (within five days), without ever shewing the least inclination to recover that diadem which he had so willingly quitted^g. Those therefore who have described this prince as a weak or wicked man, seem not to have considered his history attentively. He was a king but three years, and could not in that short space do much to the prejudice of his subjects. - He found that a palace was no fit habitation for one who had spent forty years in a convent; a weak man would hardly have found this out. He executed his purpose, which required no small degree of fortitude; and he knew how to set a just value on that quiet, for the sake of which he resigned a crown. If from these circumstances, which is all that we know of his conduct, they can collect that he was either wicked or

The king of Arragon causes some seditious nobles to be put to death.

1136.

1137. He resigns the administration to Don Raymond, count of Barcelona, and retires to a convent.

^c Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. HIERON. BLANCÆ. ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. Tudenf. Chron. ZURITA. ABARCA. ^e Chron. var. antiq. ^f ZURITA. ABARCA. FER. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^g Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonenf. Rerum Comment. ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tuden. Chron. ABARCA. MARIANA. FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.

weak, they must have more penetration than we pretend to. However, leaving this to the reader's reflection, we shall proceed with our history.

Rapture between Don Raymond and the king of Navarre.

Don Raymond, upon whom the king devolved his whole authority, with the consent of his people, assumed the title of prince of *Arragon*^b, preserving also that of count of *Barcelona*, which was his own title. As the emperor, Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, had married his sister, and as, in his own right, he possessed dominions little if at all inferior to those of *Arragon*, it does not appear, that, either with regard to himself or his subjects, the old king could have made a better choice. But, from the moment he assumed the government, he had Don *Garcia Ramirez*, king of *Navarre*, for his determined enemy; it may be on account of his having promised himself the good fortune at which Don *Raymond* was arrived. However that may be, their disputes quickly produced a rupture, in consequence of which, the king of *Arragon* entered into a league with Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, and the king of *Navarre* with Don *Alonso* of *Portugal*ⁱ. The emperor, to shew his affection for his brother-in-law, and to bring the war to as speedy an issue as possible, made an irruption into *Navarre*, and penetrated as far as *Pampeluna*, which he invested. This might possibly have had its intended effect, if in the mean time Don *Garcia* of *Navarre* had not defeated the prince of *Arragon* on the frontiers, with considerable loss, which constrained the emperor to raise the siege, in order to march to Don *Raymond's* assistance^k. Before the close of the year, these two princes concluded a treaty, and Don *Raymond* was left to take what care he could of himself; he had already a war with *Navarre*, and another with the *Moors*, upon his hands, when another cross accident happened, which gave him a good deal of trouble. Certain agents from the knights templars came into *Arragon* to claim the benefit of the late Don *Alonso's* testament, which the prince of *Arragon*, by his prudence and dexterity, converted to his own advantage. He told them that such of the knights templars as were willing to repair thither should be amply provided for; and, as a proof that he intended to make good his promise, he gave them the town of *Calatayud*, where they erected the church of the holy sepulchre. This agreement was ratified by the pope and the patriarch of *Jerusalem*^l. Some time after, he held an assembly of the states at *Giron*, where, with the consent of the nobles and prelates, he made a cession to those knights of six strong castles, with large revenues, upon condition that they should defend his frontier against the Infidels in his wars, with whom he was very successful; but while he was thus employed, the king of *Navarre* took from him *Tarrazona* and some other places of less importance^m.

A. D. 1146.

1143.

At the request of the prince Don *Raymond*, the emperor once more interposed with the king of *Navarre*; and finding that monarch more stubborn than he expected, had recourse to arms; but he being a widower, and proposing to marry the emperor's natural daughter, that offer was accepted, and a truce only concluded between the crowns of *Arragon* and *Navarre*ⁿ. This was indeed a measure absolutely requisite, since Don *Raymond Berenger*, count of *Provence*, brother to the prince of *Arragon*, had been traiterously killed in his own dominions, it was requisite for the prince Don *Raymond* to go thither to preserve the succession to his nephew, which he happily performed^o. The truce was prolonged to another year, on account of the prince of *Arragon's* assisting the emperor in the famous siege of *Almeria*, at which he was present, and likewise furnished a considerable naval force^p. On the 6th of *August*, this year, died Don *Ramiro* the second^q, by which his daughter, who was yet a child, became queen in her own right. In the next, the prince Don *Raymond* executed the scheme he had formed at the siege of *Almeria*, for depriving the *Mohammedans* of the strong city and convenient port of *Tortosa*, in order to which he had demanded the assistance of the count of *Montpellier*, the republic of *Genoa*, and other maritime powers; which great design he so happily conducted, that on the last day of the year he became master of the place, and very honourably fulfilled the promises he had made to all his allies, giving the *Genoese* and the count of *Montpellier* each a third part of the revenues of the place, and reserving no more to himself^r. The next year he pushed the war against the *Moors* with such success, that he made himself master of *Fraga* and of *Lerida*, to which last city he restored the episcopal see that had been placed at *Roda*, then in *Balbastro*, while this place remained in the hands of the Infidels; and soon after, by a pragmatic sanction, secured the sees in his dominions from being impoverished by himself or successors^s.

1147:

Don Raymond reduces Tortosa, and obtains several other advantages over the Moors. 1149.

^b ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. MORET. ZURITA. ⁱ LUC. Tuden. Chron. ^k HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum. Comment. ZURIT. ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. ^l Chron. var. antiq. ^m Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. ⁿ ZURIT. ABARCA. ^o Chron. var. antiq. ^p LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. MARIANA. FER. ^q ZURITA. HIERON. BLANCÆ. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^r ROD. Tolet de reb. Hispan. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. MARIANA. FER. ^s HIERON. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. ZURITA. ABARCA. FER.

- a As Donna *Petronilla*, heiress of *Arragon*, was now in her fifteenth year, Don *Raymond*, *Esposes Donna Petronilla; daughter to the late king.* pursuant to the will of her father, married her with great solemnity at *Lerida*¹, in the presence of the principal nobility and prelates of *Arragon* and *Catalonia*: at the same time he re-settled the episcopal see at *Tortosa*, and marked out the ancient boundaries of its diocese². On occasion of the emperor's nuptials; and those of Don *Sancho*, king of *Navarre*, the prince of *Arragon* went to *Soria*, and concluded a truce with that monarch upon his marriage with his niece³. This gave him an opportunity of making an irruption into the territory of the *Moors*, where he took several places, and amongst the rest the castle of *Mirabet*, by assault, which he afterwards put into the hands of the knights templars⁴. He also took the *Moorish* king of *Valentia* and *Murcia* under his protection. When the truce was expired, which he had made with the king of *Navarre*, he attacked that kingdom with some degree of success; and having concluded an alliance with the emperor, in virtue of which his young son Don *Alonso*, who was yet in his cradle, was to marry the Infanta Donna *Sancho* of *Castile*, he prevailed upon that prince to join with him once more against *Navarre*; the hopes, however, which he had from thence, were speedily dissipated by the death of that monarch⁵. This event produced another; which the prince of *Arragon* did not at all expect. Don *Sancho*, king of *Navarre*, had a numerous army in the field, with which he had already recovered the valley of *Rancal*, which Don *Raymond* had taken from him; but, on a sudden changing his measures, he represented to the prince of *Arragon* the folly of their proceedings, offered to bury in oblivion all former grudges, and to restore the city of *Tarazona*, in order to obtain a solid and lasting peace, to which, as it was all he ever sought, Don *Raymond* readily agreed: and thus this war, which, with little intermission, had lasted from the separation of the two crowns, was happily concluded to their mutual satisfaction⁶. *Concludes a solid peace with the king of Navarre. 1157.*
- In a short time after the death of the emperor, his son Don *Sancho*, king of *Castile*, entered into a close alliance with the prince of *Arragon*, his uncle, in which, however, the homage was reserved to the crown of *Castile*, which it is fit we should explain⁷. It is certain that it did not regard the ancient kingdom of *Arragon*, which never had any dependance upon *Castile*, but arose from that transaction which we have before mentioned of the emperor's taking the city of *Saragossa*, and the country on the south side of the *Ebro*, into his protection; for which, according to the custom of that age, he thought fit to exact homage. We shall hereafter have occasion to shew when and how this homage was remitted. As Don *Raymond* had considerable dominions in *France*, which made it requisite for him to be on good terms with *Henry* the second of *England*, who, in right of his wife, was become duke of *Aquitaine*, he accepted an invitation given him by that monarch, which produced an interview at the castle of *Blaye*; and, in consequence of that, a strict alliance between the two princes: amongst other things, it was agreed, that the king's younger son *Richard*, who, by the death of his elder brother *Henry*, became afterwards his successor, should espouse Donna *Berengara*, daughter to count *Raymond*, and should be declared duke of *Aquitaine*⁸. A war breaking out the next year between the king of *England*, as duke of *Aquitaine*, and *Raymond*, count of *Toulouse*, the prince of *Arragon* went, in person, at the head of a considerable body of troops to the assistance of his allies. The year following he made another campaign in support of his nephew *Raymond*, count of *Provence*; and, upon this occasion, he had an interview with the emperor *Frederic*, with whom he entered into a close alliance⁹. That monarch having formed a design of deposing pope *Alexander* the third, passed into *Italy* for that purpose, and held a kind of congress at *Turin*, to which repaired all the princes of his party. Amongst the rest, Don *Raymond*, prince of *Arragon*, intending to be present, made a journey into *Italy*, but falling sick upon the road, he was carried to a place called *Dalmace*, not far from *Turin*, where he breathed his last, *August* the fifteenth, one thousand one hundred and sixty-two. His body was carried back into *Spain*, and buried with his ancestors, in the convent of the *Benedictines*, at *Ripol*¹⁰. *Interview between the kings of Arragon and England, at the castle of Blaye. 1159.*
- f As soon as the funeral honours to her husband were over, the queen Donna *Petronilla* assembled the states at *Huesca*, and there, agreeable to the declaration of the prince Don *Raymond* upon his death bed, she assigned to their eldest son the kingdom of *Arragon*, and the county of *Barcelona*; to their second son Don *Pedro* she gave the county of *Cerdagna*, and all that he possessed besides in *France*, substituting his younger brother Don *Sancho* to that succession, in case he should die without heirs male¹¹. She reserved to herself the tutelage of *Don Alonso who died after the battle of Fraga.*

¹ Rod. Tol. de reb. Hispan. ² Luc. Tudenf. Chron. ³ Zurita. ⁴ Rod. Tol. Hist. Arabum. ⁵ Chron. Adefons Imperat. FERRERAS. ⁶ Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. Hieron. BLANC. Arragonens. Rerum Commentarii. P. MORET Investigaciones Historicas de las antiquidades del Reyno de Navarre. ⁷ Rod. Tol. de reb. Hispan. Lucæ Tudenfis Chron. ABARCA. ⁸ Rod. Tol. de reb. Hispan. Lucæ Tudenfis Chron. ⁹ Rod. Tol. de reb. Hispan. Zurita. Hieron. BLANCÆ. FERRERAS. ¹⁰ Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. ABARCA. ¹¹ Hieron. BLANCÆ Arragonens. Rerum Commentarii. Rod. Tol. de reb. Hispan. MARIANA. MAYERNE TURQUET.

her eldest son, and the government of the kingdom of *Arragon*: she committed the administration of *Catalonia* to Don *Raymond Berenger*, count of *Provente*; and recommended her two younger sons to the protection of *Henry* the second of *England*: at the same time she renewed the treaty with Don *Sancho* king of *Navarre*^f. The peace of *Arragon*, notwithstanding all these precautions, was quickly interrupted, by the appearance of an impostor, who took upon him the name of the king Don *Alonso*, pretending, that, after the battle of *Fraga*, he had passed over to *Syria*, had served in the *Holy Land* against the Infidels, and was now returned to govern his own dominions. Some resemblance of person, a steady assurance, and other circumstances, enabled him to gain some credit with the vulgar; but the queen, causing him to be apprehended at *Saragossa*, put him publicly to death; and thereby restored the peace of the kingdom^g. One sees nothing of weakness or folly in the conduct of this princess, whom it is certain that the historians of *Arragon* treat with great respect and esteem; notwithstanding which, *Mariana* will have it, that, through her want of capacity to administer the government, a resolution was taken to place her son on the throne. It is certain that such a resolution was taken; but other writers affirm, that it was through the queen's free choice, who was desirous of seeing her son acknowledged and fixed on the throne of *Arragon* in her life-time^h.

The queen *Petronilla* resigns the government in favour of her eldest son Don *Alonso*.

It was with this view that she caused an assembly of the states to be held at *Barcelona*, where, on the fourteenth of *June*, she made a free resignation in favour of the prince her son, whom she carried afterwards, for the same purpose, to *Saragossa*; upon which occasion public proclamation was made by the states, that such lords as held either castles or fortresses from the crown should immediately resign their governments into the hands of the king, on pain of being deprived of their dignities, having their estates confiscated, and their persons banished; and all persons were forbid to violate the treaties subsisting with neighbouring princes, under pain of death, and the confiscation of their estatesⁱ. It may not be amiss to observe here, that, according to most historians, this young prince was baptized by, and during his father's life-time bore, the name of *Raymond*, which he now changed for that of *Alonso*, as more acceptable to the people of *Arragon*^k. It is likewise probable, that his sister, whom most of the historians call *Donna Dulcia*, was likewise called *Berengara*; and, besides her, it will appear that he had another sister, whose name was *Donna Leonora*^l. We may see, from their want of accuracy in matters of this nature, that the ancient memoirs of *Arragon* were very short and imperfect; so that much of those ample histories that are now extant, must have been supplied from conjecture, and from comparison with other *Spanish* histories.

Subject of the next section.

We have now completed this section, and have therein traced those accessions, by which, from a very slender beginning, the realm of *Arragon* grew to be what it now is. The reader likewise sees how, in virtue of the marriage between the count of *Barcelona* and the heiress of this monarchy, the noble country of *Catalonia* was annexed to this crown; and, from the accession of power arising from thence, *Abenlope*, the *Moorish* prince of *Valentia*, came to seek the protection, and to own himself the vassal, of the prince of *Arragon*, which afforded the monarchs of *Arragon* the first pretensions to that fruitful kingdom. The making these matters plain, so that the original, the augmentation, and the conjunction of states, may be truly known, and clearly understood, is one principal point of Universal History. It is therefore, in the present case, to render that as complete as possible, that we propose, in the next section, to give a succinct history of the principality of *Catalonia*; or, which will be found to amount to the same thing, to trace out the succession of the counts of *Barcelona*, and their gradual acquisitions of power and territory, by which it will be rendered evident what a vast advantage ensued to the crown of *Arragon*, from the annexing of this maritime province to its dominions; which, in process of time, led to far greater things, and enabled these monarchs to make the figure they did; whereas if they had continued to be circumscribed within the bounds of their inland territories, they could have been very little known to the rest of *Europe*.

^f Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chron. ABARCA. ^g HIERON. BLANCÆ. ZURITA. P. MORET. ^h ROD. Tol. de reb. Hispan. Historia general de España, lib. x. ABARCA. ⁱ HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Arragonensium Rerum Commentarii. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. FER. ^k ZURITA. ABARCA. MARIANA. ^l ROD. Tol. de reb. Hispan. MARIANA. FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.

S E C T. IX.

The history of the county of Barcelona, and the county of Catalonia, from the time of the erecting of that county, at the beginning of the ninth century, to its conjunction with the realm of Arragon, by the marriage of the count Don Raymond the fifth with the Infanta Donna Petronilla, heiress of that kingdom, the children of which marriage enjoyed both sovereignties.

- ^a **T**HE descriptions in this part of our work are suited to the history, and are only inserted to render it intelligible. As for example: The country of *Catalonia*, of which we are going to speak, is precisely that which the count Don Raymond the fifth annexed to the kingdom of *Arragon*; which was not only far greater than the antient county of *Barcelona*, the original patrimony of his ancestors, but also considerably more extensive than the principality of *Catalonia*, as it now stands; comprehending in it, besides *Catalonia*, or, as the Spaniards always write it, *Cataluna*, the countries of *Roussillon* and *Cerdana*, or *Cerdagna*, best part of which are now in the hands of the *French*^a. This country, as it then stood, had *Languedoc* on the north, the *Pyrenees*, the country of *Ribagorça*, and the kingdom of *Arragon*, on the west, a corner of the same kingdom, and a part of that of *Valentia*, to the south, with the *Mediterranean* on the east; stretching about seventy leagues from south to north, and, where broadest, not much less from west to east: the air is, generally speaking, pure and wholesome; the climate perfectly pleasant, and not so very hot in the middle of summer as in most other provinces in *Spain*. The greatest part of this country is mountainous; but there are several large and beautiful plains, and more especially those of *Urgel*, *Cerdagna*, *Vic Gironne*, *Tarragona*, and *Panades*. The mountains themselves are far from being barren, since they are every-where covered with forests of excellent timber, are not destitute of fruit trees, and abound with odoriferous shrubs and medicinal herbs. There are few countries better watered, though none of its rivers are very large. It is plentifully furnished with edible roots, wine, fruit, and corn, as also flax and hemp. There are in it many inexhaustible quarries of marble of all sorts, such as alabaster, &c. and as to stones of higher value, jasper, amethysts, *lapis lazuli*, and the *hematites*, or blood stone, are found here in considerable quantities^b. Here-
^b tofore, it is said, there were mines of gold and silver; and of the former of these precious metals, there are still some grains found in the sand of the *Segro*, and some other rivers; but there are still mines of tin, lead, iron, allom, vitriol, and salt; and on the coast, which is near ninety leagues in extent, there is a very valuable coral fishery^c.

- As to the antient inhabitants of this province, they were the *Castellani*, *Auxitani*, *Indigites*, *Cositani*, with part of the *Ibercones* and *Jaccitani*^d. Some have conceived that it derived its name from the first of these people^e; others again think it more probable^f, that it derived its name from the *Catelauni*, an antient people in *Gaul*; but the most probable account of the matter is this: upon the decline of the *Roman* empire, the *Alani* seized the best part of this province, of which they were, in some measure, dispossessed by the *Goths*; and at length mixing together and becoming one people, they came to be called *Gothalani*, and their country *Gothalonia*, which, by degrees, was softened into *Catalonia*^g. The *Moors* pushed their conquests hither in the beginning of the eighth century, but they had at best but an unquiet possession; and the potent emperor *Charlemagne* attacked them frequently, and with so much vigour, that the *Moorish* governors in most of the considerable places were content to acknowledge themselves his vassals^h. This, however, as it arose from constraint, seldom lasted longer than there was a force at hand to keep them within bounds; and in their repeated revolts they were guilty of such excesses, that at length *Lewis the Mild* determined to make an absolute conquest, and to leave therein such a competent force as might effectually secure this frontier against the *Infidels*ⁱ.

At the opening of the ninth century, the *Moors*, who were in possession of *Barcelona*, were under the government of *Zade*, who had more than once abused the clemency of *Charlemagne*, and at length so irritated, by his perfidious behaviour, *Lewis* king of *Aquitaine*, son of that conqueror, that he gave orders to his generals to invest *Barcelona*, and not to rise from before it till they had put *Zade* into his hands. The *Moor*, comprehending his danger, made

^a CELLAR. Geogr. Antiq. lib. i. Geogr. Moderne, par Du Bois, part i. c. 3. ^b Delices de l'Espagne, par Don JUAN ALVAREZ de Colemanar. ^c Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. ^d STRAB. Geogr. lib. iii. PLIN. Nat. Hist. lib. iii. ^e HEYLIN'S Cosmography, lib. i. ^f CELLAR. Geogr. Antiq. lib. i. ^g Delices de l'Espagne, par Don JUAN ALVAREZ de Colemanar. ^h ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. ⁱ Vit. Ludovic. Annal. Rivipul.

taken by Lewis
king of Aquitaine.

A.D. 801.

a
a most obstinate resistance, so that the siege lasted many months; at length, finding it impossible to preserve the city any longer, and that it was in vain to expect any relief, he determined, or rather was compelled by the inhabitants, to go to the Christian camp, and implore the emperor's mercy; where he no sooner arrived, than he was arrested, and sent prisoner to *Charlemagne*, who condemned him to perpetual exile*. The people of *Barcelona* gaining nothing by this expedient, continued to hold out for six weeks longer, when the king of *Aquitaine*, having joined his army, took the command of the siege, to whom they made a proposal, that, if he would permit them to march out, and retire whither they pleased, they would surrender the place: to this proposal having given his consent, he made his public entry into *Barcelona*, where he formed a project of extending the bounds of his father's empire as far as the *Ebro*; but, being recalled before he could put this design in execution, he appointed *Bera* count of *Barcelona*, and instructed him in the measures necessary to be taken for the perfecting his plan¹. b

Bera first
count of *Bar-*
celona banish-
ed for life to
Roan.

820.

This count *Bera* held his government about eighteen years, and in the beginning acted with great vigour and success against the *Moors*, which encouraged the governors of *Huesca* and *Saragossa* to throw off the yoke of *Albacan* king of *Cordova*, and to put themselves under the protection of *Charlemagne*, which, however, did not screen them from the resentment of their old master². After the death of *Charlemagne*, the emperor *Lewis* committed his conquests in *Spain* to the care of his son *Lothaire*; and finding that a peace with the *Moors* was more prejudicial than war, broke it; soon after which count *Bera* was recalled, upon a discovery that, in imitation of the *Moorish* governors, he was carrying on secret intrigues to render him- c
self independent³. *Sanila*, a considerable officer under him, who brought this charge against him, offered, according to the custom of those times, to make it good by combat. They fought accordingly on horseback; and *Bera*, being overcome, forfeited his life, according to the laws then in force: but the emperor, naturally compassionate, commuted his punishment, and banished him to *Roan* during his life⁴.

A. D. 828.

Bernard the
second count,
stabbed with a
dagger by the
emperor
Charles the
Bald.

844.

He was succeeded in his government by count *Bernard*, son to *William* duke of *Thoulouse*, who carried on the war against the Infidels with great vigour, which raised him so high in his master's favour, that he made him his lord high chamberlain, and, as some say, his prime minister⁵. This had a bad effect; for he began, immediately after, to oppress the clergy in his government, and had a great hand in the disturbances which broke out in the emperor's d
family, who thereupon deprived him of his dignities⁶. In resentment of this he induced the people of *Burgundy* to revolt in favour of *Pepin*, and soon after seized *Thoulouse*, depending on the protection of *Pepin*, who, by his advice, declared himself soon after king of *Aquitaine*⁷. On the death, however, of the emperor *Lewis*, he reconciled himself to his successor *Charles the Bald*; but, as he still continued his intrigues, that monarch became jealous of him, and summoned him to repair to an assembly of the states, which was held in the neighbourhood of *Thoulouse*. The count, finding he had not strength enough to execute his design, went boldly thither, in hopes of pacifying that monarch by a feigned submission. But, when he came into his presence, and fell upon his knees to do him homage, the emperor, as he attempted to rise, caught hold of him with his left hand, and, with his right, drawing a dag- c
ger out of his bosom, stabbed him to the heart⁸. His son *William* attempted to make some disturbances, and entered, according to his father's example, into a close correspondence with the *Moors*⁹.

848.

*ALEDRA*N was declared count of *Barcelona* by the emperor, and kept possession of it for four years¹⁰; at the end of which space *William*, by the help of his intrigues, formed a strong party there; and, by the assistance of *Abderaman*, king of *Cordova*, made himself master of the place, and of a great part of *Catalonia*, his competitor making his escape with some difficulty¹¹. As for count *William*, having procured a strong reinforcement of *Moors*, he undertook the conquest of all that the *French* possessed in those parts, and was at first so fortunate as to seize the counts *Ademare* and *Issembard*, whom he carried prisoners to *Barcelona*, and f
afterwards, with a potent army, besieged *Gironne*; but miscarrying in this enterprize, and, returning to *Barcelona*, the two counts his prisoners found means to excite a tumult, in which count *William* was killed, and the place thereupon returned to the obedience of the emperor¹². Things, however, were so ill managed, and so little care was taken of so important a place, that, two years after, it was taken and plundered by the famous *Moorish* general *Musa*, governor of *Saragossa*, who might have kept it, if he had not, at that time, meditated a

His son *Wil-*
liam, the
third count,
slain in a
tumult. 850.

* Chron. Barcimon. Rod. Tol. de reb. Hispan. 1 Vit. Ludovic. Chron. Barcimon. 2 Vit. Ludovic. Annal. Rivipul. 3 Vit. Ludovic. 4 Histoire de Languedoc, lib. ix. 5 PETR. DE MARCA. Marca Hispanica sive limes Hispanicus, i. e. Zeographica & historica Descriptio Catalauniæ; a STEPH. BALU- zio, edita. Paris, 1688. fol. 6 Vit. Ludovic. 7 Chron. var. antiq. 8 Vit. Ludovic. 9 Histoire de Lan- guedoc. 10 Annal. S. Bertin. 11 Chron. var. antiq. 12 Marca Hispanica. 13 Annal. St. Bertin.

revolt,

a revolt, which induced him to return into his own government^r. After this we find one *Sunifred* there, with the title of viscount, which implies that he was the deputy of another lord, to whom the government was committed, and who, very probably, was the person we find next mentioned in history with the title of count of *Barcelona*^z.

THIS person was *Hunfrid*, or *Wifrid*, who, it is said, had also the title of marquis of *Gothia*, and duke of *Septimania*; which implies, that, besides *Barcelona*, he was intrusted with the administration of all that belonged to the empire in these parts; so that a considerable district in the southern provinces of *France*, with part of *Navarre*, *Arragon*, and *Catalonia*, were under his jurisdiction^a: yet, it seems, he was not satisfied, because king *Charles*, surnamed *the Bald*, had bestowed *Thoulouse*, and the places adjacent, upon count *Raymond*, and of which, notwithstanding, he despoiled him, upon pretence that they belonged to his government. This so provoked the king, that he removed *Wifrid* from his employment, in the succeeding year, or at least divided this large government into two, restraining him to the countries on the other side of the *Alps*; which, it seems, he considered as a great injustice^b. At this time one count *Solomon* was intrusted with *Cerdagna*, but under the orders of *Wifrid*. This count, whether prompted by duty or resentment is not very clear, accused him of *Barcelona* of certain crimes, which occasioned his being summoned to *Narbonne*; where, being insulted in a tumult, and a man having had the boldness to pull him by the beard, he, in the first transport of his choler, killed him upon the spot; and endeavouring afterwards to force a passage for his escape, was cut to pieces by those who seized him for the murder^c. His son, who was of the same name, was conducted prisoner to king *Charles*, who expressed great concern for his father's misfortune; and, promising him his protection, sent him into *Flanders*, to be brought up under the care of that monarch's own sister, who had a great respect for him^d.

THE county of *Barcelona* was, for the present, bestowed upon *Solomon*, the informer; of whose administration there is not the smallest circumstance to be found; nor does it appear whether he died, or was removed to make way for count *Wifrid* the second, son of *Wifrid* the first; who proving a person of great virtue and piety, as well as of singular charity, was very soon restored to his father's employment, and is considered as the first count of *Barcelona* who had any share of sovereign authority; inasmuch, as he did homage for this city and country, and was to hold it as a fief from the kings of *France*, for himself and his heirs^e.

WIFRID II. surnamed *Velloso*, that is, the *Hairy*, and also *the Warlike*, taking advantage of the dissensions amongst the *Moors*, began to extend his dominions, making himself master of *Solsona* and *Cordona*, both of which he fortified, and established his affairs on so solid a foundation, that he had little to fear from the Infidels; who, though they attempted to invade his territories with a great army, were constrained to retire with a considerable loss, and soon after they sued to him for peace^f. He was the founder of the *Benedictine* monastery of *Ripol*: himself, and his countess *Vinilda*, were present at the consecration, on the twenty-fifth of *July*, and one of his sons became a monk in that house, which was ever after much favoured by the princes of his family^g. He ruled in *Catalonia* thirty-seven years with great reputation, and had by his countess before-mentioned four sons, *Ranulpho*, who became a monk, *Wifrid*, who died in the life-time of his father, *Miron*, who succeeded him, and *Seniofredo*, upon whom he bestowed the county of *Urgel*. His countess dying before him, he espoused a second time a lady who survived him, and whose name was *Garfinda*, and, by his own direction, was interred in the monastery of *Ripol*, which became thenceforward the burying place of the counts of *Barcelona*^h.

MIRON, count of *Barcelona*, appears to have been an inactive prince, since we find little or nothing recorded of him in history, though he enjoyed this principality seventeen years; neither do we know whom he married; but at his demise he left behind him three sons, *Seniofredo*, who succeeded him, *Oliva*, to whom he gave the county of *Cerdagna*, and *Mira*, upon whom he bestowed that of *Gironne*, though, in his catalogue, *Mariana* makes him bishop of that place: as these children were in their nonage, at the time of his decease, their uncle, the count of *Urgel*, took the administration during their minorityⁱ.

SENIOFRED, count of *Barcelona*, was put in possession of his dominions by his uncle, who governed them with great prudence and fidelity, and took the same care of his brethren^k. This young count married the daughter of Don *Sanchez Abarca*, king of *Navarre*^l, by whom he had no issue, and, after a long reign, in which he did little, deceased, and was buried in

^r Annal. S. Bertin. ^z AMON. Annal. St. Bertin. ^a Chron. five Hist. Com. Barcimon a MONACH. Rivipul. Script. ^b FRANCISCO DIAGO Historica de los antiguos Condes Barcelona. Barcelona 1603. fol. ^c Marca Hispanica. ^d Chron. Rivipul. DIAGO. ^e Marca Hispan. ZURIT. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. ^f DIAGO. Marca Hispanica. ^g Chron. Rivipul. ZURIT. ^h DIAGO. ⁱ Marca Hispanica. ZURIT. ^k Chron. Rivipul. ^l P. MORET Investigaciones Historicas de los antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra.

the monastery of *Ripol*^m. Both his brothers were living at the time of his death, and yet he ^a was succeeded by

BORELO, his cousin, son to *Seniofredo*, count of *Urgel*ⁿ; but by what colour of right, or whether by force, as *Mariana* suggests^o, or by procuring the investiture from the crown of *France*, as *Ferreras*^p conjectures, is not very clear. This prince made a journey to *Rome*, in order to settle the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in his dominions; for the city of *Taragona* being in the hands of the *Moors*, all the bishops in his territories were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Narbonne*, which was attended with such inconveniencies, that the pope, at his request, declared the bishop of *Ossona* metropolitan of *Catalonia*, till such time as *Tarragona* should be recovered out of the hands of the Infidels^q. But as the count had not taken the precaution to apply first to his lord paramount, the king of *France*, this regulation did not ^b take effect^r. He was very assiduous in improving, fortifying, and adorning, the chief towns in his territories, and very fortunate in the defence of them against the *Moors*, till *Mohammed Almanzar*, who conceived some particular dislike to this prince, made an irruption into *Catalonia*, with a prodigious army, in which he committed most horrid depredations. Count *Borelo*, who could not bear to see the miseries of his subjects, advanced, with such an army as he was able to raise, to *Moncada*, where he gave the enemy battle, and where he had the misfortune to be so totally defeated, that, in all probability, no part of his army would have been preserved, if the adjacent mountains and forests had not secured them from the pursuit of a barbarous and implacable enemy^s. *Mohammed Almanzar* proceeded directly to *Barcelona*, and finding but a small garrison, attacked and carried it by assault. A great part of ^c the inhabitants was put to the sword; he carried away most of the rest; and, having left a body of troops in the fortress, set fire to the city, in which all the archives, records, and titles, public and private, were consumed, which is the true reason that the history of this principality is so imperfect^t. Count *Borelo*, in this distress, applied for assistance to *Lewis* the fourth of *France*; to whom he represented, that what the Infidels aimed at was to make a road through *Catalonia* into his dominions: upon which suggestion a great corps of troops was immediately sent to his assistance; with whom, having joined the remains of his own army, he returned immediately to *Barcelona*, which he attacked and carried sword in hand; and, having destroyed all the *Mohammedans* he found therein, applied himself, with the utmost diligence, to repair and re-people the place^u. The rest of his reign was spent in culti- ^d vating the arts of peace, and in fortifying his frontier in such a manner, as to prevent his subjects from suffering any misfortune of the like kind in time to come. He deceased in the month of *October*, in the year of our Lord nine hundred and ninety-three^w, and left several children, but of these we have no distinct account.

DON RAYMOND his son succeeded at the age of twenty-one, and proved a prince of great virtue and valour^x. The *Moors*, with a prodigious army, attempted to invade his country; but *Don Raymond*, assisted by his brother-in-law, *Don Ermengild*, count of *Urgel*, gave them such a reception, that they were glad to retire: upon which the two counts fell upon their frontiers, and returned with a great booty^y. Things were now so well settled in *Catalonia*, that the count held an assembly of the states, which is mentioned here, because it seems to be ^e the first which had been held at *Barcelona*, since it was recovered by the Christians^z; and the fame of *Don Raymond* was so great, that both by the Christians and *Moors* he was equally respected. *Mohammed Almahadi*, being dispossessed of the kingdom of *Cordova* by *Zulima*, applied himself, by the advice of his prime minister *Alhamer*, to the count of *Barcelona*, for his assistance, promising to give him some places that lay very conveniently, in case he would enable him to remount the throne. The count *Don Raymond*, having consulted his nobility and prelates, accepted this proposition; and, having assembled the whole force of his dominions, he joined the *Moorish* army, and directed their march towards *Cordova*^a. On the road they were surprized by *Zulima*, who attacked them so vigorously, while they were in disorder, that he killed great numbers, and amongst them *Ermengild* count of *Urgel*, *Aetius* bishop ^f of *Barcelona*, *Arnulph* bishop of *Vich*, and *Otho* bishop of *Gironne*^b. *Don Raymond* himself was in the rear, with a good number of his own forces, behind whom he rallied, and formed the flying remains of the broken army; and, when *Zulima* thought there was nothing left but a pursuit, charged him so roughly, that, after a short dispute, he deprived him of that victory which he thought secure, and pushed his success so briskly, that he conducted *Mohammed Almahadi* in triumph to *Cordova*, and seated him again upon the throne^c. After this he

^m DIAGO. ⁿ Chron. Rivipul. ZURIT. ^o Historia general de Espana. ^p Historia de Espana.
^q DIAGO. ^r Chron. Rivipul. Marca Hispanica. ^s DIAGO. ^t MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^u Marca
 Hispanica. ZURITA. ^w DIAGO. ^x Chron. Rivipul. ^y DIAGO. ^z Marca Hispanica.
 MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^a DIAGO. ^b Chron. Rivipul. ZURITA. ^c Marca Hispanica. Chron.
 Rivipul.

a governed his dominions in splendour and peace, till at length he departed this life, in the year A. D 1017: of our Lord one thousand and seventeen, leaving his dominions to his son Don Berenger, an ^{Dis and} infant, under the tutelage of the countess *Ermisenda* his mother ^{leave his ter-} ^{ritories to his} ^{son Berenger,} ^{an infant,} ^{who dies in the} ^{year 1035.}

Don Berenger, count of *Barcelona*, being arrived at full age, and, having assumed the government ^{as Moret} ^{and Salazar} assure us, the daughter of Don Sancho count of *Gascony*. He seems to have been a prince of a very pacific spirit, for which reason none of the *Spanish* historians have given themselves the trouble of recording his actions; all we know of them is, that he deceased in the year of our Lord one thousand and thirty-five, and that he was interred in the monastery of *Ripol* ¹. He left behind him three sons, *Raymond* his successor, *Guillormo* count of *Manreso*, and *Sancho*, who, in process of time, enjoyed the same county.

Don Raymond the second was a prince of great parts and piety ², and not at all inclined to pass his days in the same obscurity that his father had done: he espoused at first Donna *Beatrice*, and afterwards Donna *Almari*, the daughter of the count of *Limoges*; held various assemblies of his states at *Barcelona*, in which he regulated the civil and ecclesiastical dominions; in one of which he amicably compromised some differences that had arisen between him and his grandmother the countess *Ermisenda*, and gave her, in lieu of the places she held, one thousand ounces of gold ³. He took from the *Moorish* king of *Saragossa*, *Manresa*, and several other places ⁴. The cathedral church of *Barcelona* being old and decayed, the count Don Raymond rebuilt it entirely, and caused it to be consecrated with great solemnity on the eighth of *November*, at which time the *Moor Ali*, king of *Denia*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and *Ivica*, confirmed to the bishop of *Barcelona* his spiritual jurisdiction over the Christians in his dominions ⁵. Ten years after this he held a famous council at *Gironne*, in which were present the pope's legate, the archbishop of *Narbonne*, in quality of metropolitan, and all the bishops in his dominions, and in which various canons were made. It was this prince who introduced into his dominions the titles of viscount, baron, and vavasor; and, by several other wife regulations, rendered himself rich and potent, and his people secure and happy: he was by much the most eminent of the princes of this family; and, dying full of years and glory, ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ 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His son Don
Raymond IV.
succeeds as
count of Bar-
celona.
A. D. 1112.

DON *Raymond Arnaldo*, or Don *Raymond* the fourth, became the heir of Don *Bernard* a count of *Besalu*, in virtue of an agreement made between them, during their life-times, which added to his dominions and his territories ^z. He espoused Donna *Aldonca*, or *Dulce*, the daughter of *Gilbert* count of *Provence*, and the heirs of that noble country ^a. Two years after this he entered into a league with *Aymer* viscount of *Narbonne*, *William* count of *Montpellier*, and other neighbouring princes, against the *Moors* in *Majorca*, who were continually pillaging their coasts, and more especially those of *Catalonia*. When they came to execute their scheme, they found that nothing could be done without a naval force, and they could not altogether muster up so much as a small squadron. By the interposition of pope *Paschal* the second, they prevailed upon the *Pisans* to furnish them with a fleet, on board of which they put as many troops as the vessels of which it was composed could transport, and, being debarked in *Majorca*, took and destroyed that nest of pirates; and it is highly probable that this first put those princes upon aiming at a naval force, which they afterwards accomplished ^b. Don *Bernard* count of *Cordagna*, dying without issue, left his dominions to the count Don *Raymond* ^c; and *Mariana* says, that, after some disputes, and even a war, with the count of *Thoulouse*, all differences were terminated, by the two counts reciprocally adopting each other, which, in its issue, brought that county into this family. At length, having lived long, acquired great reputation, and many fair seignories, he deceased, having first taken the habit of a knight templar: his remains, according to his own order, were interred in the monastery of *Ripol* ^d. He had two sons, Don *Raymond* who succeeded him, and Don *Raymond* who inherited the county of *Provence*; and two daughters, Donna *Berengara*, who married the emperor Don *Alonso* of *Castile* ^e, and Donna *Cecilia*, who married the count *de Foix* ^f.

1117.
At his death
the title is in-
herited by his
son Don Ray-
mond V.
1131.

Who, marry-
ing the daugh-
ter of Don
Ramiro the
Monk, united
Catalonia to
the kingdom of
Arragon.

DON *Raymond* the fifth, count of *Barcelona*, entered on the government of this principality with great reputation ^g. His alliance to the emperor Don *Alonso* made him extremely considerable; and it was upon his doing homage to that prince that Don *Alonso* count of *Thoulouse* was prevailed upon to take the same step ^h. He incorporated the county of *Cerdagna*, to which there were some pretenders. into his own dominions ⁱ; and was very useful to many of his neighbours, particularly in negotiating that alliance between the crowns of *Castile* and *Arragon*, which saved the latter from the *Moors*, after the unfortunate battle of *Fraga*, of which Don *Ramiro the Monk* was so sensible, that he immediately cast his eyes upon him for his son-in-law and successor ^k. Don *Raymond* no sooner found himself presumptive heir to the crown of *Arragon*, than he judged it a convenient season to throw off all marks of dependency in *Catalonia*; in pursuance of which he forbade his subjects to date any longer, as hitherto they had done, by the years of the reigns of the *French* monarchs ^l: which was in plain terms avowing he would be their vassal no longer; though in reason and in law this could have no force without the consent of the lord, that is, of the crown of *France*, to whom these countries belonged, in right of conquest: and, as we shall see hereafter, this, at another favourable opportunity, was procured by his marriage with Donna *Petronilla*, heirs of *Arragon*, when that kingdom and the county of *Barcelona* came to be united in the person of the same sovereign, but without any incorporation of territories; the *Catalans* and the *Arragonians* being equally inflexible in that particular; and looking upon their respective privileges as invaluable in themselves, and not to be communicated on any consideration ^m; so that it may be truly said the princes of this family reigned over two of the proudest nations upon the earth; and the reader therefore need not wonder, that they did not always reign in quiet.

^z Marca Hispanica. ZURITA. ^a Chron. var. antiq. ^b Marca Hispanica. ^c Chron. Rivipul.
^d Historia general de Espana. Chron. Rivipul. ^e Chron. Adefons Imperat. ^f Marca Hispanica.
^g DIAGO. ^h Chron. Adefons Imperat. ⁱ DIAGO. ^k ZURITA. ^l Hieronymi Blance Arra-
gonensium rerum Commentarii. ^m DIAGO. ⁿ ZURIT. Marca Hispanica. DIAGO. FERRERAS.

S E C T. X.

The history of Arragon continued, from the reign of Don Alonso II. to its conjunction with the kingdom of Majorca, including also the conquest of the kingdom of Valencia.

- a **T**HE young king of Arragon, Don Alonso the second, was, at the time his mother put him in possession of his dominions, entering into the twelfth year of his age; and, therefore, without doubt, there was a kind of regency appointed to manage public affairs, till he attained a proper age to take the reins of government into his own hands. He was a young prince of pregnant parts, one of whom great hopes were conceived by his subjects in his earlier years, and who lived not barely to accomplish their hopes, but to exceed them. He had very strong abilities, much industry and activity, a sincere zeal for religion, with less of bigotry than any prince of his time; active and enterprising in war, prudent in peace, modest and grave in his deportment, and so free from all suspicion of lewdness, that he obtained the surname of, *the Chaste*. The first action of his life distinguished plainly his spirit and capacity; for Raymond, count of Provence, to whose care he was chiefly committed by the queen, his mother, repairing into that country, projected a marriage for his only daughter, Donna Dulce, with the son of the count of Tholouse, and, falling out soon after with the count de Forcolquier, marched with a considerable body of troops, in order to make himself master of Nice; at the siege of which he received a wound in his head, of which he died^a. Raymond count of Tholouse thought to avail himself of that alliance, which is before mentioned, and meant to have taken possession of that country; but Don Alonso of Arragon, who was scarce entered into his fifteenth year, prevented him: for, being at Gironne, when the news came of Don Raymond Berenger's death, he immediately took the title of marquis of Provence, and sent a body of troops to secure the possession of it^b. But, before he would go thither in person, he called an assembly of the states at Saragossa, where, in the most solemn manner, he confirmed the liberties of the clergy and nobility. Having obtained all the assistance he could desire, he went and put himself at the head of his troops in Provence, gave battle to the count of Tholouse, and obtained the victory. To strengthen his party, he had repudiated his wife Constance, who was the daughter of Lewis the younger, king of France, that married the widow of count Raymond Berenger, yet the king carried his point, brought over the clergy, nobility, and people to his interests, and, some time after, placed his brother Don Pedro there, to whom he gave the title of count, and who, to render himself popular, assumed the name of Raymond Berenger, though he held it only in the name, and during the pleasure, of the king his brother^c.
- d AFTER his return into his own dominions, perceiving that the rest of the Christian princes in Spain were enlarging their dominions at the expence of the Infidels, he thought it a convenient season for him to do the same: and, having assembled a numerous army, he employed it in sweeping the towns which the Moors still held on the south-east side of the Ebro, which were equally troublesome to the kingdom of Arragon and the principality of Catalonia. Accordingly, he took Tavera, Moella, Pena, Rubia, and Monroy. From thence advancing to Caspe, which was a place of strength, the inhabitants were so intimidated that they opened their gates, on the first appearance of his troops; and Alcanex, which was a place of still greater strength, surrendered in like manner; so that, without meeting much resistance, the king pushed his conquests, this campaign, as far as *Canta vieja*^d. To prevent their being lost, as easily as they were obtained, he gave Caspe to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and, some years after, Alcanex to the knights of Calatrava, by whom they were well fortified, so as to cover all the conquered country^e. The king, Don Alonso of Castile, conceiving a high opinion of this young monarch, they entered into a close alliance offensive and defensive; and, according to the custom of those times, put into each other's hands a certain number of fortresses, by way of security, for the due performance of the treaty^f. About the same time, the Mohanniedans, in the mountains of Prades, took up arms, in hopes of throwing off the yoke of Arragon, but the king, causing them to be attacked on all sides, forced them to return to their obedience, not without effusion of blood.
- Enters into a war with the Moors, and drives them out of all the places they yet held in what is now styled the kingdom of Arragon. 1168.
- 1170.

^a Histoire de Languedoc, liv. ix. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum.

BLANCÆ Arragonesium Rerum Commentarii. ZURIT.

^b HIERONYMI

MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. xi.

tarii. FERRERAS.

^c Histoire de Languedoc, liv. ix. ^d ZURIT.

^e HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Arragonesium Rerum Commen-

^f ZURITA Privileg. & Chart. plur.

His irruption into Valentia, where he reduces the cities of Tervel and Xativa. THE city of *Tervel*, standing on the confluence of the rivers *Alkambra* and *Guadalaviar*,^a which some have represented as a terrestrial paradise, nature having favoured the plain, in which it stands, with a perpetual spring, had been long the object of his wishes, and he took this opportunity to invest it, when the *Moors* had so many irons in the fire, that he obtained it without any great loss: and, besides annexing so fine a city, in so valuable a territory, to the crown of *Arragon*, it gave him an open passage into the kingdom of *Valentia*^b. Don *Alonso* quickly improved this advantage by surprising the town of *Xativa*, a place of great importance, but which would, in all probability, have been only the beginning of his conquests, if he had not been interrupted by the news of an unexpected invasion of his dominions, by Don *Sanchez* the sixth of *Navarre*. This obliged him to turn his arms on that side; previous to which he had an interview with the king of *Castile*, who had also broke with the king of *Navarre*, in which a new convention was made; for the due performance of which the *Castilian* put into his hands the castle of *Bordejo*, and *Ariza* was consigned to him by the king of *Arragon*. In pursuance of their agreement, they both invaded *Navarre*, but Don *Sanchez* was so well provided, that they gained very little except blows. On the eighteenth of *October* died the queen *Donna Petronilla*, who, from the time of her resigning the crown, had employed her revenues in charity, and her time in acts of piety and devotion^c. The people of *Arragon* have still an high regard for her memory.

THE king of *Navarre*, to revenge the insult of the preceding year, when Don *Alonso* had wasted his country with fire and sword, made an irruption into *Arragon*, and made himself master, after a long siege, of *Cajuelos*, while Don *Alonso*, on his side, entered *Navarre*, and took *Milagro*, which he demolished. Towards the close of the year, a dispute arose between the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, an officer belonging to the former having surprized the castle of *Ariza*, which, as we have shewn, had been put into the hands of the king of *Arragon* as a cautionary place; which act of injustice he resented so highly, that he sent ambassadors to *Constantinople* to demand in marriage the princess *Eudocia*, daughter of the Greek emperor *Manuel*, notwithstanding he had been contracted, in his father's life-time to *Donna Sancha*, daughter to the emperor *Alonso*, aunt to the king of *Castile*, and sister to the king of *Leon*^d. This was certainly a very rash, and indeed the most imprudent and blameable action of his whole life; of which being soon made sensible by the pope's legate cardinal *Hyacinth*, he departed from the project he had formed, and, as we have shewn in another place, made his peace with those powerful monarchs, by marrying *Donna Sancha*^e. Soon after he gave his sister *Donna Dulce* in marriage to the infant Don *Sancho* of *Portugal*^f. The war with *Navarre*, having been attended with the most pernicious consequences to the Christian interests in *Spain*, all the three kings were, at length, prevailed on to submit their differences to the judgment of the king of *England*. This prudent resolution gave Don *Alonso* an opportunity of making a tour into *Provence*, where his dispute with the count of *Tbolouse* remained still undetermined, but was, at length, amicably composed, after an interview between the two princes, by a treaty, in which the pretensions of both parties were finally adjusted; and yet the calm lasted not long.

AT his return into his own dominions, he found the king of *Castile* engaged in a very unequal war with the *Moors*, who had brought a prodigious army together, in order to oblige him to raise the siege of *Cuenca*. At the request of that monarch, he marched, with a great body of troops, to his assistance, and had a large share in that glorious victory obtained over the Infidels, near that city: upon which, the king of *Castile*, as a mark of his gratitude and respect, released him from that homage which had been exacted from the crown of *Arragon* by his grandfather, for the territories he held on the south side of the *Ebro*^g. The king of *Arragon* made after this an incursion into *Valentia*, and obliged the *Moors* in that country to become his vassals. Upon some fresh provocation, he entered that country again with his forces, and had penetrated as far as *Morviedro*, which place while he besieged he had news of some troubles that had arisen in the county of *Roussillon*, which had devolved to him in virtue of a family contract with *Guinard*, the last hereditary prince of that country. This obliged him to raise the siege, and to march thither with an army, where, having settled things to his satisfaction, and fortified the important town of *Perpignan*, he returned into *Arragon*, and held an assembly of the states at *Huesca*, where he received the ambassadors of *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, who came to demand his assistance against his nephew, the king of *Castile*. Don *Alonso* gave them good words, but talked in so high a stile to his brother-in-law, that he obliged him to conclude a peace with the king of *Leon*, and, at the same time, they agreed

^a Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. MARIANA Hist. general de Espana, lib. xi. ^b ZURIT. Privileg. & Chart. plur. MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^c ZURITA Chron. Jacobi Regis. MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. xi. ^d Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. FERRERAS. ^e BRANDON Privileg. plur. ^f ZURITA Hist. de Languedoc. Annal. Toletan. RODERIC Tolet. de rebus Hispan. LUCÆ Tudens. Chron. Annal. Complut.

a between themselves, that the conquest of *Valentia* should be left to *Arragon*; and that of *Murcia* to *Castile* ⁿ.

SOME new disputes having arisen with the count of *Tboluse*, the king of *Arragon* went again into *France*, where the viscount of *Niemes*, and the viscount of *Carcasson*, voluntarily did homage to him; and entered into a close alliance against the count of *Tboluse* ^o. About this time, the archbishop of *Tarragona*, metropolitan of *Catalonia*, abolished, in all the dioceses under his jurisdiction, the practice of computing by the æra of *Spain*, and introduced that of our Lord. This regulation was made in the year one thousand two hundred and eighteen of the old æra ^p. The war with the count of *Tboluse* still continued, and what gave inexpressible grief to the king of *Arragon*, his brother count *Raymond Berenger* was most barbarously assassinated upon *Easter-day*, and his remains buried in the cathedral of *Maguelonne*. To punish this cruel act as it deserved, the king marched thither with a formidable army, and, understanding that the murderers were retired into the fortress of *Meruele*, he caused it to be suddenly invested, and, refusing to hear of any capitulation, it was taken by assault, and all who were in it put without mercy to the sword ^q. After this act of exemplary justice, he made an irruption into the territory of *Tboluse*; and, the campaign being over, he made a tour to *Bordeaux*, where he had an interview with *Henry* the second of *England*, with whom he concluded an alliance. The war with the count of *Tboluse* continued two years longer: at the end of which, both parties being weary, they had another interview, in which they renewed the treaty that had been concluded eight years before ^r. At his return into his own dominions, he held an assembly of the states at *Huesca*, where he regulated several disorders that had happened during his absence, and applied himself with great diligence to the improvement of his territories; in order to which, he granted large privileges to the places lately conquered ^s. Two years after, he had an interview with the king of *Navarre*, in the month of *September*, at *Boreja*, where they made a solid peace, and gave reciprocal securities for the strict performance of it; by putting into the hands of a neutral power certain fortresses of importance ^t.

THE power of the king of *Castile* was so great at this time, that, as some writers say, the king of *Arragon* found it necessary to negotiate a defensive alliance with the crowns of *Navarre* and *Leon*; which is so much the more probable, because, upon the king of *Castile*'s making an inroad upon the country last mentioned, Don *Alonso* immediately declared war against him, and made an irruption into *Castile*; of which that monarch had no sooner intelligence than he entered *Arragon*, on the side of *Agrede*; but, in his retreat, Don *Alonso* met and fought him with some advantage: however, by the interposition of the pope's legate they were thoroughly reconciled. The count of *Tboluse* having committed hostilities in *Gascony*, during the absence of *Richard*, king of *England*, in the *Holy Land*, Don *Alonso* not only sent the succours stipulated by treaty, but went in person into *Provence*, to prevent that monarch's affairs from suffering by his absence. While he was thus employed, queen *Berengera*, consort to king *Richard*, arrived at *Marseilles*; and, after having been splendidly entertained for some time by Don *Alonso*, was safely conducted into *Aquitaine* ^u. While he remained in these parts, the king founded a noble monastery, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, not far from the city of *Arles*; and, having settled every thing in the best manner he was able, he committed the care of his dominions in *France* to his brother Don *Sancho*, and then returned into *Arragon* ^v. The king of *Castile* having embroiled himself again with the monarchs of *Navarre* and *Leon*, the king of *Arragon* resumed his old character of a mediator, and prevailed upon all these princes to consent to an interview with him, between *Agrede* and *Terracona*, where a suspension of arms was concluded ^w. This was the last great act of his life; for his affairs obliging him to make a journey into *Roussillon*, he was seized with a fever at *Perpignan*, where he ended his life, *April* the twenty-sixth, one thousand one hundred and ninety-six, when he had lived forty-four, and reigned thirty-four years complete ^x. He was without question one of the wisest, bravest, and most fortunate princes that ever sat upon the throne of *Arragon*. His body was interred, by his express command, in the monastery of *Toblet*, which was of his own foundation. He left by his queen Donna *Sancha* three sons, Don *Pedro*, to whom he left the kingdom of *Arragon*, the principality of *Catalonia*, and the county of *Roussillon*; Don *Alonso*, to whom he gave the county of *Provence*; and Don *Ferdinand*, who was abbot of *Montarragon*: and also three daughters, Donna *Constantia*, who espoused the king of *Hungary*; Donna *Leonora*, and Donna *Sancha* ^y.

ⁿ Indices Rerum ab Arragonie regibus Gestarum. PETR. DE MARCA: Marca Hispanica; five limes Hispanicus; i. e. geographica & historica Descriptio Catalauniz; a STEPH. BALUZIO edita. Paris. 1688. folio.
^o Histoire de Languedoc. Marca Hispanica. ^p Chron. Rivipul. Marca Hispanica. ^q Histoire de Languedoc. ^r Marca Hispanica. ^s ZURITA. ^t Marca Hispanica. ZURITA. FERRERAS.
^u HOVIDEN ANNAL. ^v D'ACHERI, tom. iii. fo. 158. ^w P. MORET. Investigationes Historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra. ^x Chron. Rivipul. Chron. Primat. Annal. Toletan. ZURITA.
^y HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. ^z MARIANA. FERRERAS. ZURITA.

Don Pedro the
second succeeds
his father ;
his character ;
methods pur-
sued by him in
civil and eccle-
siastical affairs
at the en-
trance on his
administra-
tion.

A. D. 1197.

1198.

1199.

1200.

He concludes a
marriage with
the count of
Montpellier's
heirefs, in the
life-time of her
former hus-
band; goes to
Rome, and
becomes tribu-
tary to the
pope.

1203.

1204.

1 5.

Begins to dis-
like the queen;
institutes a
suit at Rome
for a divorce;
and, during
the progress of
that suit, has
a son by her.

1206.

THE young king Don Pedro had a high spirit, strong passions, was less firm in his reso-
lutions, less correct in his manners, and, consequently, less happy and fortunate than his
father. He began his reign with holding an assembly of the states; in which he did some
popular things, in order to conciliate the affections of his people. The year following he
made some severe laws against heretics, that he might ingratiate himself with the clergy, and
very cheerfully assisted the king of Castile against the Infidels. The counts of Urgel and of
Foix, having been long at variance, broke out into an open war; which proving detrimental
to his subjects in Catalonia, the king went into that principality, called an assembly of the
states, dictated therein the terms of peace, and took the proper measures for enforcing them^b.
The next year, some disputes arose between this monarch and the queen-dowager his mother,
to whom several places on the frontiers were assigned by his father's will; by which Don
Pedro thought his dominions too much exposed; but, by the interposition of the king of
Castile, this difference was compromised, the queen consenting to restore these fortresses, and
the king giving her an equivalent for them in the heart of his dominions^c. The king of
Navarre going at this time to the court of Morocco, it so much alarmed his neighbours, that
both the king of Castile and the king of Arragon invaded his dominions, and made them-
selves masters of such places as were most for their respective conveniencies^d. The king Don
Pedro observing, that some inconveniencies had arisen, and others increased of late, in his
dominions, called an assembly of the states; in which the necessary measures were taken for
repressing them, and all who were present sworn to the strict observance of them. At the
same time he contracted his sister Donna Leonora to the count of Tholouse; which marriage
was consummated about three years after: at which time, as some writers say, his other
sister married the heir of that count^e.

THE king of Arragon, having amicably regulated the limits of their respective dominions
with the king of Castile, and being frustrated in his view of marrying the infanta of Navarre,
took a sudden resolution of espousing Donna Maria, the only daughter of William, count of
Montpellier, by the Greek princess Eudocia, whom his father should have married: and this
notwithstanding that lady had been married to the count de Gomminges; from whom, under
pretence of his having another wife, she was divorced, after having had two daughters by
him. While the king was at Montpellier, in order to the conclusion of this marriage, he
engaged his brother Don Alonso, count of Provence, to submit the disputes that had arisen
between him and his wife's grandfather, the count de Forcolquier, to an arbitration, under
which all things were settled, for the present, by the king's interposition^f. After this, Don
Pedro formed and executed a very extraordinary project, which was that of going to Rome,
to make a visit to the pope, embarking with his uncle Don Sancho, and a numerous train of
prelates and lords on board his own galleys. He was received by the pontiff with all possible
marks of kindness and respect, anointed by the bishop of Porto, crowned by the pope's own
hands; for which, departing from the maxims of his predecessors, he acknowledged himself a
vassal to the holy see, and consented to an annual tribute of two hundred and fifty double
pistoles; and, having received some papal favours and exemptions, he then returned into
Provence^g. At his arrival there, he found the quarrel between his brother and the count
de Forcolquier broke out afresh, and that the former, surprized by the latter, was held close
prisoner in a castle, till he should comply with what was demanded from him. The king,
incensed at this behaviour, raised a considerable army, besieged and took the castle in which
his brother was confined; and, having set him at liberty, ravaged the territories of his anta-
gonist, till, by the interposition of neighbouring princes, things were once more amicably
composed^h. The king, about this time, had some differences with the people of Montpellier,
whom he looked upon as his subjects, in right of his wife. In Arragon, also, there were
great discontents on the score of the king's submitting himself to the pope; against which the
states protested, being unwilling to owe allegiance to more than one sovereignⁱ.

ABOUT this time, the king, who had no issue, began to be displeased with the queen, and
aimed at procuring a divorce from Rome; which, he flattered himself, would be no difficult
thing to obtain from a pope, who had honoured him with the title of Catholic; in which,
however, he found himself much mistaken, and his interest far weaker than he had imagined.
He was also not a little embarrassed in his domestic affairs, which induced him to call an
assembly of the states, and to make some edicts in favour of the clergy; and also to make an
irruption into the territories of the Moors, where he made himself master of the town of
Montalban^k. He consented, at the request of the king of Castile, who had lately concluded

^b Marca Hispanica. RODERIC Tolet. de rebus Hispan. LUCÆ Tudens. Chron. var. antiq.

^d RODERIC Tolet. de rebus Hispan. ^e ZURITA. Chron. var. antiq. ^f D'ACHERI, tom. viii. fol. 216. HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Arragonensium Rerum Commentarii. Histoire de Languedoc.

^g Chron. Rivipul. RAINALD. HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. ^h Chron. Primat. ⁱ ZURITA Histoire de Languedoc. ^k RAINALD. ZURITA. HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. Marca Hispanica. MARIANA Historia general de España, lib. xii.

a a peace with the king of *Navarre*, to an interview with the last-mentioned monarch: at which, through the interposition of the former, he compromised all disputes with the latter¹. All this time his suit for a divorce went on, but, as some say, he was prevailed on by one of his favourites to make the queen a visit, and to remain some time with her; and that, soon after his departure, she declared herself with child. Others, amongst whom we may reckon *Mariana*, give another and less honourable turn to this story: they assure us, that the queen, taking the advantage of the king's disposition to gallantry, prevailed upon a servant of his to conduct her privately to his bed; which he did: but, in the morning, she took care to make herself known, that, in case of her being with child, there might be no doubt of its legitimacy². However this business was conducted, certain it is, that the queen was delivered of
b a son, on the first of *February*³, whom she christened *Don Jayme*, from another strange incident. She caused twelve wax tapers to be lighted at a time, and having given the name of an apostle to each of them, bestowed that of *St. James* on her new-born son, because his taper burnt the longest. Such were the foolish superstitions of this age, with the repetition of which the reader will more easily bear, if he considers, that it is some comfort to find we live in an age more enlightened.

A. D. 1207.

1208.

It does not at all appear, that the king *Don Pedro* had the least scruple or suspicion of imposture in this affair, but from his birth acknowledged the infant for his son; and, as we shall see hereafter, directed all necessary care to be taken of his education. *Don Armingol*, count of *Urgel*, dying without male issue, his sister's son *Don Gerard de Cabrera* took possession of his dominions, without demanding the consent of the king of *Arragon*; from whom they were held as dependents on his principality of *Catalonia*. *Don Pedro* was not a prince to be treated in this manner with impunity; he, therefore, presently vindicated his right by attacking the new count; and having, after a long siege, reduced the castle, in which he took shelter with his family, he sent them all prisoners to that of *Lobarra*⁴. His sister *Donna Constantia*, queen-dowager of *Hungary*, who returned home into his dominions on the death of her husband, having contracted a second marriage with *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, was conducted by the king of *Arragon* to *Barcelona*; where she embarked for that island, accompanied by her brother *Don Alonso*, count of *Provence*; who died very soon after their arrival at *Palermo*⁵. In the month of *November*, the same year, deceased the queen-dowager *Donna Sancha*, the king's mother, who had passed the latter part of her life in a convent, and in exercises of charity and devotion⁶; all the disputes she had with her son being buried in oblivion.

Owens him, and gives direction for his being educated in a manner suitable to his dignity.

THE king of *Castile*, meditating the subversion of the *Moorish* monarchies in *Spain*, proposed a fresh interview between the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, at a place called *Malens*, where all the three kings were present; and where, as a proof of their thorough reconciliation, the king of *Navarre* lent *Don Pedro* of *Arragon* twenty thousand pistoles, for which he had a pressing occasion; and received from him certain fortresses to secure the repayment of it⁷. It is probable, that the original intention of this loan was to enable the king of *Arragon* to take the field against the *Moors*; from which he was prevented by being obliged to take a share in those strange transactions that were carrying on in the southern provinces of *France*; where the pope's general, *Simon*, count of *Montfort*, under colour of a croisade, published for that purpose, was endeavouring to extirpate the *Albigensis*, better known to us by their *Latin* name of *Albigenses*; who were in reality *Protestants*, holding, by a continued and uninterrupted tradition, the doctrines of the antient *Gothic* church; and for this exposed to the rage of the pope, who proclaimed a croisade for their present destruction; and established the bloody tribunal of the inquisition to prevent their sentiments from being received. These pilgrims, or crosses, as the pope's soldiers were stiled, had absolutely destroyed the town of *Beziers*; and this too with circumstances of inexpressible cruelty, having massacred all who were in it. The earl of *Beziers*, who was also viscount of *Carcaffon*, retired to the last mentioned city, where the pope's general besieged him: upon which he applied himself for protection to the king of *Arragon*, his near relation, and to whom he was vassal. The king upon this made a tour into these parts; and as this event is strictly connected with the history of *Arragon*, and is in itself extremely curious, and highly deserves the reader's attention, we shall hope for his pardon, at least, if we insist upon it a little more particularly⁸; as it will justify several passages in this history with regard to religion.

The king makes a tour on an extraordinary occasion into his French dominions.

1209.

THE king of *Arragon* intended only to act as a mediator; and understanding that the earl of *Beziers* exclaimed loudly, that, under the specious pretence of zeal for religion, the pope

Discourse of the count de Beziers at the

¹ ZURITA. Marca Hispanica.² Histoire general de Espana, lib. xii.³ Histoire de Languedoc,

tom. iii. n. xiv. Hieronymi Blancæ.

⁴ Chron. var. antiq.⁵ ZURITA. Mariana Historia de

Espana, lib. xii.

⁶ Annal. Tolet.⁷ P. MORET. ZURITA.⁸ PIERRE DES VAUX DE CERNAI.

Histoire des Albigeois. Thesor des Histoires, An. 1209. Nog. Hist. de Tholouse, liv. iii. Histoire de Languedoc. ALIX's Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the ancient Churches of the Albigenes.

*Siege of Car-
casson as to
the cruelty of
the pope.*

really meant to strip himself and his uncle, the count of *Toulouse*, of all their dominions, to a
extirpate their subjects, and to give them to the count *de Montfort*, and the crosses, or pil-
grims, who were to execute his vengeance, the king desired to discourse with him, which
was permitted. At this conference, the earl plainly declared, that he knew this to be the
pope's design; because, when he was treating for his subjects of *Beziers*, he refused to
receive his Catholic subjects into his favour; nay, would not so much as spare the priests, who
were all cut in pieces in their sacerdotal ornaments, under the banner and the cross: that this
example of cruel impiety, joined with what they exercised upon the village of *Carcasson*,
where they had exposed all to fire and sword, without any distinction of age or sex, had fully
convinced him, that there was no mercy to be looked for from the legate, or his pilgrims; b
and that accordingly he would choose rather to die, with his subjects defending themselves,
than to be exposed to the mercy of an inexorable enemy; such as he had found the legate to
be: and though there were, in the city of *Carcasson*, many of his subjects of a belief con-
trary to that of the church of *Rome*, yet that they were persons that had never done any
injury to any one; that they had always assisted him in time of need; and that, for this their
good service, he was resolved never to abandon them, as they, on their parts, had promised
to hazard life and estate in his defence; that he hoped that God, who is the reliever of those
who are oppressed, would assist them against this multitude of ill-advised men, who, under
the pretence of meriting heaven, had quitted their own habitations, to come and burn, pil-
lage, ravage, and murder, in the habitations of others, without either reason, judgment, or
mercy. Such was this unhappy nobleman's state of the case! c

*The king of
Arragon in-
tercedes ear-
nestly with the
pope's legate on
his behalf.*

THE king of *Arragon* returned with this remonstrance to the legate, who assembled a great
number of lords and prelates to hear what he had to say; who declared to them, that he had
found the earl of *Beziers*, his ally, extremely scandalized at their inhuman proceedings against
his subjects of *Beziers*, and of the village of *Carcasson*; and that he was fully persuaded, see-
ing they had neither spared the *Roman* Catholics, nor the priests themselves, that it was not
a religious war, as was pretended, but a kind of robbery, under the colour of religion; that
he hoped God would be so favourable to him, as to make his innocence, and the just occa-
sion he had to defend himself sufficiently known; that they must not hope now to have them
surrender at discretion, since they had found, that there was no other to be expected from d
them, but that of killing all they met with; that it had never been found good policy to
drive an enemy to despair: wherefore, if the legate would be pleased to afford any tolerable
composition to the earl of *Beziers* and his subjects, that mildness would be a better method
to reduce the *Albigenses* to the church of *Rome* than extreme severity; and that he ought also
to remember, that the earl of *Beziers* was a young man, and a *Roman* Catholic, who might
be very serviceable in reducing his subjects, who had so great confidence in him, to their
obedience to the church. The legate told the king of *Arragon*, that if he would withdraw a
little they would advise what were best to be done. The king being called in again, the
legate told him, that, in consideration of his intercession, he would receive the earl of *Beziers*
to mercy; and, therefore, if it seemed good to him, he might come forth, and eleven with e
him, with his goods and baggage; but that, as for the people that were in the city of *Car-
casson*, they should be delivered to his discretion: of which they ought to have a very good
opinion, he being the pope's legate; and that accordingly they should come forth all stark
naked, men, women, and children, without shirts, or any other covering on their bodies.
Also, that the earl of *Beziers* should be delivered into sure hands; and that all his estate should
be surrendered up to the future lord of his territories, who should be chosen for conservation of
the same.

*Insolence, bar-
barity, and
perfidy of the
legate, in the
taking of Car-
casson.*

THE king of *Arragon* having endeavoured to bring the legate to milder terms for the young
earl, the legate told him, that these conditions were very favourable. What was worse, the
legate employed a person of quality to endeavour to draw the earl of *Beziers* out of *Carcasson*,
and to bring him to him, with assurance, upon oath, that he would permit him to return to f
that city, in case he should not be satisfied with the legate's proposals. The earl, on this
assurance, repairs to the legate, and represents to him, that if he would think fit to treat his
subjects with more kindness, he would easily induce them to comply with his desire, and
recall the *Albigenses* from their error to the church; that the terms, which had been men-
tioned to him, were shameful and indecent; that he knew his people would rather die than see
themselves reduced to so scandalous an ignominy; and therefore intreated him to come to
easier terms, and that he did not question but to make his subjects accept of any other more
tolerable conditions. The legate's answer was, that the people of *Carcasson* might consider
what they had to do; that he would concern himself no farther, since the earl was his pri-
soner, and should continue so till the city was taken, and his subjects acknowledged their duty. g
By which treacherous act, in a great measure, the city was lost, and Don *Pedro* returned into
his

a his kingdom^a, not at all edified with these papal proceedings, but, at the same time, under a full persuasion of mind, that it was not at all his interest to divulge his real sentiments, for fear of pulling upon himself, and his subjects, that army of merciless barbarians, who had been spreading fire and sword through the finest provinces in *France*.

He was constrained, the next year, out of regard to his own safety, to publish edicts against heretics; and, in the midst of a victorious expedition against the infidels in *Spain*, he was called again into *France*, to the conferences at *Narbonne*: where, though he refused it at first, with the utmost indignation, he was compelled, at length, to grant the investiture of *Carcasson* to *Simon de Montfort*, which fully verified the suspicions that had been entertained, that temporal motives were the true springs of all the violent proceedings in this and the foregoing year^b. He was farther induced, to commit his only son *Don Jayme* to the care of this great lord, *Simon de Montfort*, upon a promise that he should espouse his daughter, and undertake many other things that were probably against his will, since he was no sooner returned into his *Spanish* dominions than he consented to the consummation of the match, formerly concluded, between his youngest sister and *Don Raymond of Tholouse*^c. The *Moors*, having made an irruption into the territories of the king of *Castile*, with a prodigious army, and having besieged *Salvatierra*, that monarch applied himself to his neighbours of *Arragon* and *Navarre* for succours; which *Don Pedro* would very willingly have given him; and, for that end, wrote to *Simon de Montfort* to send him the forces that he had left behind him in *Provence*. But the pope's general thought they might be better employed in cutting the throats of heretics; and so the king forfeited his word, the *Moors* became masters of *Salvatierra*, and the monarch of *Castile* had the mortification of seeing himself unable to keep the field against the infidels, through the ambitious intrigues and anti-christian politics of pope *Innocent the third*, and his confederates^d. As soon as he could do it with safety, the king of *Castile* came to *Cuenca*, in order to meet the monarchs of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, and to concert measures for the next year's campaign. The former sent one of the principal noblemen of his court, the latter repaired thither in person, and both gave the king of *Castile* the strongest assurances, that they would join him with their forces at *Toledo* time enough to make an autumn campaign^e, and to repress the numerous army of the *Moors* lately arrived from *Barbary*.

Mischief that happened in Spain, through the ill conduct of the court of Rome.
A. D. 1210.

1211.

d THE miscarriage of the former year made the king *Don Pedro* extremely solicitous to fulfil his engagements with the utmost punctuality; with which view, he laboured incessantly to draw together a complete army in the spring; at the head of which he marched himself, accompanied by *Don Garcia*, bishop of *Tarragona*, *Don Berenger*, elect of *Barcelona*, *Don Sancho*, count of *Roussillon*, his son of the same name, *Don Garcia Romero*, *Don Ximenes Coronel*, *Don Michael Luesia*, *Don Aznard Pardo*, *Don Raymond Fole*, *Don Guilermo de Cervera*, *Don Pedro Maza*, *Don Guilermo de Cardona*, the count of *Ampurias*, and many more of the principal nobility of *Arragon* and *Catalonia*; with whom he arrived at *Toledo* on *Trinity-sunday*^f. He marched from thence, with the kings of *Castile* and *Navarre*, with the whole power of the Christians in *Spain*, against the *Moors*; and had his share in that decisive victory obtained over the infidels in the plains of *Tolosa*; in which, it is said, they lost near two hundred thousand men, and which blow, it is certain, they never could recover^g. After receiving all the acknowledgements that it was in the power of a grateful monarch to pay, *Don Pedro* returned, covered with glory, into his own dominions. As he was sensible this event would raise his credit at *Rome*, he resolved to make use of it, in order to obtain his divorce; for which purpose he sent thither a person much in his confidence. Of which the queen *Donna Maria* was no sooner informed, than she thought it necessary to repair thither in person, not only to solicit this cause, but another which she had against her brethren by the father's side; who, as she insisted, were adulterous bastards; and either her address was so great, or her pretensions so good, that she carried both points^h.

1212.

1213.

f THE king *Don Pedro*, irritated at the pope's confirmation of his marriage, and at his directing certain prelates to proceed against him by ecclesiastical censures, in case he refused to live with his wife, as he was required to do by the pope's decree, went into his *French* dominions. There he found the counts of *Tholouse*, father and son, who had married his sisters, the counts of *Foix* and *Bearn*, and several other great lords, in arms against *Simon de Montfort*; and with these lords he concurred, though, at the same time, he laboured to act as a mediator; and, with much difficulty, procured for them a cessation of armsⁱ. This however

Joins the confederates in Provence, and is killed by the papal troops before Muret.

^a ZURITA. HIERONYMI BLANCÆ. FERRERAS.

xliii. 47. ^x Chron. var. antiq. ZURITA. FERRERAS.

^z P. MORET. LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. ZURITA.

Tudenfis Chron.

^b HIERON. BLANCÆ. ZURITA.

ZURITA. MARIANA Historia general de España, lib. xii.

^w Marca Hisp. ZURITA Hist. de Albigeois, cap.

^y Rod. Tol. de reb. Hispan. RAINALD.

^a Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. ZURITA. LUCÆ

^c HIERON. BLANCÆ.

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did not last long, and the king perceiving that negotiations served only to ruin the lords, agreed, from a principle of equity and justice, for as to his religion it is on all hands agreed that he was zealous for the church of *Rome*, to assist them in recovering their dominions by force; with this view he came at the head of the confederate army before *Muret*, a place not very strong, and in which there was no great garrison, but of some importance: for which reason, *Simon de Montfort* made a forced march, with the flower of his troops, and threw himself into the place. The confederates, who, in all probability, were not thoroughly acquainted with his strength, continued the siege; upon which, having made all the preparations necessary, he sallied with his whole force, defeated, and obliged them to retire. In this action, which happened on the twelfth of *September* 1213, *Don Pedro* of *Arragon* was slain, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and in the seventeenth year of his reign^c. The pope's general, *Simon de Montfort*, suffered his subjects to search for and remove his body, that it might be, as it was, interred with his ancestors. His death was a great blow to the Christian interest in *Spain*, much greater to his subjects, who were left in confusion, but greatest of all to the confederates, who were, in a manner, undone by this fatal event^f.

Confusions excited in Arragon, by the king's sudden and unexpected death.

A. D. 1214.

THE news of the king's death no sooner reached *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, than it excited great stir and tumults. *Don Sancho*, count of *Roussillon*, the king's uncle, endeavoured to form a party; *Don Ferdinand*, abbot of *Montarragon*, was not so entirely taken up with the thoughts of another world, but that he would have condescended to act the part of a king in this. However, the nobility in general, and particularly *Don Pedro Fernandez de Azagra*, lord of *Albarracin*, the prelates and magistrates of all the great towns were well affected to the right heir; and dispatched immediately the bishop of *Ségorba* to *Rome*, to solicit the pope to send express orders to *Simon de Montfort* to set their sovereign at liberty, that his faithful subjects might place him on the throne^e. His mother, the queen *Donna Maria*, who was also there at this time, joined her solicitations to those of this prelate; so that, at length, such an order was obtained; but being transmitted to the cardinal legate in *Arragon*, he was to go with it to *Montpelier*, where, not without some difficulty, *Simon de Montfort* was engaged to comply with it: so that it was the month of *May* before the young king was put into the legate's hands; at which time, as his own memoirs say, he was six years and four months old. He was conducted, without loss of time, to *Lerida*, where the states were assembled, his title acknowledged, and the administration put into the hands of a council of regency, with the infant *Don Sancho* at their head^d.

Don Jayme proclaimed, acknowledged, and sworn to by the nobility of Arragon.

1216.

THE calm that succeeded this declaration did not continue long. The infant *Don Sancho* had more power than he deserved, and much less than he desired. *Don Pedro Fernandez de Azagra* perceived this, and very wisely provided for the king's safety, by putting him into the hands of the grand master of the order of knights templars, of the noble family of *Montagu*; who carried him to the strong castle of *Monçon*, where he lived with tolerable splendor, and was so happy as to have great care taken of his education^e. *Don Sancho* continued his intrigues; of which, as much a child as he was, the king took notice; and, by the advice of the grand master, sent for *Don Pedro Fernandez* to *Monçon*, where it was judged the safest method to call an assembly of the states, in the month of *September*; which was accordingly done: and in that assembly, the king was not only again proclaimed, but the prelates, nobility, and deputies from cities, of their own accord, swore fidelity to him^f. At first sight, the reader will perhaps judge this a thing of course; it became so afterwards: but, in the present case, it was new and extraordinary. Before this time, the kings of *Arragon* took a very strict oath, to govern their subjects according to the laws, and to protect them in the full enjoyment of their liberties; but the people did not swear in their turns: so that what they did, upon this occasion, was purely voluntary, and a tacit intimation to *Don Sancho*, to lay aside his sinister practices, and imitate their loyalty. But the example of a whole nation could not teach him his duty; he began, the next year, to raise troops, under various pretences; and, as some authors say, attempted to seize his nephew. Of which, the king having given intelligence to the nobility, they suddenly took up arms, and repaired from all quarters to *Monçon*; from whence, having taken the king out of the fortress, they carried him to *Huesca*, and from thence to *Saragossa*; where he was received with the universal acclamations of his subjects, and, notwithstanding his tender age, seated upon the throne^m, that he might be no longer in the hands, or, in any degree, under the power, of an ambitious uncle; who, by the eagerness he expressed to seize the crown, shewed he was altogether unworthy to wear it.

^c ZURITA Hist. de Languedoc, tom. iii. cap. xxii. MARIANA. FERRERAS. ^f RAINALD. HIERON. BLANCÆ. ZURITA. FERRERAS. ^e HIERON. BLANCÆ. ZURITA. ABARCA. ^d RAINALD. Hist. des Albigeois. ⁱ Chron. var. antiq. ^k HIERON. BLANC. ^j Chron. var. antiq. ^m ZURITA.

a THE next year there was an assembly of the states held at *Tarragona*, where the people of *Catalonia* did homage, and swore fidelity. They did still more : the crown was in debt : those who were about the king complained of the difficulties they were under for want of money ; the people of *Catalonia* readily granted an extraordinary tax for two years. In the month of *September*, there was another assembly of the states of *Arragon* and *Catalonia* at *Lerida*, where, to purchase public peace, great revenues were given to Don *Sancho*, who there did homage to the king, and promised to be his faithful subject^a. In the mean time, A. D. 1218. there were still great distractions ; the nobility falling out with each other, deciding their *Discords and wars amongst his nobility.* differences by force of arms, and despising the king's authority, because of his youth ; though all writers agree in celebrating the pregnancy of his parts, and relate many extraordinary proofs of them. But as these were mostly shewn in taking a share in these kind of wars, in favour of those who were immediately in his hands, and who perhaps were not always in the right, we shall not insist upon them ; the rather, because the king himself, though a perfect child, wrote a letter to pope *Honorius* complaining of these disorders ; and desiring that he would take his person and kingdom more immediately into his protection : to which that pontiff wrote him a suitable answer, and sent cardinal *Bernard* his legate into *Arragon*, to render that young prince what service he was able^b.

THE year following, the king found himself obliged to expose his person, though but twelve years old, against some of his rebellious subjects. Don *Lopez de Alvaro* had a quarrel with Don *Roderic de Cizana* : they were both persons of the first rank ; but the latter had the most power, and the use he made of it was to seize the person of his adversary, whom he clapped into prison. The relations of Don *Lopez*, finding themselves unable to deliver him, recollected, that there was such a thing as a king in *Arragon*. Upon their complaint, the council sent an order to Don *Roderic* to release his prisoner ; who treated it with contempt. The young king, piqued at such usage, resolved to make this the first trial of his authority ; and, putting himself at the head of a few guards that were about him, marched directly towards the castle of *Lizana*, though there was nothing more improbable than that he should be able to reduce it. In his progress, however, he was joined by such numbers, that the place was presently invested, and, after a sharp siege, taken, and Don *Lopez* set at liberty. The governor, who had commanded there, being obliged to take his place, and to remain a prisoner, under the person appointed to command there by the young king^c. As for Don *Roderic*, he took shelter under the protection of Don *Pedro Fernandez de Azagra*, who had been always loyal ; notwithstanding which, the king besieged his famous fortrefs of *Albaracin* ; but, after continuing before it some time, was obliged to desist. It was not long before Don *Pedro* gave the king such satisfaction, with regard to his conduct, that he was entirely restored to his favour ; and perhaps it might be owing to his advice, that the king sent an ambassador to the court of *Castile*, to demand the infanta Donna *Leonora*, sister to queen *Berengara*, in marriage^d. A very wise and effectual method to establish his authority at home, by securing the support of so powerful a neighbour.

THIS important treaty was quickly concluded, as it was of evident advantage to both nations ; and the court of *Castile* conducted the infanta to *Agreda*, where the king Don *Jayme* met them, attended by the principal prelates and peers of his realm. After the ceremony of the espousals were over, the king and the queen went to *Tarragona*, and afterwards to *Saragossa*, where they received the nuptial benediction^e. As this marriage was celebrated on the seventh of *February*, *Ferreras* concludes, that the king was just then entered into his fourteenth year ; for, if he had been unfit for the marriage state, he thinks the marriage would have been delayed for a time^f. But the king's own account of the matter puts it out of dispute ; he says, that he was but little more than thirteen ; and that he did not consummate the marriage till a year afterwards : which is the reason we make this prince a year younger than *Ferreras*. There had been a very strict friendship subsisting between Don *Nuno Sanchez* (the son of Don *Sanchez*, the king's uncle) and *William de Moncada*, viscount of *Bearn* ; but, as it sometimes happens among persons of great rank, upon a sudden quarrel they became inveterate enemies, took up arms against each other, and put the whole kingdom into a flame. On the first news of this disorder, the king assembled a body of troops, commanded the two lords to dismiss theirs on pain of being considered as public enemies ; and Don *Nuno Sanchez*, not paying the respect that was due to his sovereign's orders, took several of his castles^f. This year died Donna *Constantia*, the king's sister, and the wife of the emperor^g. The infant Don *Ferdinand*, abbot of *Montarragon*, who had been long desirous of gaining the supreme administration, at least, during the king's youth,

^a Hieron. Blancæ. Chron. var. antiq. Zurita. Gestarum. ^b Zurita, Hieron. Blancæ. gen. Chron. Pinnat. ^c Historia de España, sec. xiii. de Staden.

^d Rainald Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus ^e Rod. Tolet. de rebus Hispan. Zurit. ^f Chron. ^g Chron. Reg. Jac. ^h Zurit. ⁱ Albert.

The king and queen are seized by some seditious nobles, headed by the king's uncle Don Ferdinand, abbot of Montarra-gon.

A. D. 1225.

The king makes his escape, and invests Peniscola.

Insurrections in different parts of the kingdom.

The king by his mildness and moderation restores his own power, and his subjects peace.

under colour of negotiating an agreement between the two lords before-mentioned, gained a them both over to his party; into which he likewise brought Don *Pedro Abones*, one of the most powerful and best allied lords in *Arragon*. Having communicated to them his project, they seized upon the person of the king and queen; and, under colour of taking them out of bad hands, and being more diligent than others in their duty, kept them in reality close prisoners, and possessed themselves of the government^{*}; which they managed, as all factions do, in such a manner as might turn most to their advantage.

THE king bore this usage very impatiently in his own mind, though his uncle behaved towards him with respect; and though the lords, his confederates, endeavoured to atone for their want of obedience, by a ceremonious submission; which could not impose upon him, though it did upon the vulgar. For, with all these exterior marks of reverence, every one, in his turn, had his demand to make; or, in plain terms, his private interest to serve, at the expence of the crown, and of the public^y. The king, seeing little hopes of deliverance, dissembled, with a very good grace, for more than a year, till hearing the people grumble, that, contrary to the treaties formerly made with *Castile*, that crown had received homage from *Abuzite*, king of *Valencia*, he resolved to lay hold of that circumstance, in order to recover his freedom. As soon as he had formed this project, he proposed to the lords, in whose hands he was, to go to *Tortosa*; to which, foreseeing no danger, they gave their consent. From thence he made his escape to *Tervel*, and summoned thither the nobility to attend him in an expedition against the *Moors*^z. As this was a very popular thing, he had soon a body of troops about him, with which he invested *Peniscola*; where it quickly appeared, that though he had cropped the leaves, the roots of faction still remained; for several of the lords retiring with their troops without his leave, the king found himself under the necessity of raising the siege. *Abuzite* laid hold of this opportunity, and, offering to become his vassal, concluded a peace^a; by which, in some measure, the honour of the crown was vindicated, and the end of the war answered.

As the king returned from this expedition, he met Don *Pedro de Abones*, with a very complete corps under his command, marching into the field. Upon this, he signified to Don *Pedro*, that the peace was concluded, and that he should forbear hostilities; which he was so far from regarding, that he wasted the country, in a manner not at all suitable to the laws of war. The king, thereupon, sent Don *Sancho de Luna*, with a body of troops to restrain him, who finding that was only to be done by force, engaged, beat and killed him^b. The king expressed great concern for this, and immediately sent Don *Pedro's* body to his relations. But his uncle Don *Ferdinand* applying himself to the passions of that family, and having recourse to those intrigues, which for many years had been his study, soon raised insurrections in almost all parts of the kingdom^c. The king, understanding that Don *Sancho Abones*, bishop of *Saragossa*, and brother to Don *Pedro*, was assembling a great body of troops, in hopes of making himself master of the capital, he sent Don *Blasco de Alagon*, and Don *Artel de Luna*, with what forces he could spare, to oppose him; and they behaved so well, that he was totally routed^d. The king marching against his uncle, thought he might prevent the city of *Huesca* from revolting, by an act of confidence and complaisance in going thither in person; but he had like to have paid very dear for this experiment, the populace taking up arms while he was in the town; so that with the few people that were about him he was forced to fight his way out^e. After this, having assembled such of the nobility as remained faithful, with a body of troops sufficient to defend his person, he declined prosecuting the war, in order to try what could be done by the softer method of negotiation.

THE nobility, after a little reflection, perceiving plainly, that it would be a difficult, and, at the same time, a very dishonourable thing to put the king a second time into prison, without doing which Don *Ferdinand* could be of no use to them, thought fit to reconcile themselves, as fast as they could, to their prince; who, instead of reproaching them with their past faults, studied excuses for their misbehaviour, that they might return with greater facility into his favour and presence^f. The great cities pursued a different conduct, particularly *Saragossa*, *Huesca*, and *Jacca*, entering into a kind of league, by which they erected a sort of republic within a monarchy, under pretence of defending each other from the inconveniencies that were the result of the present troubles. But, in a little time, those, who by their influence had determined them to this measure, began to assume such authority, and to levy such large sums of money, that the citizens quickly found, that, through the sound of liberty, they had been cheated out of the substance; and, therefore sent deputies to the king, to desire they might be restored to his protection. This monarch perceiving, that, after all, it would require some time to bring things into perfect order, declared of his own accord,

^{*} Chron. gen. ZURIT. ABARCA.

^b Indices Rerum ab Arrag. regibus Gestarum. FER.

^c ZURIT.

^y Chronica gen.

^e ABARCA. Chron. gen.

^z ZURIT.

^a ABARCA. Chron. gen.

^d ZURIT.

^f ABARCA.

a that he was willing the archbishop of *Tarragona*, the bishop of *Lerida*, and the grand master of the Temple should hear, determine, and redress, whatever grievances his subjects might sustain; and the reputation of these three persons was so great, that the people unanimously consented to what the king proposed; and thus, after he had worn the title about fourteen years, he became really king, and his own master, when he was something more than twenty^s.

THE great object of the king's ambition was, the conquest of the *Moorish* kingdom of *Majorca*; the inhabitants of that island, by their piracies, rendering the trade of his subjects in *Catalonia* altogether precarious. He assembled the states of that principality at *Barcelona*, where, upon the king's proposition, the conquest of that country was resolved upon, the number of troops fixed, and the necessary funds found and settled^b. While the states were sitting, the countess of *Urgel* put in her claim to that territory, as daughter and heiress to the deceased count, against *Don Gerard Cabrera* his nephew, who was in possession of it. The states decided in favour of the countess; and *Don Gerard* refusing to submit, the king put her into possession by force of arms; after which, he prevailed upon her to marry his cousin, the infant *Don Pedro* of *Portugal*ⁱ. The cardinal bishop of *Sabina*, the pope's legate, being informed that the king and queen were cousins, though in a remote degree, intimated, that their marriage was null. Upon which *Donna Berengara*, and her son *Don Ferdinand* of *Castile*, consented that the validity of this marriage should be inquired into by a council to be held for that purpose at *Tarragona*; where accordingly it was judged to be invalid, the pope's legate presiding. But the infant *Don Alonso*, who was born of this marriage, was to remain unprejudiced by this decision, and to retain his right to the crown^k. Most writers agree, that this was also a farce, and that the pope's legate acted by the king's instructions; however, she and her sons were sent back into *Castile*^l, and the king took the necessary measures for executing his project against *Majorca*. We shall not enter here into the particulars of that war, as they fall more properly within the design of the next section; and we shall, therefore, content ourselves with observing, that, by the close of the year, the capital was taken, the *Moorish* monarch made prisoner, and the island in a manner reduced by the Christians, though the *Moors* made a brave defence.

In the course of the war of *Majorca*, the *Moors* had applied themselves, in the strongest manner, to *Abuzite*, king of *Valentia*, for his assistance; but he declared, that the truce subsisting between him and the king of *Arragon* put it out of his power to comply with their demands: to which they imputed the loss of their liberty and country. How reasonable, or how just soever his conduct might be, it drew upon him great suspicions, insomuch that many of his subjects began to suspect he was in his heart a Christian^m. *Zaen*, who was governor of *Denia*, artfully heightened this spirit of disaffection, till it gave him an opportunity of expelling his master and his son out of the city, and the best part of the kingdom of *Valentia*; upon which they demanded and obtained the protection of the king of *Arragon*, with a suitable subsistence; and, besides *Segorba* and some other places remaining firm in their duty, *Abuzite* continued the sovereign of part of his dominions, notwithstanding the capital and the rest of them were in the hands of *Zaen*. This division suggested the hopes, at the same time that it furnished the king of *Arragon* with the means, of making himself master of the wholeⁿ; which he had ever in his view.

At this time, his reputation was so high in *Spain*, and he was held to be a prince who had the good of his subjects so much at heart, that the old king, *Don Sancho* of *Navarre*, desired to have an interview with him at *Tudela*; to which the monarch of *Arragon* readily consented. The motive, on the part of *Don Sancho*, was very extraordinary; he was offended with his nephew, *Thibault*, count of *Champagne*, who had raised some stir in his dominions; and therefore he adopted *Don Jayme*, and obliged his nobility, and even his nephew himself, to do him homage, and acknowledge him as his successor^o. The countess of *Urgel*, dying without heirs, bequeathed her territories to the infant *Don Pedro* of *Portugal*, her husband; but the king, being desirous of uniting that county to the principality of *Catalonia*, gave his cousin the lordship of *Majorca*, with which he was perfectly satisfied^p. This donation engaged the king to make another expedition for the reduction of *Minorca*; and having, upon this occasion, called an assembly of the states, he declared, in case any accident befel him, the kingdom belonged of right to the infant *Don Alonso*, who lived with his mother in *Castile*; but provided, in case of his accession, that he should bring no foreign troops, and reside in the castle of *Monson*, leaving the administration to a council of regency^q; which sufficiently destroys *Mariana's* notion, that, in the interview at *Tudela*, there was a reciprocal

^s ABARCA Chron. gen. Tolet. de rebus Hispan. MARIANA, FERRERAS. DIAGO, ABARC. MAR. FER. Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum.

^b Chron. var. antiq.

ⁱ EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA. ZURIT. LUCÆ Tudens. Chron. Card. d'AGUIRRE. Conc. Hispan.

^m FRANC. DIAGO Annales del Reyno de Valencia, Chron. Jac. Reg.

^o P. MORET. ZURIT. ABARC.

^q Chron. Jac. Reg. ZURIT.

^k ROD. ZURITA, ABARCA.

ⁿ ZURIT.

^p Chron. Jac. Reg. Indices Rerum ab

adoption, which, on the part of the king of *Arragon*, would have been very unnatural and a unjust; and, from the circumstances before-mentioned, it appears to have been false in fact^r. This expedition having ended as gloriously as he could wish, the king returned, covered with reputation, into *Catalonia*^s.

Don Jayme, notwithstanding this adoption, suffers right of succession to take place.

HE called, soon after, an assembly of the states at *Monson*, where he opened to them his new project for the entire conquest of the kingdom of *Valentia*. To facilitate this, an application was made to pope *Gregory* the ninth for a bull of croisade; which was accorded to him without any difficulty, and, upon the publication of it, the king found himself in a condition to prosecute the war with vigour, which he did for several years^t. The pope, in return for his bull of croisade, procured a council to be held at *Tarragona*, in which some canons were made that deserve notice, even in an Universal History. In this council, the reading^b of the holy scriptures, even of the Old or New Testament, in the vulgar tongue, is severely interdicted; it is forbidden to allow hereticks to be present at divine service; and by the seventh canon of this council, the holy office or inquisition was established in *Arragon*^u. The death of *Don Sancho*, king of *Navarre*, might have occasioned great disturbances, if this monarch had not been a hero in the severest sense of the word. The lords of that kingdom, after mature deliberation, concluded, that it would be most for the interest of the people of *Navarre*, to suffer the natural right of succession to take place, and consequently to raise *Don Thibault* to the throne. But, as his and their oaths stood in the way, it was necessary to ask the consent of the king of *Arragon*; who, with a magnanimity very unusual, and which it would be impossible to heighten by any praise, very readily bestowed it: by^c which the peace of both kingdoms was preserved, and the common interest of the Christians in *Spain* much strengthened^w. He continued all this time his incursions into *Valentia*, augmented his dominions every campaign, and brought that sinking state nearer and nearer to its dissolution; in which he was chearfully assisted by the nobility in his *French*, as well as his *Spanish* dominions^x, partly out of a zeal for religion, partly from a spirit of enterprize, and partly also with a view to their own interests.

By the interposition of the pope the king espouses Donna Yolande, or Violante, of Hungary.

THE pope, at that time, *Gregory* the ninth, desirous to attach so active and fortunate a monarch, in the strongest manner possible to himself, and to the holy see, proposed to the king of *Arragon* a marriage with *Donna Yolande*, or, as some stile her, *Donna Violante*, the daughter of *Andrew*, king of *Hungary*: which offer the king entertained, and the match was^d speedily concluded^y. In the mean time, a dispute had broke out between him and his cousin *Don Nuno*, count of *Roussillon*; but the king readily submitting it to reference, *Don Nuno* acquiesced, and attended him in his expedition into *Ivica*, which island when they had conquered, the king returned, and landed his forces in the territories of *Valentia*; but, upon the news of the queen's arrival at *Barcelona*, he set out immediately for that city, where their nuptials were celebrated on the eighth of *September*^z. The next year the king was in the field, and reduced several places of consequence; but perceiving that the war might be much shortened, if, with a little more expence, the army was rendered capable of attacking the city of *Valentia*; and, having summoned an assembly of the states at *Monson*, he made them so sensible of this, that they granted him the necessary supplies; notwithstanding which, it^e cost him another year before they were in a condition to execute that design; but, in the mean time, his troops gained a very glorious victory, under the command of *Don Bernard de Enteca*: in which, according to the credulity or the policy of those times, it was given out, that *St. George*, who is the patron of *Arragon*, was present^a. By this good fortune, the king was able to victual the fortresses which he had built, and to restrain the *Moors*, by which in effect the city of *Valentia* was already blockaded.

A. D. 1237

The king, to put an end to the war in Valentia besieges the capital.

ZAEN, who was the possessor, and stiled himself king of *Valentia*, perceiving by the great levies the king of *Arragon* made in the winter that he meant to besiege his capital in the spring, took all the precautions that prudence could suggest. He sent his favourite *Ali Albala* to *Don Jayme*, in order to try, if by any offers, he might be diverted from his purpose: and, at the same time, he addressed himself for succours to the king of *Tunis*, asserting, that this was a religious war, prosecuted with a design to drive the *Moors* out of *Spain*. In the former negotiation he had none, and in the latter but little success. The king of *Arragon* absolutely refused to listen to any proposals: the monarch of *Tunis* promised him help, as soon as an army and fleet could be assembled^b. *Don Jayme* was in the field in the month of *January*, and, having a numerous army, invested the city, though at a great distance; by this means he reduced abundance of castles and villages, or forced those by

^r Historia general de Espana, lib. xii. FER. Historia de Espana, sec. xiii. ^s Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ
HIER. BLANCÆ. ^t RAINALD. G. ESCOLANO Historia de la Ciudad y Reyno de Valencia. Fol. en Valencia,
2 vols. 1610, 1611. Viciyana Historia de la Ciudad y de sec. Reyno. Fol. en Valencia 1564. DIAGO, ZURIT.
^u Card. de AGUIRRE Conc. Hispan. ^w P. MORET. RAINALD. FER. ^x ZURIT. AEARC. HIERON. BLANCÆ.
^y Indices Rerum ab Arragon. reg. Gest. ^z Chron. Barcimon, Chron. Pinnat. ZURIT. ^a Chron. Jac.
Reg. DIAGO, ESCOLANO, ZURIT. ^b Chron. Jac. Reg. ESCOLANO, DIAGO.

whom

a whom they were inhabited to abandon them : and, as they all took shelter in *Valentia*, it produced a scarcity of provisions sooner than otherwise would have happened^c. Some, however, of the *Arragonian* nobility, perceiving that much time was already consumed, without any great progress, were for raising the siege ; but the king was altogether inflexible, knowing the distress that the *Moors* were already in, and that it would continually increase. A. D. 1238; *Zaen* once marched out with all his troops, as if he intended to fight ; but finding the Christian army ranged in order of battle, he retired, without attempting any thing. At length, however, the king of *Tunis*'s fleet, containing upwards of twenty sail, appeared in the road ; for whose reception the king of *Arragon* had made such preparations, that though they once debarked the troops they had on board, yet the throwing in any relief was found to be a thing impracticable, and, therefore, after various attempts to little or no purpose, they returned home, and left their ally to the sole resource of the miserable borrowing courage from despair^d.

In this sad condition, *Zaen* sent his prime minister to Don *Jayme*, to know what terms he might expect, if he was disposed to surrender ; upon which the king offered him leave to depart, with such of his subjects as would follow him, with whatever they were able to carry ; provided this was done in the space of five days ; and that he also surrendered such fortresses as were in his hands on the other side of the river *Xucar*. *Zaen* very unwillingly submitted to these conditions, and sent the king word, that, provided hostilities were suspended, he would put the place into his hands on the 28th of September. To which the king replied, that, in order to gain a suspension of arms, he must cause the banner of *Arragon* to be hoisted in the most conspicuous part of the city ; which he accordingly did^e. At the day prefixed, *Zaen* evacuated the place accordingly, at the head of upwards of fifty thousand men ; but to prevent the difficulties that must have ensued, from the precipitate march of such a multitude, the king of *Arragon* allowed them twenty days more^f. He was no sooner master of *Valentia*, than he bestowed liberal rewards, as well upon the strangers as upon those of his own nobility, who had assisted in the siege ; and, at the same time, granted so many, and so great privileges to all who were willing to settle there, that it was repopled with Christians in a very short space of time ; in which the pope gave him all the assistance that could be derived from his plenitude of power^g.

d THE next year, his affairs obliged the king to make a tour to *Montpelier*, where the people had taken up arms against his governor, and, during his absence, his generals, not at all regarding the truce made with *Zaen*, took several places, and carried on the war as vigorously as before ; and what must be looked on as very extraordinary, the *Spanish* historians pretend, that they received miraculous assistance in these expeditions ; which the king of *Arragon* could not but disapprove, as equally inconsistent with his own authority, and with that public faith, which ought to be held sacred by all nations, who pretend to religion or civility^h. As this war had been chiefly conducted by his uncle Don *Ferdinand*, he might have thrown the blame of it upon him, and the lords who obeyed his orders ; but, during the three next years, he practised the same thing himself : and this, notwithstanding *Zaen* came to him himself in person, and offered to retire with his subjects into the island of *Minorca*, if he would suffer them to remain there in peace. But prosperity banishes all sense of shame, and ambition has no bowels. Don *Jayme* felt his superiority, and resolved to crush the crumbling monarchy of the *Moors* ; and, therefore, sweeping one place after another, he made himself master of the far greater part of *Valentia*, with less respect to the maxims of justice and honour than he had shewn in the former part of his life, and by the exercise of which he had obtained this greatnessⁱ. A conduct that would appear the worse in him, if it was less common among princes.

THE humour, with which he was now possessed, of directing all things at his will, induced him to divide his dominions between his two sons : to Don *Alonso*, whom he had by Donna *Leonora* of *Castile*, he gave the kingdom of *Arragon*^k ; and to Don *Pedro*, the son of Donna *Violante*, he gave the principality of *Catalonia*, which he would have bounded by the river *Segro*^l. This disobliged all parties ; Don *Alonso* considered himself as deprived of all that was given to his brother, and the people of *Catalonia* murmured at the cutting off from them the country between the rivers *Cinca* and *Segro*. To quiet the latter, he added this country to the portion of his youngest son. This so much provoked the elder, that, in conjunction with the infant Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, and Don *Pedro* of *Arragon*, he took up arms against his father, and made himself master of several places in the kingdom of *Valentia* ; but at length, after some acts of severity, unworthy of the king's character, matters were accom-

^c ZURIT. ABARC. MARIANA. FER.^d Chron. Jac. Reg. ESCOLANO, DIAGO.^e Chron. Jac. Reg.^f ESCOLANO, DIAGO, ABARC. FER.^g Chron. Primat. Chron. BARCIMON, ESCOLANO.^h ZURITA,

DIAGO, ESCOLANO, MARIANA, FER.

ⁱ Chron. Jac. Reg. ESCOLANO, DIAGO.^k ROD. Tolet. de reb.

Hispan. ZURIT.

^l HIERON. BLANCÆ. FER.

modated, and the infant Don *Alonso*, for a time, restored to his father's favour; who being freed from the apprehension of a civil war, went on taking or buying one place after another, till *Zaen* had nothing left in *Valentia*^m. But whether he survived these losses, or died of disease, or grief, while he had somewhat to lose, the *Spanish* authors do not inform us.

Reduces all
Valentia un-
der his power,
the inhabitants
of which soon
after this re-
volt.

It was then, and not till then, that the king cast his eyes upon the few places that *Abuzite* had left, who, for his sake had lost all *Valentia*; he proposed therefore, which in effect was to command, that this poor prince should accept of an equivalent; and, having assigned him such revenues as he thought proper, seized and garrisoned those places, the inhabitants of which had been faithful to their sovereign through all his misfortunesⁿ. About this time, the king Don *Jayme* committed an action, which most writers have represented as the foulest and most execrable crime possible; he caused the tongue of Don *Berenger*, bishop of *Gironne*, to be cut out of his head; and then wrote to the pope to banish him out of his dominions. This bishop it seems was the king's confessor, and revealed to the pope, as it is said, what the king told him in confession. For this offence the king was excommunicated, and the pope sent two legates to absolve him publicly, after an open confession, and a severe penance^o. The king, who, though carried away sometimes by his passions, was certainly a good prince at the bottom, having called an assembly of the states at *Huesca*, declared to them the many inconveniencies the people sustained by the prevailing of different customs, having the force of laws, in the different parts of his dominions; he, therefore, advised them to examine these customs, to reconcile them as well as they could, and to form a body of laws that might be obeyed generally, and understood by every body^p. The *Moors* in *Valentia*, either from a strong appetite to liberty, or through the ill usage they met with since they became subjects to the Christians, grew exceedingly discontented; and, at the instigation of one *Alasdrach*, took up arms, seized several places, fortified them, and seemed disposed for a general revolt^q.

Makes a new
distribution of
his territories,
which is no bet-
ter liked than
the former.

THE king, who was then at *Calatayud*, went immediately into *Valentia*, and took the necessary measures for suppressing this rebellion; the seeds of which, however, he found to be sown so deep, and scattered so far, that, by the advice of some of the ablest heads amongst his nobility, he came to a settled resolution of obliging the *Moors* in general to quit that kingdom. About the same time that he published an edict for carrying this project into execution, he made also, with great solemnity, his testament, by which he left the kingdom of *Arragon* only to the infant Don *Alonso*, gave the counties of *Barcelona* and *Ribagorça*, with the islands, to Don *Pedro*, his eldest son by the queen *Violante*; the kingdom of *Valentia* to his second son Don *Jayme*; and his dominions in *France* to Don *Ferdinand* his youngest son by that queen. By taking these strong and strange steps he found himself embarrassed, on all sides, to the last degree; for the infant Don *Alonso* was on the point of taking up arms again, in conjunction with the infant Don *Pedro* of *Portugal*, who was no less injured; but, by the persuasion of the infant Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, they were prevailed upon to accompany him to the siege of *Seville*, on his promise to interpose with the king Don *Jayme*^r. On the other hand, the *Moors* offered the king large sums of money to revoke his edict; but finding him inexorable they took up arms, which threw the whole kingdom of *Valentia* into confusion^s. However, being well supported by his nobility, Don *Jayme* executed his design by force, and compelled them to retire out of his territories, carrying with them their effects. Upon which they retired into *Murcia*, *Granada*, and some thousands transported themselves into *Africa*^t. By the marriage of his daughter Donna *Violante* with the infant Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, he procured to himself great advantages, and put it out of the power of the princes, whom he had disobliged, to disturb the tranquility of his dominions; which otherwise they had certainly done: and, in case of a civil war, the king, in all probability, must have been greatly distressed^u.

The king paci-
fies the peoples
murmurs by
referring all
grievances to
the states.

THE desire the king had of leaving his dominions and his family in peace, engaged him to offer the princes he had disobliged to leave all points in dispute between them to arbitrators, well chose by the states. The states were pleased with this moderation in the king, whose policy it was, in all critical conjunctures, to advise with his people, and to attach them to their duty by following their advice; in which he never succeeded better than on this occasion; for the arbitrators being chosen, the states by their deputies required the consent of the princes, who, seeing their hopes gone, if they differed with that assembly, were constrained to acquiesce. The commissioners met at a place called *Ariza*, and, after several conferences, determined, that the infant Don *Alonso* should have the kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valentia*,

^m Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. ZURIT. DIAGO, ESCOLANO. ⁿ Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. Reg. gest. DIAGO, ESCOLANO. ^o RAINALD, MARIAN. Historia general de Espan, lib. xii. FER. Historia de Espana, sec. xiii. ^p ZURIT. HIERON. BLANCÆ. ABARC. ^q DIAGO, ESCOLANO. ^r ZURIT. ABARC. DIAGO, ESCOLANO, FER. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^s DIAGO, ESCOLANO, ZURIT. ^t HIERON. BLANCÆ, ABARC. DIAGO, ESCOLANO, ZURIT. MARIAN. FER. ^u Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron. Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio.

- ^a and the infant Don *Pedro* the whole country of *Catalonia*^w. The next year, the infant Don *Alonso* returned into his father's dominions, and was well received; the decision of the commissioners was ratified by the state, and some good laws made in their assembly at *Barcelona*^x. In the month of *October*, the queen Donna *Violante* departed this life; and the king, as most historians say, espoused Donna *Theresa Vidaura* his mistress, by whom he had several natural children. Some writers mention certain high disputes, and even acts of hostility, between the king of *Arragon* and Don *Alonso* the wife of *Castile*; but the authors of those times say nothing of it, neither can we find any just or probable reasons assigned. That there were some murmurs in *Arragon* is more certain, and that the clergy particularly complained their privileges were not sufficiently respected; but the king Don *Jayme* called an assembly of the states at *Lerida*, in which he confirmed the liberties of his lay subjects as well as of the clergy; declared, he never had any intention to violate them; exhorted them to pay obedience to the laws, and not to oppress each other, and then endeavour to throw the blame upon him^z. By this seasonable step he opened the eyes of the common sort, who began to perceive the king's name was often abused.

- THE same conciliating disposition, which induced the king to compromise all points in dispute with the princes his neighbours, with his children, his prelates, and his subjects, led him to aim at terminating those differences and perplexed pretensions, which the crowns of *France* and *Arragon* had upon each other; and after a negotiation, which lasted near three years, he brought this point to bear, and finally adjusted every thing by one solemn and specific treaty. In this, the then king of *France*, St. *Lewis*, renounced, on his side, all rights on the counties of *Barcelona*, *Gironne*, *Urgel*, *Ampurias*, *Cerdagna*, and *Roussillon*. On the other side, the king of *Arragon* renounced all his claims on the counties of *Carcaſſon*, *Rodez*, *Beziers*, *Albi*, *Foix*, *Cahors*, *Narbonne*, *Nimes*, and several other places. He likewise quitted all his pretensions to *Provence* to queen *Margaret* of *France*, daughter to count *Raymond Berenger*. At the same time it was agreed, that prince *Philip*, the French king's son, should espouse Donna *Isabella*, the daughter of the king of *Arragon*, as soon as he was of age^a. Some fresh disputes arising between the infant Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, and the king his father, the former, who had a little before married Donna *Constantia*, daughter to Don *Gaston de Moncado*, count of *Bearn*, died suddenly, which gave a new face to affairs in this kingdom^b. Don *Jayme*, who now considered Don *Pedro* as the heir of his kingdom, concluded a marriage between him and Donna *Constantia*, daughter to *Mainfroi*, prince of *Tarento*, who likewise claimed the title of king of *Sicily*, with whom he had the sum of fifty thousand ounces of gold^c. It is very remarkable, that on the fifteenth of *October* this year, upon a suspicion ^{A. D. 1260;} Don *Pedro* made privately, but with all the legal ceremonies, a protest, that in case he was brought to give any consent thereto in writing or on oath, it was by force, and against his will; and consequently null and void, and ought to be so reputed: so suddenly had this prince changed his maxims, upon his becoming heir apparent to the crown of *Arragon*^d.

- THE king took all imaginable pains to render his son's marriage acceptable to the pope, and to engage him to be reconciled to the prince of *Tarento*, but it was all in vain; at length the pope dying, the king proceeded in the match, and Don *Pedro* espoused Donna *Constantia* at *Montpellier*, about the same time that prince *Philip* married Donna *Isabella* at *Clermont*^e. The next year, the king being in the city of *Valentia*, he received a splendid embassy from the sultan of *Egypt*, whom he entertained with great kindness and magnificence, and at their departure sent with them two lords, from his own court, to compliment the sultan in his name^f. Upon certain intelligence, that *Aben Joseph*, king of *Fez* and *Morocco*, intended to invade *Spain* with a great army, the king caused *Valentia* to be fortified, and, in virtue of his alliance with the king of *Castile*, designed to invade *Murcia*, as thinking it infinitely more expedient to transfer the war into the enemy's country, than to suffer the *Moors* to enter his own. To procure the supplies necessary for putting his project into execution, he assembled the states of *Catalonia* at *Barcelona*, and obtained what he demanded, though with great difficulty^g. He went from thence to *Saragossa*, where the states of *Arragon* peremptorily refused to grant any money; upon which, some of the nobility gave him very considerable sums. The king, before the assembly rose, had recourse to his old method; he desired, that the states would name some of their own body, to consider the proposition he had made, and offered to be bound by their report. They named, accordingly, the bishops of *Saragossa* and *Huesca*, who immediately declared, that the king's demand was reasonable, and for the welfare of the state; upon which the supply was readily granted, and cheerfully

By the death of Don Alonso, the infant Don Pedro becomes heir apparent, and adopts his brother's name.

Conquers the kingdom of Murcia as the ally, and on the behalf of Don Alonso king of Castile. 1262.

^w ZURIT. ABARC. MARIAN. FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.

Jac. Reg. ^z ZURIT. ABARC. FER. Chron. var. antiq.

France. ^b ZURIT. ABARC. FER.

Chron. Jac. Reg. ^c Chron. Jac. Reg.

^f DIAGO. Chron. Jac. Reg. FER

^x Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. reg. gest. Chron.

^a Chron Jac. Reg. P. DANIEL Histoire de

^d ZURIT. FER.

^e RAINALD.

ZURI. Chron. Jac. Reg.

paid^b. The next year, the king made an irruption into *Murcia*, where he took a great many places; and the year following made himself master of the capital: after which he delivered both with great honour to the king of *Castile*, pursuant to the treaty between the two crowns; in consequence of which, he made this war only as the ally of Don *Alonso* the wife^c. By this punctuality he added greatly to his reputation, and yet by putting the *Castilians* between him and the *Moors* he consulted his own interest.

Don Jayme
obscures his
glory by an ob-
stinate adhe-
rence to his
vices of the
grossest kind.

THIS monarch, so prudent and so great in his public character, was the very reverse in his private life. He had entered into an amour with a lady who was related to him; and, being inclined to marry her, applied to the pope for a divorce from his third wife Donna *Theresa*, upon pretence that she had a contagious leprosy. But the pontiff, being well informed of the true cause, wrote him a letter, in which he not only refused his request, but exhorted him, in very strong terms, to alter a course of life so injurious to his dignity, and so unsuitable to his years^k. As this had not the desired effect, the pope wrote to him the year following, assuring him, that if he continued that scandalous conversation, he would excommunicate both him and his mistress Donna *Berengara*, daughter to the infant Don *Alonso de Molina*, and cousin to the king of *Castile*^l. It will appear probable, from the current of the history, that this epistle did make some impression upon the king's mind, since he took the cross, and resolved to go with a choice corps of his own troops into the *Holy Land*. His son, the infant Don *Sancho*, being elected, by the favour of the king of *Castile*, archbishop of *Toledo*, his father, at the earnest invitation of the king and queen of *Castile*, as well as of his son, made a journey to hear the archbishop sing his first mass, upon *Christmas-day*, in his church of *Toledo*^m, when the principal nobility of both kingdoms were present, and the whole conducted with the utmost pomp and splendour.

A. D. 1268.

Takes the cross,
and actually
embarks for
the Holy
Land; forced
back by a
grievous tem-
pest.

THE king having conferred often with his son-in-law Don *Alonso*, who endeavoured to persuade him to lay aside his voyage, but without effect, at length quitted the court of *Castile*, and went to *Valentia*, where he made the proper dispositions for the security of that kingdom, during his absence; he went next into *Arragon* for the same purpose; and having taken leave of his family, and of his principal ministers, he repaired to *Barcelona* in the autumn; and, on the fourth of *September*, embarked, with a fine body of troops, completely furnished with all things necessary, on board a squadron of thirty large ships, besides transports; but meeting with a severe storm on the coast of *Sicily*, they were separated, and the ship, in which the king was embarked, drove into a small port in *France*, from whence he returned into his own dominionsⁿ. He was scarce arrived there, before he found himself solicited to interpose in composing the disputes that had arisen between his son-in-law Don *Alonso* the wife, as well with his family as his subjects. The chagrin he felt, for undertaking this without effect, was very much heightened by a quarrel that broke out in his own family, between the infant Don *Pedro* his eldest son, and a natural son of his, Don *Hernando Sanchez*: which was carried to such extremities, that the former employed some to assassinate the latter, who, with great difficulty, saved his own life, and that of his wife by flight^o. Upon the invitation of pope *Gregory* the ninth, he resorted to the general council held at *Lyons*, and there had an interview with the pope; where, some say, he took it ill, that the pope refused to crown him in a solemn manner, and others, that he was received there with all the marks of respect possible. However, he returned to *Montpellier* in the space of three weeks, and from thence into *Catalonia*, where many of the nobility had taken up arms, his own bastard son Don *Hernando Sanchez* being at the head of the confederates^p.

1269.

1274.

Disturbances
in Catalonia,
in which Don
Hernando
Sanchez takes
part against
his father.

THE king, as the surest way of restoring the public peace, caused an assembly of the states to be held at *Lerida*, where he explained the sources of this disorder; which were, that upon information that the *Moor Aladrach*, who had put himself under the protection of the king of *Granada*, had, by his intrigues, prompted a great number of his subjects in *Valentia* to take up arms, he directed the nobility of *Catalonia* to march thither with their forces, as the only method which in this exigency he could take: which order they disobeyed, and had entered into a league amongst themselves, to prevent any of them from being punished for their ill conduct^q. The states did all they could to compose these troubles, but to no purpose; they made, however, a law, to render the monarchy more strictly hereditary, swore fealty of their own accord to Don *Alonso*, the son of the infant Don *Pedro*, and desired the pope would give his sanction to this, which they would have considered as a fundamental law of the kingdom^r. The king, as soon as the states separated, marched in person against the count of *Ampurias*, and sent his son Don *Pedro*, with an army, to destroy

^b Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. Reg. gest. Chron. Jac. Reg. MARIANA.

Sabio. Chron. Jac. Reg. FERRERAS.

TURQUET.

^m Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio.

Don Alonso el Sabio. ZURITA, ABARCA, FERRERAS.

FERRERAS.

^p Chron. Jac. Reg. RAINALD, ZURITA.

MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^k RAINALD, ZURITA.

Chron. Jac. Reg.

ZURITA.

^l Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio.

Chron. Jac. Reg.

ZURITA.

ⁿ Chron. del Rey

Chron. Jac. Reg.

ZURITA, HIERON. BLANCHE,

^o Chron. Jac. Reg.

ZURITA, HIERON. BLANCHE,

^q DIAGO, ZURITA.

^r ABARCA, MA-

^a the seeds of sedition which were springing up in *Arragon*. He was very well pleased with this commission, pursued it vigorously, and having intelligence that his brother Don *Hernando* had thrown himself into the castle of *Pomar*, he caused it to be invested, and pushed the siege so vigorously, that Don *Hernando*, attempting to make his escape in disguise, was, by his brother's orders, thrown into the river *Cinca*, where he miserably perished^c. Don *Pedro*, having extinguished the rebellion, made an irruption into the kingdom of *Granada*, to punish the *Moors* for killing his brother the infant Don *Sancho*, archbishop of *Toledo*; of which we have given a full account in the history of *Castile*. While the royal infant was thus employed, the king had drawn upon himself another reproof from the pope, by causing the wife of a private person, to whom he had taken a fancy, to be carried away from her husband by force; which, however, served only to provoke him, and to render his vices ^{A. D. 1275.} more odious to his subjects^d.

THE next year, the *Moors* in *Valentia*, under the command of *Alasdrach*, and by the assistance of the king of *Granada*, executed the revolt they had so long projected, and seized *Montesa*, and some other places^e. The king, upon the first notice, having assembled a numerous army, took up his own quarters at *Xativa*, from whence he detached Don *Pedro Fernandez de Hjar*, his natural son, with a strong corps of troops, to reduce *Beniopa*, into which the *Moors* had put a great garrison, and directed, that two other lords, with another body of troops, should prevent the enemy from sending any relief. Don *Pedro Fernandez* was fortunate enough to execute his design, but the other lords, being drawn into an ambuscade, were totally defeated; Don *Garcia de Azagra* with the best part of the troops being cut to pieces, and Don *Pedro de Moncado*, grand master of the *Templars*, made prisoner with the rest^f. The news of this defeat being carried to the king at *Xativa*, struck him to the heart, so that he immediately fell sick. He caused himself, thereupon, to be transported to *Alcira*, in hopes of growing better by the change of air; but, finding himself worse, he sent for his son Don *Pedro*, and, recommending his brother in the most passionate terms, resigned the crown, and, having taken the habit of a *Cistercian* monk, and expressed in a most pathetic manner his penitence for the ill example he had given his family and subjects, he expired on the twenty-fifth of *July*, in the year one thousand two hundred seventy-six, in the sixty-third year of his reign, and in the sixty-ninth of his life^g. He left behind him his successor Don *Pedro*, his second son Don *Jayme*, or *James*, to whom he gave the kingdom of *Majorca*, and all that he held in *France*, Donna *Violante*, queen of *Castile*, Donna *Isabella*, queen of *France*, Donna *Constantia*, the wife of the infant Don *Emanuel* of *Castile*, Donna *Sancha*, who, it is said, went in a disguise to *Jerusalem*, and led there a life of devotion, Donna *Maria*, who died a nun; all these by his second queen Donna *Violante*. By his third wife Donna *Theresa*, to whom he was certainly once, if not twice married, Don *Jayme*, and Don *Pedro*: and by Donna *Berengara Fernandez*, a lady of the first quality, Don *Pedro Fernandez de Hjar*^h.

THE king Don *Pedro* the third caused his father's body to be deposited, for the present, in the cathedral of *Valentia*, and having made a truce with the *Moors*, went to *Saragossa*, where he was crowned with great solemnity, on the twenty-seventh of *November*; with Donna *Constantia* his queen; and the states, at the same time, acknowledged in the most solemn manner his eldest son the infant Don *Alonso* for his successorⁱ. He granted protection to Donna *Blanca* and her sons, the infants *de la Cerda*; and, having received from the pope permission to tax the clergy for the war with the *Moors*, he attacked them on all sides, as soon as the truce was expired, and pushed them with such vigour, that they were obliged to shut themselves up in *Montesa*, notwithstanding that their strength fell short of 30,000 men^j. The king invested and attacked the place with such spirit and success, that by the close of *September* the were obliged to capitulate; by which he put an end to the troubles of *Valentia*^k. The satisfaction he derived from thence was quickly troubled, by the almost total defection of *Catalonia*, where the nobility took up arms, under pretence that he had not assembled the states of that country, or sworn to preserve their privileges; but, in reality, because they apprehended he meant to extinguish some pernicious customs, that were equally detrimental to the authority of the sovereign, and to the welfare of the greatest part of his subjects^l. In the spring of the next year, the king assembled the states of *Tarragona*, where he commanded the prelates and great lords to repair to *Valentia*, in order to remove his father's corpse to the monastery of *Toplet*; which ceremony was performed with great pomp and magnificence^m. He then attacked the confederate lords, and partly by force, partly by treaty, dissolved their alliance, and obliged them to submitⁿ.

^a ZURITA, DIAGO, MAYERNE TURQUET.^b RAINALD, FERRERAS^c ZURITA, DIAGO, ESCALONO.^d ABARCA. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum.^e HIERON. BLANCÆ, ZURITA, ABARCA,

MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^f ZURITA, MAYERNE TURQUET.^g ABARCA. Indic. Rerum ab Arragon.

reg. gest. FERRERAS.

^h ZURITA, RAINALD, DIAGO.ⁱ ESCALONO, FER.^j HIERON. BLANCÆ,

ZURITA, MARIANA.

^k Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. reg. gest

FER.

^l Chron. var. antiq.^m MOD. HIST. VOL. VIII.

P p

H 4

His firmness,
address, and
success in the
conduct of his
administration.

A. D. 1280.

HE managed with great dexterity in the quarrels between the crowns of *France* and *Castile*; and though he had an interview with the infant *Don Sancho*, of which we have a large account in *Mariana*, yet it does not appear, that he entered deeply into his measures, though he made him large promises^f. He compelled his brother *Don Jayme* to do him homage for the kingdom of *Majorca*, and all the dominions his father had left him, contrary to the intention of that monarch^g. The confederate lords taking up arms again in *Catalonia*, *Don Pedro*, though they had assembled a great body of troops, compelled them to quit the field, and to shut themselves up in the castle of *Balaguer*; where, after a short siege, he obliged them to surrender at discretion, and sent most of them prisoners to different fortresses: by which the peace of his dominions was perfectly restored^h. He went afterwards to *Tholouse*, where he had a conference with his brother-in-law king *Philip*; to whom he explained the motives of his conduct in *Catalonia*, that, in case of any fresh troubles, the malecontents might be able to obtain no succours from that sideⁱ. On his return into *Arragon* from this interview, he received ambassadors from *Don Denis* king of *Portugal*, to demand his daughter the infanta *Isabella*, or *Elizabeth*, in marriage: to which he readily consented; and that princess was so exemplary in her conduct, that, after her demise, she was considered as a saint^k.

The manner in
which he was
engaged to
vindicate his
queen's claim
to the crown of
Sicily.

THE reader has been before informed, that this monarch, in right of his wife, had a claim to the crown of *Sicily*; the nature of which will be explained in the history of that kingdom. The *French*, who were then masters of that island, oppressed the people to such a degree, that *John de Prochira*, a noble *Sicilian*, formed the project of setting them at liberty. He went first to the pope, who, though he approved his project, would run no hazards, *Charles of Anjou*, who then held *Sicily*, being very powerful in *Italy*^l. *Prochira* went next to *Constantinople*, where he represented to the *Greek* emperor, *Michael Palaeologus*, that, under pretence of an expedition to the *Holy Land*, *Charles of Anjou* was making vast preparations by land and sea, with an intention to dethrone him; adding, that the only way to prevent this blow was to engage *Don Pedro* of *Arragon* to assert his right to the kingdom of *Sicily*. The *Greek* emperor closed with his proposals, and sent him into *Arragon*, where he was well received by *Don Pedro*, who told him, he was not averse to such an expedition, but that it would require an immense sum of money, which he had not^m. *Prochira* went back to *Constantinople*, where he so alarmed the *Greek* emperor's fears, that he obtained at once that large sum *Don Pedro* demanded, and which he brought him with great fidelity, and, what was yet more extraordinary, he managed these several negotiations with so much address, and such profound secrecy, that when the king of *Arragon* began to assemble his fleet and army, none of his neighbours were able to penetrate his design, and he amused them with such general answers, as did not in the least explain itⁿ. When his preparations were in a manner complete, he very unexpectedly set all the lords at liberty, telling them, that men of noble minds were to be bound by obligations; and that he expected that tranquility from their gratitude, which a prince of another character would have thought better secured by continuing them in confinement^o.

The king ex-
ecutes with
great spirit
and success the
expedition
against the
isle of Sicily.

WHILE the king was busy in equipping this great armament, the brother of the king of *Tunis*, who was lord of the town *Constantine*, and a little district about it, sent to implore his protection against his brother, who threatened to strip him of his small seigniorie. *Don Pedro* promised him all, and even more than he desired, looking upon this as the most happy incident possible, since it afforded him a plausible pretence of saying, that he armed against the infidels^p. At length, having embarked a fine army, on board a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, he weighed anchor on the sixth of *June* from the port of *Tangos*, leaving the infant *Don Alonso*, and the queen his mother, regents, and steered directly for *Minorca*^q. He proceeded from that island to *Alcael*, a port in *Africa*, belonging to the lord of *Constantine*, where he landed his troops, and dispatched ambassadors to the pope to desire his assistance in carrying on the war against the Infidels^r. But affairs had quite changed their face at *Rome*, where, instead of *Nicholas* the third, who was an implacable enemy to *Charles*, king of *Sicily*, *Martin* the fourth now occupied the papal throne, who was the creature of that prince, and who, suspecting *Don Pedro's* design, treated his ambassadors but roughly^s. In the mean time, the people of *Sicily* having assured *Don Pedro*, that they were entirely devoted to his interest, he quitted *Africa*, and arrived in the month of *August* at *Trapani*, from whence he proceeded to *Palermo*, where he was received with all imaginable joy, and with universal applause proclaimed king of *Sicily*^t. He afterwards employed his fleet and army in delivering *Messina*, which was besieged by king *Charles*, whose fleet was beaten at sea by the infant *Don Jayme* of *Arragon*, which left him the undisturbed possession of the island to which he laid claim^u.

^f Historia general de Espana, lib. xii. ^g ZURITA, ABARCA. ^h MARIANA, FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.
ⁱ ZURITA, HIERON. BLANCHE, FER. ^k EMANUEL de l'aria y Sousa. ^l RAINALD. ^m ZURITA,
FER. ⁿ NICHOLAS Especial dans de Marca, liv. i. NICEPH. GREGORAS, liv. v. ZURITA, ABARCA.
^o MARIANA, FER. ^p ZURITA, HIERON. BLANCHE, ABARCA, FER. ^q MALESPINI Hist. Florent.
ZURITA. ^r RAINALD, ABARCA, MARIANA. ^s RAINALD, ZURITA. ^t MALESPINI Hist.
Florent. ^u ZURIT. ABARCA. MALESPINI Hist. Florent.

- a. The pope, however, on the behalf of his competitor, launched his spiritual thunder against Don Pedro, and, by a bull dated *December* the eighteenth, declared him excommunicated^w. The campaign ended with an agreement between the competitors, to decide their contested titles by a personal combat at *Bourdeaux*, on the first of *June*, in the ensuing year, to be attended each by one hundred knights^x. The *French* historians say, that Don Pedro was the challenger^y; whereas those of *Arragon* assert, it was king *Charles*^z. But the fact is out of dispute, as also, that the king of *England*, to whom they were both related, promised them a fair field for terminating their quarrel.

- THE king Don Pedro employed the next spring in reducing most of the places in the island, in which his competitor had garrisons; and the queen Donna Constantia, and her two sons Don Jayme and Don Frederic being arrived, in pursuance of his orders, he settled the regency in her and the infant Don Jayme with a council; and having detected a conspiracy against his life, and punished such as were concerned in it, he embarked at *Trapani* for *Valentia*, where he arrived on the seventeenth of *May*^a. It is asserted by the historians of *Arragon*, that he actually proceeded to *Bourdeaux*, and, early in the morning, on the first of *June*, presented himself to the seneschal of *Edward*, king of *England*, and demanded of him, whether he might be secured of a fair field, as had been promised; but the seneschal told him, that king *Philip* of *France* was expected there with his brother; that he had a prodigious number of troops in their neighbourhood; and that he could not answer for his security: upon which the king left his buckler and his lance, as proofs that he had personally appeared, and then withdrew privately and speedily into his dominions^b. The *French* historians say the direct contrary, alleging, that *Charles* king of *Naples* and *Sicily* appeared, traversed the ground appointed for the combat with his knights, and that the king of *Arragon* arriving in disguise, came in the evening, and when his competitor was withdrawn, and engaged the seneschal to enter his appearance^c. It is however certain, that the *French* soon after sent troops into *Arragon*, against whom the king, assisted by Don Sancho of *Castile*, defended himself without any loss either of territory or credit^d. In the month of *October* he assembled the states of *Arragon* at *Saragossa*, in order to pacify some disputes which had arisen with the nobility about their privileges, and soon after received advice, that Roger de *Lauria*, whom he had left his admiral in *Sicily*, had gained some advantages over the enemy, and had made himself master of the island of *Malta*^e. At this time, Don Juan Nugnez de *Lara*, in right of marriage, was become possessed of *Albarracin*, a place of great strength and importance on the frontiers of *Arragon* and *Castile*. This, by the family of *Azagra*, had been erected into a kind of sovereignty, which by a strange concurrence of accidents, but particularly by courting the favour of one crown, when that of the other was lost, and keeping up the mutual jealousy of such an acquisition, had been strangely preserved, and from the precariousness of this tenure fortified, as far as the skill of that age would go. It was now become a terror to both; for *Philip* the hardy, king of *France*, being at war with the two crowns of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and having Don Juan at his devotion, intended to make use of it as a door into the dominions of Don Sancho and Don Pedro. The former, very sensible of the consequences with which this might be attended, relinquished all his pretensions to the latter, who immediately sent the infant Don Alonso to reduce it. The siege was long and difficult, but it was at last rendered by capitulation; upon which the king gave it to his natural son Don Ferdinand, whom he had by Donna Inez or Agnes Zapata^f. He intended to have reduced *Tudela* also this campaign; but finding that too hazardous an enterprise, he desisted, the rather because he was informed, that king *Philip* intended to attack him, in the ensuing summer, with the whole power of *France*; for which therefore it was necessary to prepare.

- THE success of the campaign by land in *Spain* was nothing in comparison of the good fortune of his power by sea, under the command of Roger de *Lauria*, who with a squadron of forty galleys, cruising within sight of the port of *Naples*, brought out *Charles* the lame, prince of *Salerno*, son of *Charles*, king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with his father's whole strength of seventy galleys well armed. The fight was long and obstinate, the issue of it very extraordinary; for the admiral of *Arragon* not only gained a complete victory, but took from the enemy one gally more than the number of his whole fleet; and, to complete his triumph, the prince of *Salerno* himself^g. Donna Constantia, queen of *Sicily*, had a sister Donna *Beatrix*, whom king *Charles* had long kept in prison; the queen sent him a message, that if he did not instantly release and restore her sister, she would put his son to death: upon which

^w RINALD. ^x ZURIT. MALESPINI Hist. Florent. MARIAN. FER. ^y MEZERAY Abreg. Chronolog. tom. iii. ^z ZURIT. Gest. Comit. Barcin. ^a MALESPINI Hist. Flor. ZURIT. FER. ^b ZURIT. Gest. Comit. Barcin. ^c MEZERAY Abreg. Chronolog. tom. iii. ^d Gest Comit. Barcin. Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo, ZURIT. ^e MALESPINI Hist. Florent. Gest. Comit. Barcin. ^f ZURIT. ABARC. FER. ^g MALESPINI Hist. Floren. MEZERAY.

Donna *Beatrice* was presently sent to *Sicily*^b. But the people of that island, who have never ^a been very famous for humanity, discovering very strong resentments against the prisoners taken in the last fight, Don *Pedro* was no sooner informed of it, than he gave orders they should all be set at liberty, except prince *Charles*, whom he directed to be sent into *Catalonia*, purely to preserve his life^c. The pope renewed his censures against the king of *Arragon*, and to enforce them, gave away his kingdom, as a fief of the holy see, to *Charles de Valois*, son to king *Philip* the hardy; publishing at the same time a croisade against the deposed king of *Arragon*; by which the same indulgencies were given to those who fought against him, as if they made war against the infidels: and, which is very astonishing, the king of *France* accepted of this grant, in favour of his son, took the cross, and assembled one of the greatest armies that had ever been seen, in order to go and put him in possession of it^k.

The invasion
of Arragon by
the French,
their retreat,
the king Don
Pedro's death.

THIS papal fury, though it excited a foreign war, did not in the least disturb the domestic peace of the king's dominions; for not only his lay subjects, but even the bishops and clergy, treated this affair as it ought to be treated, worshipping God, and behaving with fidelity to the king, notwithstanding the pope's interdict. Don *Jayme*, king of *Majorca*, deserted his brother, and joined the king of *France*; upon which Don *Pedro* made a quick march into his country of *Roussillon*, and besieged *Perpignan*, in which city he was with his wife and children. The place was taken, after a long defence, but Don *Jayme* escaped; yet the queen and her son were sent prisoners into *Arragon*^l. When all his preparations were finished, *Philip* the hardy attempted to enter *Arragon*, with an army of eighty thousand foot, and seventy thousand horse; the king Don *Pedro* seized the passages of the *Pyrenees*; but as such ^c precautions seldom take effect, king *Philip* found means to bring down his whole army into *Catalonia*, where he quickly took *Roses* and *Castillon*^m. Don *Pedro*, having put a strong garrison into *Gironne*, under the command of Don *Raymond*, viscount *Cardona*, dismissed the greatest part of his troops, and kept the field only with a flying army. Don *Raymond* answered the king's expectations, and made a very gallant defence; for the siege began on the twenty eighth of *June*, and the place was not surrendered till the seventh of *September*, and then upon very honourable conditionsⁿ. In the mean time, the king's fleets at sea beat the *French* over and over, and, with the assistance of a corps of land troops, destroyed all their great magazines at *Roses*; so that king *Philip*, after he had made a public entry into *Gironne*, and placed a strong garrison there, was obliged to return; which, as the king of ^d *Arragon* foresaw, he made him pay exceeding dear for his passage. So that arriving with the remains of a once formidable army at *Perpignan*, the king was seized with a distemper which carried him off in a few days^o. Don *Pedro* no sooner returned from harassing the *French* army, than he presented himself before *Gironne*, and, on his proposing to the garrison leave to march out, and an assurance of conducting them safe into *France*, they very wisely surrendered^p. The king then sent his son Don *Alonso* with a strong fleet to punish his brother Don *Jayme*; but before he was well arrived in *Majorca* the king fell ill at *Villa Franca de Panades*, where he departed this life on the tenth of *November*, one thousand two hundred and eighty-five, in the tenth year of his reign, and forty-sixth of his age^q. He left the crown of *Arragon* to Don *Alonso*^r, and that of *Sicily* to his second son Don *Jayme*^s. Besides these, he left two younger sons, Don *Frederic* and Don *Pedro*, and two daughters, Donna *Isabella*, queen of *Portugal*, and Donna *Constantia*, who espoused *Robert*, king of *Naples*; besides a great many natural children, both sons and daughters. He was a very brave and generous prince, and really merited the title of *great*, which is given him by the *Arragonian* writers, by his actions, as well as by his fortune^t. His old enemy pope *Martin* died a few months before him, and he also survived his competitor *Charles* of *Anjou*, king of *Naples*^u.

Don Alonso
III. succeeds,
and acts with
great prudence
at his accession.

DON *Alonso* the third succeeded his father, though absent in the expedition against his uncle. He was a prince remarkable for discharging his duty, in all relations, with great punctuality. He was obedient to his father, kind to his brethren, and so liberal in his ^f temper, that he obtained the surname of *the munificent*^v. He received the news of his father's death almost as soon as he landed in the island of *Majorca*; but he took the capital, and reduced the rest of the islands, before he returned to *Valentia*^x. His brother Don *Jayme* caused himself, likewise, to be crowned king of *Sicily*^y. Don *Alonso*, upon his arrival at *Valentia* received a message from the principal nobility of *Arragon*, who from a league they had contracted among themselves in his father's reign, had assumed the title of *the union*. The purport of this message was, that they were surprized he had assumed the regal title

^b ZURIT. MALESPINI Hist. Florent.

MEZERAY. ¹ ZURIT. ABARC. FER.

Gest. Comit. Barcin. MEZERAY.

ABARC. HIERON. BLANCÆ, MARIAN. MAYERNE TURQUET.

Hist. Florent.

ABARC. HIERON. BLANCÆ

¹ ZURIT. ABARC. Gest. Comit. Barcin.

^x DIAGO, ESCALONO, FER.

¹ Gest. Comit. Barcin. ABARC. MARIAN.

^m MEZERAY Abreg. Chronolog. tom. iii.

^o ZURIT. FER. MEZERAY.

^p Gest. Comit. Barcin.

^r Gest. Comit. Barcin.

^u RAINALD, MEZERAY.

^y MALESPINI Hist. Florent.

^k RAINALD. ZURIT.

ⁿ ZURIT.

^q ZURIT.

^s MALESPINI

^t ZURIT.

a before his coronation, and swearing to maintain their privileges. The king gave them a soft answer, and hastened his coronation; which solemnity was performed with great magnificence, on *Easter-day*, in the church of *Saragossa*². This did not intirely put an end to his disputes with the lords of *the union*, who pretended he had no right to choose his own ministers or servants, but ought to receive them from the states. The king saw plainly, they were encouraged to this by the perplexed situation in which his father had left his affairs; and therefore he would enter into no disputes, which he found was the only way to agree with them³.

There had been a treaty, in his father's life-time, for a marriage between him and the princess *Eleanor*, daughter to king *Edward* the first of *England*; that monarch, therefore, ^{Resolves to marry the daughter of Edward I. of England, and receives many favours.} interposed very kindly in his affairs, and sent over doctor *Anthony Beck*, bishop of *Durham*, and doctor *John Vesey*, to propose to him the heads of a treaty, which might make him perfectly easy. He was easily prevailed on to consent, that *Charles*, prince of *Salerno*, should be set at liberty, upon condition that his brother remained king of *Sicily*, and that he should marry the princess *Blanch*, the daughter of *Charles*, and that his eldest son *Robert* should espouse *Donna Constantia*, whom some writers call *Violante*, the sister of the kings of *Arragon* and *Naples*; but this treaty was rejected by the pope, who, affecting to tread in the steps of his predecessor, would not acknowledge *Don Alonso's* title^b. A. D. 1286.

The king employed the next year in the entire conquest of the islands of *Minorca* and *Ivica*, which, when he had accomplished, he returned into *Catalonia*, called an assembly of the states, and therein cancelled at once all the exemptions and privileges of the nobility that were injurious to the crown and the people^c. ^{After restoring peace abroad, and the dignity of the crown at home, he dies suddenly.} The year following, he had an interview with king *Edward* at *Conflans*; wherein it was agreed, that the prince of *Salerno*, or, as others styled him, the king of *Naples*, should be set at liberty, upon his giving his two sons, *Lewis* and *Robert*, and several lords, as hostages for the performance of articles; and of these one was, that he should give his daughter in marriage to *Charles de Valois*, with his duchy of *Anjou*, upon condition that he should renounce all title to the crown of *Arragon*: but the pope remained still inflexible. This pope was *Nicholas* the fourth, who excommunicated *Don Alonso*, released *Charles* from his engagements, and crowned him king of *Sicily*^d. At length, king *Edward* prevailed upon all the princes, who were embarked in this quarrel, to send their plenipotentiaries to *Perpignan*; from whence soon after the congress was removed to *Tarascon*, where, in the month of *February*, all things were adjusted; but, in this treaty, the king *Don Jayme* of *Sicily* was excluded, to satisfy the pope, who thereupon annulled all that had been done against the king of *Arragon*, or his father^e. As soon as this affair was adjusted, *Don Alonso* sent the viscount of *Cardona* into *Guienne*, to receive the princess *Eleanor*, and caused preparations to be made for his marriage at *Barcelona*, with that magnificence which was natural to him. But, in the midst of them, he was suddenly taken ill on horseback; and, being carried to his palace, died on the eighteenth of *June*, one thousand two hundred and ninety-one, when he had reigned almost six years^f. He was a prince highly esteemed by his neighbours, and beloved by his subjects; and, in all probability, had he lived, would have equalled in reputation any of his predecessors. His temporising had delivered him from the restrictions intended by the union; for a prince, who has surmounted difficulties, is not to be controuled.

The states of *Arragon* assembled at *Saragossa* sent immediately the count of *Ampurias* to *Don Jayme II.* acquaint *Don Jayme*, king of *Sicily*, with the death of his brother, and to invite him to come and take possession of the throne. In complying with which invitation, he made such dispatch, that leaving his mother *Donna Constantia*, and his brother *Don Frederic*, regents of *Sicily*, he arrived at *Barcelona* on the twenty-sixth of *August*, and was crowned at *Saragossa* on the sixth of *September* following, to the great satisfaction of his new subjects^g. He thought fit to act upon different principles from those of his brother, who, in consideration of the kingdom of *Murcia*, yielded to him by solemn treaty, had acknowledged the *Infant de la Cerda* for king of *Castile*. This monarch, on the contrary, closed with *Don Sancho*, agreed to marry his daughter *Donna Isabella*, though but nine years of age, and afterwards consented to accept him for the mediator of the peace with the crowns of *France* and *Naples*; for, by the death of the late king, the treaty of *Tarascon* was dissolved^h. These negotiations lasted during the life of *Don Sancho*, who had such an influence over the king of *Arragon*, that he prevailed upon him, for the sake of restoring the peace of *Christendom*, to renounce his rights to the kingdom of *Sicily*; which, however, proved of no great consequence; for his mother

² Gest. Comit. Barcin. ZURITA, ABARCA, MARIANA.

³ HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, Chron. var.

Antiq. ^b ZURITA, RAINALD.

^c ABARCA, MALESPINI Hist. Flor.

^d ZURITA, MALESPINI

Hist. Flor, RAINALD.

^e MEZERAY, RAINALD, FERRERAS.

^f ZURITA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^g Gest. Comit. Barcin. ZURITA.

^h Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo, ABARCA.

and his brother *Frederic* absolutely refused to be bound by this cession, resolving to put themselves upon the fidelity of their subjects, and to trust the *Sicilians* with the defence of their title to *Sicily* against all opponents¹. The king *Don Jayme*, notwithstanding, on the death of *Don Sancho*, espoused the daughter of *Charles*, king of *Naples*, instead of the Infanta of *Castile*; pope *Boniface* the eighth was graciously pleased to absolve the bishops and clergy of *Arragon* for the great crimes of worshipping God, and obeying their kings, contrary to the commands of his predecessors; and *Charles de Valois* once more renounced his rights to the kingdom of *Arragon*, in favour of a monarch who had all the rights to it already that politicians could devise, viz. descent, his brother's will, and the choice of the states².

Goes to Rome, and is cajoled into a war with his brother by pope Boniface VIII.

THE king *Don Jayme*, though somewhat mutable in his measures, was extremely steady to his interests; and, perceiving the weakness of the government of *Castile*, renewed his brother's treaty with the Infant *Don Alonso de la Cerda*, acknowledged his title, and assisted him³. He likewise equipped a stout fleet, and, having embarked a body of troops on board it, went in person to reduce *Alicant*, which he performed; and conquered afterwards the best part of the kingdom of *Murcia*⁴. Pope *Boniface* studied by all means to gain over the king of *Arragon*, in hopes of prevailing upon him to engage his brother, or to force, him to quit the kingdom of *Sicily*. *Don Jayme*, wearied with perpetual solicitations, made at length a voyage to *Rome*, where the pope redoubled his caresses, gave him the title of standard-bearer of the holy church, and very generously bestowed upon him the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, to be held as fiefs from the see of *Rome*, whenever he should be able to conquer them⁵. All this was done, in order to persuade him to employ his arms against his brother; but the king went no farther than to send for his mother and sister to *Rome*, where the latter was married by the pope to *Robert*, duke of *Calabria*, and then he returned into his own dominions⁶. After his return, the tears of his wife, the instances of his allies, and the fair promises of the pope, induced him to equip a numerous fleet; with which he sailed first to *Naples*, where he left his queen *Donna Blanca* with her father, and then weighed anchor, with a full resolution to dethrone his brother. The king *Don Frederic*, who had also a great naval force, thought it better to meet than to expect the danger; and therefore put to sea with an intent to give him battle. However, on receiving a message from him, that he had better remain in his own dominions, he retired. The king of *Arragon* then landed his troops in *Sicily*, took several places, and required by proclamation all his subjects in his brother's service to join him, which most of them did, and amongst the rest the famous *Roger de Lauria*. King *Frederic*, however, defended himself with vigour, beat several of his brother's squadrons, and took many of his galleys; upon which *Don Jayme* sent him word to release his subjects, and to send back his vessels, and he would give him no farther trouble; which, by the advice of his council, he absolutely refused. The king of *Arragon* retired in great discontent to *Naples* with the rest of his fleet, exhorted his father-in-law to assemble as great a force as he could in the spring, when he promised to return with a fleet superior to that which had been employed in this year's service⁷. We may discern from hence, how great the naval force of the dominions of *Arragon* must have been, when so great a loss was so easily and suddenly to be repaired.

Makes another expedition against his brother, and tho' victorious discontinues the war.

The king *Don Jayme*, who had been forced into this first expedition, being now piqued at the losses he had received, assembled, on his return into *Catalonia*, a fleet of fifty-five sail, with which he proceeded to *Naples*; and having joined the squadron of his father-in-law, commanded by *Robert*, duke of *Calabria*, and *Don Raymond*, prince of *Tarento*, steered directly for *Sicily*. *Don Frederic*, whose fleet in the harbour of *Messina* consisted of forty vessels, boldly weighed anchor, and, notwithstanding their great superiority, engaged the combined fleets. The fight was very obstinate and very bloody, but at length the *Sicilians* were totally defeated, with great loss of ships and men; and it was with some difficulty that king *Frederic* himself escaped with a few galleys. This success had a surprising effect on the king of *Arragon's* disposition; for, returning with his victorious fleet to *Naples*, he sent for his mother, the queen-dowager of *Arragon* and *Sicily*, and his family, and, in spite of all the persuasions of the pope's legate, his father-in-law, and his brothers, returned to *Barcelona*⁸. The next year he laboured by his ambassadors to persuade *Don Frederic* to think of peace, but no solicitations could induce him to renew the war, from which he was vehemently dissuaded by the queen his mother upon her death-bed⁹.

Receives the Infant de la Cerda, but finds it impracticable to establish him.

In the opinion of politicians the troubles of one kingdom are often the harvests of another. The king of *Arragon* had embraced the party of *Don Alonso de la Cerda*, and owned him as king of *Castile*, for the sake of obtaining the fruitful kingdom of *Murcia*, a great part of which was actually by conquest, but in virtue of this concession in his hands. To keep this,

¹ MALESPINI Hist. Florentin.

² ZURITA, MEZERAY, RAINALD.

³ ZURITA, ABARCA, FER-

RERAS.

⁴ ZURITA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

⁵ RAINALD.

⁶ HIERONYMI BLANCÆ,

RAINALD.

⁷ MALESPINI Hist. Florentin. ZURITA.

⁸ Gest. Comit. Barcin. ABARCA, MALESPINI

Hist. Florentin.

⁹ ZURITA, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

- a. he was obliged to assist that prince in maintaining his title, and was in hopes, that the king of France, who was nearly related to the Infant in blood, would have taken a share in the war; or would at least have contributed towards its expence. But, finding himself wholly mistaken; he was constrained to lay a tax upon salt, which extending to all his subjects in general; created great uneasiness, and induced some of the nobility to think of reviving *the union*^a. Upon this the king called an assembly of the states at *Saragossa*, in which his conduct was approved, but the nobility disapproved theirs: however, his son Don *Jayme* was acknowledged presumptive heir to the crown^b. The discontented lords applied themselves to the queen-regent of *Castile*, as the malecontents of *Castile* had entered into a league with the king of *Arragon*. The king saw the folly of all this; he proposed to the queen a peace, if she would make a cession of what he had already acquired in *Murcia*, which she rejected, perhaps with more spirit than prudence; for this obliged the king to foment the troubles in *Castile*, whether he would or not^c. On the return of Don *Alonso* from the court of *France*, he gave him good advice, and in plain terms recommended to him compromising things in the best manner he could. The pope, tired out with the war in *Sicily*, consented, at length, to acknowledge king *Frederic*; of which that prince gave his brother notice, who was exceeding well pleased with the news. The king was now very desirous of turning the concession of the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica* to some account; but his schemes were interrupted by the death of pope *Benedict* the eleventh, and the long vacancy of the papal see. However, during this interval, the king took the best measures he could to avail himself of this donation^d.

A. D. 1301.

1302.

1304.

- A PEACE with *Castile* was so necessary, that the king consented to the congress of *Campillo*, where, as we have shewn in its proper place, it was not concluded much to his advantage. The king sent an ambassador to do homage to pope *Clement* the fifth for the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, and the *Genoese*, who were already in possession of part of these countries, sent an embassy to the king, in hopes of regulating matters amicably. Don *Jayme* demanded from the pope a bull of concession, which was sent him, dated *May* the twenty-eighth; and several of the *Sardinian* lords came to pay their respects, offer him their service, and to acknowledge his title^e. The progress of this affair was stopped, however, by the breaking out of another of a very extraordinary nature, which was the persecution of the knights templars; who, at the request of the pope, were generally arrested, and thrown into prison, and all the large estates they held in the king's dominions were on the point of being confiscated. The kingdom of *Navarre* was, at this time, in the hands of *France*; notwithstanding which, a war broke out with the crown of *Arragon*, occasioned probably by some disturbances on the frontiers: in the prosecution of which Don *Jayme* was far from being successful, for his troops were twice beaten, and his standard taken. In *France*, and even in *Castile*, at the request of the pope, the templars were treated with the most barbarous severity. The king of *Arragon* was very much pressed to treat them in the same manner, but his constant answer was, *We must first be convinced of their guilt, and it will be then time enough to talk of their punishment*^f. At the request of Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile*, he had an interview with him at the monastery of *Huerta*; wherein two points were regulated, the first, that they should make war jointly against the *Moors*, the second, that the Infant of *Arragon* should marry Donna *Leonora*, the king of *Castile's* daughter^g. The business of the knights templars remained still in agitation, and the people in general were so provoked against them, that they were compelled to shut themselves up in the fortresses belonging to their order, to prevent being torn in pieces, which precaution was represented to the king of *Arragon* as an act of rebellion. He marched, therefore, with a corps of troops against one of these fortresses, and summoned it. The knight, who commanded, surrendered immediately, and told the king the truth, assuring him, that they desired nothing but a fair trial, with which the king was extremely moved; took the whole order into his protection; forbade any to abuse or insult them under the heaviest penalties. At the same time he declared, he was ready to receive any informations against them that were supported by proofs: but declared also, that if the informers failed therein, he would punish them as they deserved; which kept things in his territories quiet^h.

The knights
templars at-
tacked, but
protected by
the king of
Arragon.
1306.

ALL things being in readiness for his expedition against the *Moors*, the king embarked at *Valentia* on the eighteenth of *July*, and soon after landed his forces in the neighbourhood of *Almeria*, which was the object of this expedition. The forces being landed, with the ammunition and military stores, the fleet of *Arragon* failed to join that of *Castile*, and to cruize upon the *Moors*.

He makes war,
in conjunction
with the mon-
arch of Cas-
tile, against
the Moors.

^a ZURIT, HIERONYMI BLANCHE, ABARCA.^b ZURITA, FERRERAS.^c Chronica del Rey Don

Fernand. ROD. Tol. de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudens. Chron. ABARCA.

^d RAINALD, ZURITA, MEZE-^e ZURITA, RAINALD, FERRERAS.^f PTOLEMÆI LUC. Annales, Vita Clement. V. apud

Baluz. P. MORET, MEZERAY, ZURITA.

^g Chronica del Rey Don Ferdinand.^h PTOLEMÆI LUC.

Annales, Vita Clem. V. apud Baluz. ZURITA, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

the coast of *Barbary*, to prevent any succours which might enable the enemy to relieve either ^a of the sieges; Don *Ferdinand* having besieged *Algezira*, and Don *Jayme* having invested *Almeria* on the fifteenth of *August* ^b. *Mohammed Aben Albamar*, king of *Granada*, was exceedingly piqued at the king of *Arragon*'s invasion, with whom he never had any war or dispute before; and therefore determined to attack him first. With this view, he began his march towards him with a numerous army; of which, as soon as Don *Jayme* had intelligence, he quitted his camp, leaving a small body of troops there, commanded by his cousin Don *Ferdinand*, son to the king of *Majorca*, and gave him battle on the twenty-fourth of the same month; when, after a warm contest, the *Moors* were defeated, with the loss of six thousand men, and the *Moors*, who had sallied from *Almeria* while the engagement lasted, were also repulsed by Don *Ferdinand* with great loss ^c. This, however, did not hinder the king of *Granada* from attempting the relief of the place a second time, on the fifteenth of *October*, when he received another check. Notwithstanding which, the rains coming on, Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile* being retired from before *Algezira*, and the king having intelligence of some troubles breaking out in *Catalonia*, he thought fit to make a truce with the *Moors*, upon condition that they set at liberty all his subjects wherever taken; and having embarked his army returned into his own dominions ^d. On the twelfth of *November*, in the succeeding year, died his queen *Donna Blanca*, exceedingly regretted by his subjects for her many virtues and amiable qualities. At an interview with Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, it was determined to persist in carrying on the war jointly against the *Moors*; and besides the alliance before contracted, it was agreed, that Don *Pedro*, the king of *Castile*'s brother, should marry the Infanta *Donna Maria*, daughter to Don *Jayme*; but, with respect to the war, as the pope refused to grant the usual succours, and as the troubles in *Castile* hindered the king from taking the field, the king of *Arragon*, who had still the conquest of *Sardinia* and *Corfica* in his own mind, remained quiet in his own dominions ^e.

A. D. 1309.

1311.

Treats the knights templars, on the dissolution of that order, with equity and indulgence.

THE hard measure the templars met with in other kingdoms, did not pass for any rule with Don *Jayme*, who caused their conduct to be examined in a council held at *Tarragona*; in which those who were convicted of any crimes were punished as they deserved, and the possession of their estates secured to the innocent during their lives: after which, as the order was to be suppressed, by the common consent of Christian princes, their revenues were assigned to the other military orders ^f. The king's daughter *Donna Isabella* espoused *Frederic*, duke of *Austria*, and though much solicited by his other son-in-law the Infant Don *Pedro* of *Castile*, Don *Jayme* meddled very little with the troubles in that country ^g. The year following, the pope interposed in behalf of *Robert*, king of *Naples*, to prevail upon the king to desist, or rather to oblige the *Catalans* his subjects to desist from their expeditions into *Greece*, which, as they were not made at the command, or for the advantage, of the king of *Arragon*, and as they are mentioned with more propriety in another place, we shall not insist upon here.

Secures the commerce of his subjects against the depredations of the Tunizeens.

1314.

BUT while they were disturbing the peace of others, their own trade, and that of the kingdom of *Valentia*, was rendered precarious, indeed almost impracticable, by the pyracies of the *Tunizeens* ^h. The king, therefore, to put an end to this evil, caused a strong squadron to be equipped, under the command of *William de Moncada*, who had orders to make the *Infidels* feel, in a very sensible manner, the weight of his master's displeasure. Accordingly, he debarked his troops, and made himself master of several fortresses along the coast, wasting the country in so cruel a manner, that, in order to be delivered from him, the king of *Tunis* offered to pay an annual tribute of five thousand doubloons, which the king of *Arragon* accepted; but it was upon condition that the fortresses he had taken should remain in his hands for the payment of that tribute ⁱ. The very same year, the king married *Donna Maria*, daughter to *Henry*, king of *Cyprus*, and, on occasion of this match, he sent an embassy to the sultan of *Babylon*, to desire his permission to ransom such *Arragonians* and *Catalans* as were prisoners within the extent of his dominions. His younger son Don *Alonso*, marrying *Donna Theresa*, heiress of *Urgel*, acquired the possession of that country, which, when he came to succeed his father, was annexed to the crown, from which it was again disjoined ^k.

His prudent and moderate views, in favour of his family.

As the affairs of this monarch were now in a very happy condition, he turned his thoughts entirely to the improvement of his dominions, providing for the welfare of his subjects, and giving what assistance was in his power to his allies. With this view, he sent his uncle Don *Ferdinand de Hizar* to mediate a peace between his brother Don *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, and his father-in-law *Charles*, king of *Naples*, and afterwards joined with the king of *Portugal* as

^b ZURIT. ABARCA, ROD. Tol. de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudens. Chron. MARIANA, FERRERAS. ^c Chronica del Rey Don Fernand, ZURITA. ^d HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, ABARCA, Chronica del Rey Don Fernand. ^e ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudens. Chron. ZURITA, Chronica del Rey Don Fernand. ^f PTOLEMÆI LUC. Annales, Vita Clement. V. apud Baluz. ^g ZURITA. ^h RAINALD, ABARCA, FERRERAS. ⁱ ZURITA, MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAXERNE TURQUET. ^k HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, ABARCA, FERRERAS.

a a mediator between the two crowns¹. He procured from pope *John* the twenty-second the approbation of the new order of *Montesa*, which he erected in the kingdom of *Valentia*, and upon which he bestowed the estates of the templars. He procured also from the same pope, the erection of *Saragossa* into an archbishopric, and compelled some of his nobility, who had taken up arms to decide their disputes; to lay them down, and to submit to the determination of the laws^m.

ALL the satisfaction this great king enjoyed, from a continued series of prosperous events, *The very singular and extraordinary case of the Infant Don* was not a little disturbed by the untoward disposition and unexampled obstinacy of his eldest son, the Infant Don *Jayme*, whom with great difficulty, and not without a mixture of force, the king brought to espouse Donna *Eleonora* of *Castile*, whom he quitted immediatelyⁿ.

b Upon this, his father threatened him (perhaps without intending it) with the loss of his succession; to which the Infant replied, that all the favour he asked was leave to renounce it^o. *Mariana* has given us a very fine speech of the king upon this occasion, and it is very certain, that he omitted nothing that could be offered to make the young man quit this resolution. He was however inflexible. He said, he despised a life of care, and thought it not at all paid for by a crown; that he loved privacy and ease, and thought them very cheaply purchased at this expence; that he knew many bad things had been done to acquire crowns, but that he thought there was no crime in declining one that was his indubitable right. Upon this the king called an assembly of the states, where, upon the fourteenth day of *December*, the Infant Don *Jayme* freely renounced all title to the crown, and the states with his consent, and in his presence, took an oath of fealty to his brother the Infant Don *Alonso*^p. Don *Jayme* of A. D. 1319. his own accord assumed the habit of *Calatrava*, and soon after changed it for that of *Montesa*. His subsequent course of life shewed, that he was not without vices and follies, but ambition was not amongst the number of the former, or unsteadiness of the latter. He passed his time in his own way, and lived and died content^q. In the same assembly of the states, *Arragon*, *Valentia*, and *Catalonia* were united, and declared to be inseparable in time to come^r.

THE next year was distinguished by another singularity in the king's family. His son, the Infant Don *Juan*, being elected archbishop of *Toledo*, and that election being confirmed by the pope, he was consecrated in the presence of his father with great solemnity at *Lerida*, by Don *Ximenes de Luna*, archbishop of *Tarragona*, and Don *Pedro de Luna*, archbishop of *Saragossa*. *The Infant Don Juan of Arragon consecrated archbishop of Toledo.* d He was no sooner in the possession of his new dignity than he began to exercise acts of primacy, upon which the two archbishops excommunicated him; the king was exceedingly offended; but when those prelates told him, that they did it to vindicate the independency of the crown of *Arragon* upon that of *Castile*, he was very much softened, and advised his son to go to his church, where this extraordinary conduct did not a little recommend him^s. A new war having broke out between *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, and his brother-in-law *Robert*, king of *Naples*, the king of *Arragon* desired the pope to interpose, and at the same time demanded his permission to send two ships richly laden into the dominions of the Infidels, to procure the liberty of multitudes of his subjects, *Arragonians* and *Catalans*, that were prisoners there, which was readily granted^t. 1320.

e THE queen Donna *Maria* dying, the king soon after married a third time, Donna *Elizinda de Moncada*^u. An assembly of the states being held at *Lerida*, the king laid before them his title to the island of *Sardinia*, and likewise informed them, that the inhabitants, weary of the tyranny of the *Pisans*, had pressed him to deliver them; that however, as he could do nothing without their assistance, he would not do any thing without their advice. The states answered, that he was bound in honour as a king to prosecute his right; and it was his duty to relieve the miserable; and that whatever he thought reasonable to ask, they were ready to grant. Don *Sancho*, king of *Majorca*, who was present, did homage for his dominions, and offered to serve in this expedition with twenty gallees. The Infant Don *Alonso* was declared admiral and commander in chief, and, having hoisted his flag in the harbour of *Barcelona*, f had quickly a fleet and army sufficient for the conquests he was about to undertake^v.

BUT the king was advised to delay the expedition a little, till it should be seen what favours the pope would grant him, in respect of levying money upon the clergy, and also what dependence might be placed upon the assurances he had received from some of the nobility; and many of the inhabitants of the island of *Sardinia*. In regard to the court of *Rome*, he found himself absolutely disappointed; the pope grew jealous of his power, and therefore would contribute nothing towards making him so near a neighbour. In *Sardinia* some of the *Undertaken by the Infant Don Alonso, conducted with prudence, and ended with success.*

¹ ZURITA, MALESPINI Hist. Florentin. ^m RAINALD, ZURITA, ABARCA. ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso XI. ROD. Tolet. de rebus Hispan. FERRERAS. ^o ZURITA, ABARCA. ^p Hist. general de Espana, lib. xii. ZURITA, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, FERRERAS. ^q MARIANA, MEYERNE TURQUET. ^r ZURITA, ABARCA. ^s RAINALD, RODERIC Tolet. de rebus Hispan. ZURITA. ^t RAINALD, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, FERRERAS. ^u ZURITA. ^v ABARCA, ZURITA, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

nobles took up arms in favour of the king of *Arragon*, surprized several of the garrisons ^a belonging to the *Pisans*, and, having given the highest demonstrations of their fidelity by beginning the war, pressed the king of *Arragon* not to abandon them². As this was never his intention, and as his preparations had been still going on, there was nothing farther necessary than to send his orders for the prince to embark, having previously sent a small squadron; with a supply of troops and provisions, to the lords who had taken up arms. The prince sailed on the fifth of *June* with a fleet of sixty men of war and galleys, and two hundred and forty transports³. Upon his arriving happily in the port of *Palma*, and debarking his forces, many of the nobility and gentry came in, and acknowledged the king of *Arragon* for their sovereign; by whose advice the prince invested *Izlegias* and *Cagliari*, the two principal places in the island, at the same time. Both these places made a good defence, and the *Pisans*, on ^b their side, used their utmost endeavours to relieve them; so that it was the seventh of *February*, in the year following, before the first of them surrendered, and the latter held out near a year, and was rendered at length upon terms, the republic of *Pisa* being to hold the city and castle as vassals to the king of *Arragon*, and to put the rest of the island into his hands².

1324. ^c THIS treaty being carried into execution, the Infant Don *Alonso* returned into his father's dominions, and landed at *Barcelona*, on the second of *August*. In his absence, and while he was dangerously ill, at the siege of *Cagliari*, his brother Don *Pedro* had prevailed upon their father to create him count of *Ribagorça* and *Ampurias* with very great solemnity, and, as some writers say, in case of Don *Alonso's* death, he was in hopes of defeating his nephews of the succession: his father, to prevent any intrigues of this sort, gave him the command of the ^d auxiliary troops, with which he was obliged to furnish the pope, in consideration of his grant of the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*; for, besides two thousand marks of silver, he was to send a hundred horse, and five hundred foot, to serve in the wars of the church². On the arrival of Don *Pedro*, the pope remitted half of this for ten years. On the fourth of *September* died Don *Sancho*, king of *Majorca*; upon which, Don *Jayme* signified his intention to unite those islands to his other dominions; but the Infant Don *Philip*, who had embraced an ecclesiastical life, having demonstrated to the king, that Don *Jayme*, the son of the Infant Don *Ferdinand* of *Majorca*, was the lawful heir, and called to the succession by the will of the deceased king, the king of *Arragon* declared, that he would be as tender of another's rights as of his own, and relinquished all claim, but that of appointing the Infant Don *Philip* ^e his uncle guardian of the young prince².

He defeats his uncle's scheme, and procures his son to be acknowledged successor to the king. THE fleet of *Arragon* had scarce quitted the coast of *Sardinia* before troubles broke out there; which, however, were quickly appeased. However, the potent family of *Oria*, and the marquis *de Malespini*, not finding their account, at least in the degree they expected, from this revolution, changed sides, and, in conjunction with the *Pisans*, renewed the war². The king of *Arragon* sent immediately a squadron of twelve sail, with a fresh body of troops into the island. The *Pisans* were no sooner informed of this, and that the castle of *Cagliari* was closely blocked up, than they fitted out a strong fleet under the command of *Gaspar Oria*; but admiral *Carroz*, with the fleet of *Arragon*, lying before the harbour of *Cagliari*, prevented their entrance, and, after a very sharp and bloody dispute, beat and dispersed them². ^e In *Arragon*, the king held the states general at *Saragossa*, where, at the instance of the Infant Don *Alonso*, his son Don *Pedro* was acknowledged heir to the crown, in case his father should die in the life-time of the king; with which his uncle Don *Pedro*, count of *Ribagorça*, was so highly offended, that he withdrew from the assembly, with all the lords of his party².

The king dies with very great esteem, and in possession of the hearts of his subjects. THE Infant Don *Juan*, the king's uncle, archbishop of *Toledo*, and chancellor of *Castile*, having lost the favour of the king Don *Alonso* the eleventh, and being deprived of his high office, exchanged his archbishopric for that of *Tarragona*². In *Sardinia*, Don *Raymond de Paralta* and admiral *Carroz* pushed the war with so much vigour and success, that at length the *Pisans* offered to evacuate the island, which they were permitted to do, in virtue of a treaty made for that purpose. The marquis *de Malespini* and the malecontents, having now ^f lost all support, applied themselves to the king of *Arragon*, to know what fate they were to expect: who, in return, acquainted them, that, in case they could forget their former seditious inclinations, they might depend upon the same favour and protection that was shewn to the rest of his subjects; upon which they laid down their arms, and returned to the quiet enjoyment of their estates². The pope being engaged in a war against the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, the king of *Arragon* sent his son the Infant Don *Pedro* with the auxiliaries that he was bound to furnish, as feudatory to the holy see for the island of *Sardinia*². On the eigh-

^x RAINALD, MALESPINI Hist. Florent. ZURITA.

² MALESPINI Hist. Florent. MARIANA, FERRERAS.

ABARCA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

ABARCA, MARIANA.

^c ZURITA.

SPINI Hist. Florent. ZURITA, FERRERAS.

^y HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, ABARCA, FERRERAS.

² RAINALD, ZURITA, FERRERAS.

^c MALESPINI Hist. Florent. ZURITA.

^d HIERONYMI BLANCÆ,

^e Chronica del Rey Don Alonso XI.

^f RAINALD.

ABARCA.

² MALE-

a teenth day of October died Donna *Theresa*, the consort of Don *Alonso*; by whom she had three children, Don *Pedro*, Don *Jayme*, and Donna *Constantia*. Upon the last day of the same month deceased the king Don *Jayme*, surnamed very deservedly *the Just*, infinitely regretted by all his subjects; in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, and when his glory was at its highest pitch¹.

ALONSO the fourth succeeded his father with universal approbation, and was crowned with great solemnity on the feast of *Whitsunday* following, in the cathedral church of *Saragossa*, by Don *Pedro de Luna*, archbishop of that city, in the presence of the states, who were then assembled^k. Upon this occasion, the king made many knights, and amongst them his son Don *Jayme*, whom he created count of *Urgel*. He also concluded a treaty with the kings of *Tunis* and *Tremecen*, to whom he was become very formidable by his possession of *Sardinia*^l. *Don Alonso* IV. succeeds his father, and espouses the Infanta Leonora of Castile.

b In the beginning of the succeeding year, he had an interview with Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, with whom he concluded a very close alliance, and, as the seal of it, espoused his sister the Infanta Donna *Leonora*; and, at the close of the year, that princess was delivered of Don *Ferdinand*, whom his father created marquis of *Tortosa*, and lord of *Albarracin*^m. In consequence of his treaty with *Castile*, he found himself obliged to take some share in the war with the *Moors*, and accordingly acted against the king of *Granada* both by land and sea; though the *Castilian* writers would persuade us, that he was a little negligent in that war, on account of his own disputes with the *Genoese*ⁿ. It is indeed true, that the republic of *Genoa* having excited the malecontents to take up arms, and furnished them with assistance; the king, provoked by this behaviour, entered into a war with them, which was both long and bloody; but that this did not hinder him from executing his treaty with *Castile* appears incontestible from hence, that the king of *Granada* had no sooner concluded a truce with Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, than he marched a numerous army through *Murcia* into *Valentia*, where they wasted the whole country with fire and sword^o. A. D. 1330.

c THE pope and the king of *Naples* interposed with Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, in favour of the *Manages* *Genoese*, who, finding their whole coast destroyed by the king's fleet, seemed desirous of putting an end to the quarrel. Don *Alonso* answered, that when they withdrew the troops they had in *Sardinia*, and gave him proper assurances that they would give no farther assistance to the rebels in that island, he would forget what was past, and live with them as friends for the future; but that, while he continued their enemy, he would endeavour to make them sensible, they had not consulted their interest in giving him offence, neither was he induced to alter his opinion by their sending a fleet of forty men of war and galleys, to ravage the coasts of *Catalonia* and *Valentia*. These afterwards made an attempt upon *Sardinia*, where they were so warmly received, that they retired with loss, as the *Moors* of *Granada* likewise did, who had made another irruption into the kingdom of *Valentia*, upon the king's advancing towards them with a numerous army: so that abroad things went as well as the king could desire; and if they had remained in quiet at home, there could have been nothing left for them to wish: but the same spirit of discord that disturbs private families, in finding a passage into those of kings excites national discontents^p. foreign affairs; with great spirit, success; and reputation.

d To conceive this matter clearly, it is requisite to observe, that the generosity of this monarch was so well known as to excite, soon after his accession, an application from the states to prevent his granting away any of the demesnes of the crown; which he took to be so reasonable, that he promised upon oath not to make any grants for ten years to come. This oath his son the Infant Don *Pedro* apprehended to be infringed, by his bestowing *Tortosa* and *Albarracin* on the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, of which he complained loudly. On the other hand, the king declared, that when he made that oath he had no thought of precluding himself from the right of providing for his children; and, by the advice of his young queen *Leonora*, banished Don *Pedro de Luna*, archbishop of *Saragossa*, who, as she surmised, had put this into the Infant's head^q. This irritated Don *Pedro* to such a degree, that he surprized *Xativa*, which was one of the places the king had assigned Donna *Leonora* for her jointure. The queen, who was very sensible that the king's ill state of health, who was at that time very much afflicted with the dropsy, was what chiefly encouraged the Infant to these excesses, applied to her brother, who refused to interfere at all during the life-time of the monarch, who had rejected the applications of Don *Juan Emanuel* and the rest of the malecontents, with great prudence and honour; but assured her, that if, upon his demise, his successor did her any injustice, she might rely upon his protection^r. The Infant, to strengthen his party, laboured, with the consent of his father, to marry the heiress of *Navarre*. This year was fatal to two princes of the royal blood, the Infant Don *Juan*, patriarch of *Alex-* Unhappy in his family, from what cause, and in what an high degree.

¹ ZURITA, ABARCA, HIERON. BLANCÆ, MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.
^l ABARCA, HIERON. BLANCÆ. ^m Chron. del Rey Don Alonso XI. ⁿ Chron. var. antiq.
FERRERAS. ^p RAINALD, MALESPINI Hist. Florent. ZURITA, ABARCA, MARIANA.
BLANC. ZURITA, MARIANA. ^r Chronica del Rey Don Alonso.

^k ZURITA.
^o ZURITA,
^q HIERON.

andria, and archbishop of *Tarragona*, less distinguished by his birth and titles than by his virtues; and the Infant Don *Jayme*, who, as we have before observed, preferred a private life to the splendour of a crown; and, after he made that choice, never gave any sign of dissatisfaction, or the slightest grounds of suspicion^a.

Dies with the sincere affection of his subjects, and highly respected by his allies.

A. D. 1335.

In the beginning of the succeeding year, the marriage of the Infant Don *Pedro* was concluded by the archbishop of *Saragossa* with Donna *Maria*, princess of *Navarre*, though it was at first intended he should have married her eldest sister Donna *Joanna*; but it seems he liked the younger better, and insisted upon her being declared heiress of the kingdom, in prejudice of her elder sister, who, after this affront, married the viscount of *Roan*^b. It was in consideration of this marriage, that the Infant engaged himself precipitately in favour of the people of *Navarre*, in the invasion they made upon *Castile*, where he received that chastisement that was due to his folly, as we have shewn in its proper place. The king, Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, made this year a tour into *Valentia*, in hopes the air of that country might have contributed to his recovery; and, while he was there, he received ambassadors from the king of *Granada*, with whom he concluded a peace^c. The war in *Sardinia* still subsisted, and, in its consequences, had created some disputes between the crown of *Arragon* and the pope; the king insisting, on the one side, to be released from the tribute he paid for the island of *Sardinia*, since the whole of it was not in his possession; and the pope complaining, that the admiral of *Arragon* had acted to the prejudice of *Robert*, king of *Naples*^d. Don *Juan Emanuel* threw himself, at this time, upon the king's protection, who, though he would give him no assistance towards the execution of his project, did not think fit to deny him a retreat^e in his dominions, out of respect to his birth. The care of his physicians, and the mild climate of *Valentia*, proving ineffectual for the king's relief, he departed this life on the twenty-fourth of *January*, one thousand three hundred and thirty-six, in the ninth year of his reign, having merited, by the gentleness of his administration, the surname of *the Kind*^f.

Don Pedro IV. succeeds his father, and meets with much discord and trouble.

Don *Pedro* the fourth felt all the cares and anxieties of royalty, from the moment he became a king. The queen his mother-in-law, Donna *Leonora*, with the assistance of Don *Pedro Exerica*, and some other persons of quality, took the necessary measures to provide for the security of herself and her children, though, at the same time, she wrote in very plausible terms to the king^a. The inhabitants of *Catalonia* pressed Don *Pedro*, with great importunity, to make a tour into that country, and to confirm their privileges before he was crowned; while the people of *Arragon*, on the other hand, insisted, that he should follow the custom of his predecessors, assemble the states, and confirm their privileges at his coronation. He judged it, after mature deliberation, more convenient to comply with their desires, and accordingly he was crowned on *Easter-day* in the cathedral of *Saragossa*; or rather he crowned himself, for the only two *Catalan* lords who remained with him advised him to this expedient, that the archbishop of *Saragossa*'s placing the crown upon his head might not be urged as an argument that he held *Arragon*, as well as *Sardinia*, as vassal to the pope^b. Immediately after his coronation, the people of *Valentia* intreated him to come thither, and to confirm their privileges; but he thought it more expedient to go to *Lerida*, where, after he had done all that was expected from him, the prelates and lords of *Catalonia* did homage, and swore fidelity^c. As the king of *Castile* pressed him to confirm his father's grants to the queen and her children, he gave him only general answers, insinuating, that he was desirous of living upon good terms with the queen his mother-in-law, and of providing for his brethren; but that, if his father's grants were exorbitant, he could not acquiesce under them without prejudice to his subjects^d. The states general of his dominions approved of his conduct, and declared the estates of Don *Pedro Exerica* forfeited. The king, however, sent commissioners to Don *Pedro* to summon him to return to his duty, whom he received with great respect, and submitted to all their demands; but, upon the appearance of a body of *Castilian* horse, he delivered them into their hands, notwithstanding he had given them a safe conduct^e. The king of *Arragon* immediately entered into a treaty with Don *Juan Emanuel*, and the malecontents of *Castile*, upon which ensued a war between the two kingdoms^f.

Compromises all differences with his mother-in-law Donna Leonora of Castile.

THE queen-dowager Donna *Leonora*, having applied to pope *Benedict* the twelfth, he acted, upon that occasion, in a manner very suitable to his character; he solicited the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon* to lay aside hostilities, and to resume the milder method of negotiation. He represented to the latter, that since he considered his father's grant to be exorbitant, it would be best to refer that to the states, concluding his interposition with a stroke

^a ZURITA, FERRERAS. ^b P. MORET, ABARCA. ^c RODERIC Tol. de reb. Hispan, ZURITA.
^d RAINALD, MALESPINI Hist. Florent. ABARCA. ^e HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, ZURITA, ABARCA,
 MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^f ZURITA ² ABARCA, FERRERAS. ³ ZURITA.
^b Chronica del Rey Don Alonso, HIERON. BLANCÆ. ^c ZURITA, ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. LUCÆ
 Tudensis Chron. ^d ABARCA, FERRERAS.

- a of his papal authority, requiring the archbishop of *Saragossa* to come to *Rome*, to answer for a behaviour so unworthy in a Christian prelate, as that with which he was charged, of fomenting disputes in the royal family^c. The kings submitted to the pope's advice; and Don *Juan Emanuel* being reconciled to his sovereign, was appointed plenipotentiary for the queen-dowager; the king, on the other hand, made choice of his uncle the infant Don *Pedro*; and, upon a conference held in the presence of the pope's legates, the arbitrators agreed, the king should receive Don *Pedro Exerica* into his favour; that the king of *Castile* should release the viscount of *Cabrera*, and other lords of *Arragon*, who were prisoners in his dominions; that the queen-dowager should be put in possession of all the places assigned her by the late king, without prejudice to the authority of the reigning prince; and that the infants Don *Ferdinand* and Don *Juan* should likewise be put in possession of their appennages; but that the king might give an equivalent for the latter, if he thought fit. These articles A. D. 1338. were ratified by the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*; and this troublesome affair ended, the two monarchs entered into a close alliance against the *Moors*, who threatened both their kingdoms with an invasion, both by land and sea, from *Granada* and *Morocco*^f.

- In the beginning of the ensuing year, the queen Donna *Leonora* returned to court, where she was exceedingly well received, and had the generosity to pardon the archbishop of *Saragossa* all the injuries he had done her, though she knew he had prevailed upon the deputies of that city to protest against the last agreement^e. The king of *Majorca* having deferred doing homage for his dominions, the king Don *Pedro* assigned him a day for that purpose; and though he laboured to have the time prolonged, yet, in the end, he was forced to submit^b. The king of *Arragon* went in person soon after to *Avignon*, to do homage to the pope for the kingdom of *Sardinia*; and being accompanied at his public entry by the king of *Majorca*, a very unlucky accident happened. The lord, who led the king of *Arragon's* horse, suffering him to go a little too quick, he, who performed the same office to the king of *Majorca*, struck both the horse and the man: upon which the king of *Arragon* laid his hand upon his sword; but his uncle Don *Pedro* interposing, things went no fartherⁱ. The fleet of *Arragon* served with great reputation this year against the *Moors*, but the admiral who commanded it had the misfortune to be killed at the siege of *Algezira*, to the great mortification of the king of *Castile* as well as of his master^k. The precautions taken by Don *Pedro* in repairing and fortifying all the strong places in *Valentia*, and the keeping a stout squadron upon the coast, prevented, or rather put it out of the power of, the king of *Morocco* to execute the invasion that he intended: so that the young monarch raised a high reputation, which however was chiefly owing to the prudent councils of his uncle Don *Pedro*, who managed the great influence he had over him entirely for the benefit of his subjects, and the honour of the crown^l.

- The pope being well informed, that the reason why the king of *Arragon* was so exceedingly apprehensive of the *Moors* making a descent in his dominions, was the number of *Mohammedans* and *Jews* that inhabited *Valentia*, wrote to him in very pressing terms to drive them all out, and sent briefs upon the same subject to the archbishops of *Tarragona* and *Saragossa*; but the king, who knew that a great part of his revenue arose from the industry of the one, and the commerce of the other, was in no great hurry to pursue this ecclesiastical advice, but chose rather to reap the benefit of their stay, and to guard as well as he could against the inconveniencies attending it^m. The people of *Corfica*, perceiving that the lords in *Sardinia*, who had embraced the party of the crown of *Arragon*, were infinitely more at ease than themselves, began to wish they were under the same sovereign; and *Hugo Cortingo* and *Lope Cinerecha*, who were the principal persons in that island, dispatched the bishop of *Aleria* to assure him, that, if he would but afford them the countenance of a fleet, they would revolt, and put the island into his hands; but Don *Pedro* had at that time so many things to attend, that he gave these lords a fair answer, yet did not accept of their proposalⁿ. However, he sent his uncle Don *Sancho* to *Rome*, to solicit a grant of the tenths of the clergy for three years, in consideration of his war against the *Moors*, and to remit the tribute of the island of *Sardinia*, since he did not receive so much out of its revenues^o.

His spleen against Don *Jayme*, king of *Majorca*, rose so high, that, notwithstanding that monarch had married his sister, he resolved to dispossess him of his dominions, which seemed a work of no great difficulty, since, by a very unseasonable affectation of independency, he had drawn upon himself the arms of the king of *France*, and was already stripped of most

^c RAINALD, ZURIT. FER.

^f Chronica del Rey Don Alonso, ZURIT. ABARC. RAINALD, MARIAN.

MAYERNE TURQUET.

^e HIERON. BLANCÆ, FER.

^k ZURIT.

ⁱ ABARC. FER. &C.

^m RAINALD.

FERRERAS.

^b ZURIT.

^l RAINALD, ABARC. MAR.

ⁿ ZURIT. HIERON. BLANCÆ.

^o RAINALD,

of the countries he held in that kingdom, and had taxed his subjects in the islands so high, ^a that they solicited the king of *Arragon* to take them under his protection^p. According to some writers, the king of *Arragon* had been instrumental in exciting his brother-in-law to refuse homage to the *French* king, on purpose to bring him into difficulties; and indeed ^b there is great reason to believe, that what they have delivered on this subject is true. For, in the midst of his distress, and when he was daily soliciting relief, he summoned him to appear, in the assembly of the states of *Barcelona*, to answer for the non-payment of tribute, for presuming to enter into a war with *France* without his permission, and for coining money, which, as his feudatory, he had no right to do. About the same time, he sent his brother Don *Jayme* to fetch over the queen of *Majorca* his sister; and that unfortunate monarch her husband, seeing plainly that his ruin was designed, in a high fit of resentment began first: ^c He renounced his homage to Don *Pedro*, proclaimed war against him, challenged him, and seized all the merchandize belonging to his subjects that were in his dominion^q. Don *Pedro*, who expected all this, withdrew his fleet from the coast of *Castile*, where it had performed great things, and took all his measures with such an air of uncertainty and trouble, as if he had been apprehensive of danger from a prince, whom he was contriving to dispossess of all his dominions, and made no doubt of performing it in a single campaign. We shall be obliged to mention these transactions again in another place, and shall therefore run over the capital points briefly here.

Executes his
scheme with
great vivacity
and inextin-
guishable re-
sentment.

1343.

THE situation of things in *Europe*, at that time, put it fully in the power of the king of *Arragon* to execute all he intended, with the same ease and promptitude with which it ^c had been contrived: and he went through every step of it with the same stern unrelenting severity that he had shewn in his first proceedings. He began by declaring roundly on the eighteenth of *February* at *Barcelona*, that the king of *Majorca* stood deprived, for his contumacy and rebellion, of all his dominions; and, at the same time he made this declaration, he ordered his brother to fall with a strong corps of troops into *Roussillon*^r. He embarked in person on board his fleet with fifteen thousand foot and three hundred horse, and with this force he debarked in *Majorca*, on the twenty-fifth of *May*. The king Don *Jayme* had a considerable body of troops in good order, with which he thought it very practicable, either to have prevented Don *Pedro*'s landing; or with some advantage to have given him battle after he was landed. But alas! he was very little acquainted with his own circum- ^d stances; since no sooner was Don *Pedro* in the field, and in a condition to act, but, according to the assurances they had given, the whole, or at least the far greatest part, of the king of *Majorca*'s army deserted; so that he was forced, in a week's time, to embark with a few faithful friends on board a small ship, which landed him safely in *France*^s. Don *Pedro*, on the other hand, made a solemn and splendid entry into the capital, and promised the inhabitants, that their island should never be detached from the dominions of *Arragon* more; and having left a force sufficient to secure that, and reduce the two other islands of *Minorca* and *Ivica*, he returned into his own territories, fully determined to strip this miserable prince of the poor remains he had still left^t: in which he made a considerable progress the same year; but, at the request of the pope's legate, towards the close of it, he consented to a truce for ^e eight months. This seemed to be the effects of pity, but proceeded in reality from policy; for his funds being exhausted, he was obliged to put his army into winter quarters^u.

1344.

Shews no pity
for that mon-
arch, when
he came and
submitted to
his mercy.

As soon as the truce expired, which was in the month of *May* following, without paying the least attention to the interposition of the pope and other Christian princes, he resumed the war with such rigour, and with so great a superiority, that the unfortunate king of *Majorca*, who had shut himself up in *Perpignan*, finding it impossible to make any resistance, had recourse to his clemency; and, being introduced into his presence by Don *Pedro Exerica*, bending one knee to the ground, he humbly acknowledged his indiscretion, and besought him to remember, that he was a king, a prince of his own blood, his brother-in-law, and that his children were his nephews. To which ^f Don *Pedro* very drily answered, that, upon the surrender of *Perpignan*, he might merit his pity. It was accordingly surrendered, and the king of *Arragon* made his public entry into it on the sixteenth of *July*; and, on the twenty-second of the same month, he published an edict, by which the county of *Roussillon*, and all the states dependent upon it, were re-united for ever to the crown of *Arragon*^w. He carried his vengeance still farther; under pretence of expressing his pity, he declared, that if the unfortunate Don *Jayme* would lay aside the title of king, he would allow him an annuity of ten thousand livres *per annum*, and permit him to enjoy some estates he had still left in *France*, which, as he foresaw, drove that undone prince into despair. All that was left in his power was, to express his rage

^p ZURIT. ABARC.
^q MEZÉRAY, MARIAN.

^r HIERON. BLANCHÉ, ZURIT. MARIAN. FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.
^s ZURI. ABARCA. ^t RAINALD. ^u ZURIT. FER.

^v ZURIT.

against

a against the king of *Arragon* in the roughest terms, and the companions of his ill fortune threw out reproaches of the same kind against Don *Pedro Exerica*, which however were very ill founded, and had like to have been attended with very fatal consequences: at length, not knowing where to hide his head, the count of *Foix* generously afforded him a retreat, which gave the king of *Arragon* infinite disquiet *.

THE pope and the king of *France* made still some shew of soliciting, in favour of the dethroned king. But Don *Pedro* was a thorough politician, took his measures so well, rendered himself so formidable, and applied his presents and his promises with such propriety, that he quieted *Clement* the sixth ^{Softens the pope and the crown of France, in the business of the king of Majorca.}; and by proposing a marriage between his daughter and the grandson of the *French* king, he stopped all solicitations from that quarter². He discovered some inclination to revive his disputes with the queen-dowager, and his brothers; but Don *Alonso* of *Castile* sustained their interests in a very different manner from that which had been shewn by the pretended friends of the king of *Majorca*; upon which, as his interest directed, Don *Pedro* thought fit to desist³. He was now become odious, but, at the same time, terrible to his neighbours: however, the *Genoese* and the *Pisans* were in great hopes, with the assistance of some exiled malecontents, to have it in their power to expel his forces out of *Sardinia*. A. D. 1345.

THE scheme was well laid, and, in all probability, would have had its effect; but Don *Pedro's* Defeats the politics dissipated the storm; he made a strict alliance with the *Venetians*, which gave him a superiority at sea, and, as if it had been the pure effects of clemency, he granted a pardon ^{Defeats the schemes of the Genoese and Pisans upon the island of Sardinia. 1346.} without restrictions, and restored all the exiles to their estates, so that of conspirators they became courtiers in an instant: and thus the schemes of the two republics were absolutely defeated^b. The constant success that had attended his negotiations and his arms, cherished that ambition which was natural to Don *Pedro*, and encouraged him to believe, that he might execute without difficulty what none of his predecessors durst have attempted. He had already awed the states into many things, and he resolved to exert his utmost policy and power to procure their concurrence in a measure, which he knew the best part of them must consider as directly contrary to the constitution: a thing hitherto unpractised in *Arragon*, where preceding kings had made the protection of the public liberty the ruling maxim of their administrations.

d WE have before observed, that in his marriage with the infanta Donna *Maria* of *Navarre*, he had stipulated an infraction of the rule of succession in that kingdom; and as he had by this princess three daughters, the infantas *Constantia*, *Johanna*, and *Maria*, he determined to ^{Forms a design of altering the succession in favour of the infantas his daughters.} set aside his brothers; and to engage the states to entail his whole dominions upon the infanta *Donna Constantia*. The first step he took, in order to this, was to establish a commission of twenty-two divines and civil lawyers, and of these nineteen declared the king's proposition to be conformable to the laws of *Arragon*^c. *Ferreras*, and some other writers, seem to be also of this opinion; but the ablest and most learned of the historians of *Arragon* are of the other side^d. It is not our business to interfere in this dispute, but it is our duty to report the facts, and this, which is before us, makes it evident, that the rule of succession in *Arragon* was otherwise; for, if it had not, the king stood in no need of a new law, but might have trusted the succession to the regulation of the states upon his demise. On the other hand, the infant Don *Jayme*, who conceived himself to be exceedingly injured by this disposition, associated the principal nobility of *Arragon*, who charged the king with violating their privileges in many particulars, in that kind of confederacy to which they gave the name of *the union*, and declared himself their head; upon which the king deprived him of his post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom of *Valentia*, forbid him to enter that city upon any pretence, and extended this prohibition also to *Barcelona*, *Lerida*, and *Saragossa*^e. In this situation of things, an event happened that might have changed the face of them entirely, which was, the queen Donna *Maria's* being brought to bed at *Valentia* of a son; but this young prince died the same day, and, on the fifth day after, his mother also expired^f. 1347.

f THE king Don *Pedro* having information that the queen dowager had proposed to the court of *Portugal* a marriage between her son the infant Don *Ferdinand*, and the infanta Donna *Leonora*, ^{His brother Don Jayme revives against him the union of Arragon.} he dispatched a minister of his to *Lisbon*, to solicit that princess for himself, in which, by the help of an infinity of intrigues, he prevailed^g. The dethroned king of *Majorca* made an attempt upon that country, but without effect; the same spirit that had driven him out inducing the people to keep him out; so that, with a few forces he brought with him, he was forced to embark again, and retire into *France*^h. The news of this invasion, and of his brother Don *Jayme's*

* MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, MEZERAY.

Tolet. de rebus Hispan. LUC. Tudens. Chron.

Pedro IV.

Pedro IV. MARIAN. FER.

SCUSA, BRANDAON, ABARC.

Y RAINALD.

b ZURIT. ABARC. FER.

c Historia de Espana, sec. xiii. ZURIT. HIERON. BLANCÉ.

f ZURIT. ABARC. MAYERNE TURQUET.

g MEZERAY, FER.

2 ZURIT. MEZERAY.

a ROD.

c Chronica del Rey Don

e Chronica del Rey Don

8 EMANUEL DE FARIA Y

being invited by the nobility and people to *Saragossa*, in quality of the head of the league, ^a induced the king *Don Pedro* to go into *Catalonia* to keep that country quiet. He had no sooner quitted *Valentia* than the nobility and people of that kingdom likewise formed a union, of which they made the infant *Don Ferdinand* chief. *Don Pedro*, soon after his arrival at *Barcelona*, dispatched an able minister to the court of *Castile* to dissuade the king from entertaining any correspondence with the union of *Arragon*, assuring him he would consider his sister the queen-dowager's interest as his own, provided he would give no assistance to that assembly, which the king readily promised; but, at the same time, allowed the infant *Don Ferdinand* to raise eight hundred men in his dominions ⁱ. On the other hand, *Don Pedro* licensed *Michael Perez Zapata* to become a mighty warm patriot, that, by insinuating himself with the principal persons engaged in the union, he might either bring them into the king's ^b measures, or raise disputes among themselves; but, for the present, this project likewise failed. The king was on the point of quitting *Catalonia*, when he understood that the king of *Majorca*, with a small body of troops, had penetrated into *Roussillon*. Upon this he marched thither, attacked, and defeated him; and, having provided for the security of that country, returned into *Arragon*, where he found himself obliged by the union to call an assembly of the states at *Saragossa* ^k.

He is constrained to call an assembly of the states, and to make therein great concessions.

HE saw clearly, that he should be obliged to make many concessions; and therefore, the day before the states met, he privately made a protest, that whatever acts he did or signed in that assembly were null and void, as being against his opinion, and under compulsion. Fortified with this unkingly evasion, he met the states, made them a long, artful, disingenuous ^c speech, and heard very patiently all the disagreeable things they had to say; for without scruple they told him to his face, that his reign had been hitherto a continued series of breaches upon their constitution; that, by bestowing public employments upon bad men, he had made the people of *Arragon* pay the wages of those who laboured for their destruction; that, for the future therefore, he must think of governing by law; of removing these dangerous people from about his person; and of receiving his ministers, governors, and generals, upon the recommendation of the states: which, if he hesitated to do, they would elect a new king. He seemed to take no offence at this, but contented himself with observing, that it was improper for persons in such an assembly to come armed; which he did in favour of his own partizans, who were afraid of declaring themselves upon that account: the assembly ^d thereupon made an order, that for the future none should appear armed in their debates. The king, now secure of a party, came the next day, and falling upon his brother *Don Jayme*, in a set speech told him, he was an unnatural and perfidious rebel, and his associates traitors. The infant excused himself very modestly, hinted at the services he had done his country, which, he said, were overpaid by the honour they had done him in electing him head of the union; but some of the members who were near the door opened it, and exclaimed, that the king had violated the privileges of the states, and that it was doubtful whether their lives were secure. Upon which, a multitude of people armed burst in, and the king was indebted to his brother, and the chiefs of the malecontents, that he went away alive ^e.

Poisons his brother at Barcelona, and marries Donna Leonora of Portugal.

THE infant, and some of the principal nobility, attended him to *Barcelona*, where the queen was expected, and where, while they waited for her, an apoplexy was so complaisant as to remove *Don Jayme*; which has induced the historians of *Arragon* to assert, that it was of the king's procuring ^m. It did not however contribute much to his advantage, since, while his marriage was celebrating with pomp and magnificence at *Barcelona*, *Don Ferdinand* was making a great progress, by force of arms, in the kingdom of *Valentia*, and, from his success there, was declared also head of the union of *Arragon*; into which kingdom he sent his brother *Don Juan* to supply his place ⁿ. In *Sardinia* also most of the great families had rebelled; upon which the king sent *Hugo Cervelon* with a supply to his brother the viceroy, which proved fatal to them both; for engaging the malecontents precipitately, they were, ^f together with the viceroy's son, and all the *Arragonian* cavalry, cut to pieces ^o.

In great danger from the confederates, joined the union in Valentia.

THE next year was still more fruitful of great events; indeed, there have seldom happened, in the same compass of time, so many extraordinary transactions in any kingdom. The union of *Valentia* went on raising troops, and the union of *Barcelona*, according to the league that was between them, sent a considerable reinforcement, under the command of *Don Ximenes de Urrea* and *Don Lope de Luna*, which last was privately in the king's interest, and, by picking a quarrel with his associates, debauched the best part of the troops, and defeated the service ^p. However, the infant *Don Ferdinand* was so well beloved, and the

ⁱ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso X. ZURIT.

del Rey Don Pedro X. ZURIT. ABARC. HIERON. BLANCÆ, MARIAN. FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.

HIERON. BLANCÆ.

ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Pedro IV.

^b HIERON. BLANCÆ, ABARC. MARIAN.

^o ZURIT. MARIAN.

¹ Chronica

^m ZURIT.

^p Chronica

a cause was so popular in *Valentia*, that he suffered nothing by this accident, but found himself very soon at the head of fifty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The king Don Pedro, who was at *Morviedro*, with a very small party, being apprehensive of his safety, judged it expedient to fortify the place, which occasioned a general insurrection of its inhabitants, who intended to have put to death the king's chief counsellors and favourites, but that they secured themselves by a timely retreat, and left the king to take care of himself. He pacified the people, by assuring them, that he sought only his own preservation; upon which they judged it best for him and for them, to conduct him with the queen to *Valentia*, where they were received with great respect^a. In the mean time, the king laboured to bring off his brother the infant Don *Ferdinand*, by proposing to declare him lieutenant general of his own dominions, and his successor, in case he died without issue male; but the infant answered very firmly, that betraying the trust his country had reposed in him, was not the proper way to merit a crown^b. Don Pedro then demanded of the king of *Castile* leave to levy some horse in his dominions, which, because it could not be decently refused, and was thought of no great consequence, was granted; and accordingly Don *Alvaro Garcia de Albornoz*, who was related to Don *Lope de Luna*, raised, for Don Pedro's service six hundred *Castilian* horse.

By the ill conduct of the king's favourites, a sedition was excited in *Valentia*; the populace besieging the palace, and threatening Don *Bernard de Cabrera*, and Don *Berenger de Arbella* with death. The king, tho' a prince of great courage, was in much confusion; but Don Pedro de *Moncado* advising him to go out with arms in his hand, and assuring him that his presence would disperse the populace, he ventured upon that dangerous experiment, and, meeting with success, never apprehended any thing from popular tumults after^c. His favourites, in the mean time, fled to *Barcelona*, and procuring an address from thence to the king, he followed them^d. The union of *Arragon*, being persuaded that the king was assembling troops against them, solicited the infant Don *Ferdinand* to disperse them, which he very gallantly attempted; but through the unexpected junction of Don *Lope de Luna* with his forces, and those commanded by Don *Alvaro Garcia de Albornoz*, the forces of the union were defeated, the infant wounded, and taken prisoner, but, as it fell out very luckily for him, by the *Castilians*, who treated him with great respect, and amongst whom his person was in safety^e. Don Pedro declared Don *Lope*, count de *Luna*, the first subject in *Arragon* who had this title, and upon this victory marched directly to *Saragossa*, where he declared null and void the concessions he had made to the union; and, after having put the whole city in the utmost fear, executed thirteen of the principal persons in it; and thus, by a single miscarriage, the union of *Arragon* was dissipated^f.

This scarce appeared any thing in the view of that high-spirited prince, since the union of *Valentia* still subsisted; and, notwithstanding what had happened at *Saragossa*, made no overtures of submission. The next point, therefore, was to subdue them; to which the king marched with his victorious army. The quarrel was decided by a battle, in which the nobility of *Arragon* behaved very gallantly, and those of *Valentia* with all the fury that could be inspired by despair; so that, in the event, they were rather butchered than beat; since nothing, but the loss of their troops, could have lost the battle; which left the best part of the kingdom, and the capital, wholly at the king's mercy^g. In the first transport of his rage, he talked of giving it to the pillage of his soldiers, burning it to the ground, and sowing it with salt; but some of the lords that were about him moderated his passion, and hindered him from committing these excesses. However, he entered *Valentia* as a conqueror, sacrificed numbers of better men than himself to his ambition; and, as at *Saragossa* so here, he called for the roll of his concessions to the union, and destroyed it with his own hand^h: forgetting, that the promises of a king are sacred, and that he becomes *ipso facto* a tyrant, who professes, that he borrows his authority from force. Don *Alonso* of *Castile* interceded with him in favour of his brother Don *Ferdinand*, and queen *Leonora*, offering to conclude a marriage between his son Don *Henry*, and one of the infantas of *Arragon*; Don Pedro answered, that the queen-dowager had intrigued, and Don *Ferdinand* fought against him; so that they had no favours to expect: but as the one had been his father's wife, and the other his father's son, they should peaceably enjoy what he had left them. In regard to the marriage, if he would restore him the kingdom of *Murtia*, and hold no correspondence with his malecontents, he was willing it should take effectⁱ.

The king had made *Rimbao de Corbera* viceroy of *Sardinia*, and he could not have confided that island to a person of greater courage or capacity. He quickly repaired the losses which

^a ZURIT. ABARC. HIERON. BLANCÆ, FER. ^b Chronica del Rey Don Pedro IV. MARIAN. ^c ZURIT. ABARC. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. ^d ZURIT. ABARC. ^e ROD. Tolet. de rebus Hispan. LUC. Tudenf. Chron. ^f Chron. de Don Pedro IV. ^g HIERON. BLANCÆ, MARIAN. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^h Chron. de Don Pedro IV. ⁱ Chron. del Rey Don Alonso XI.

king, who is
killed fighting
bravely.

A. D. 1349.

his predecessors had sustained, and put things upon a right foot. But the *Genoese* having gained a great victory over the combined fleets of the emperor of *Constantinople*, the king of *Arragon*, and the republic of *Venice*, and beginning to make a great naval armament, the viceroy came himself to *Barcelona*, to obtain a proportionable supply of ships and men, which the king his master readily furnished^a. About the time he put to sea, in his return to *Sardinia*, there came intelligence, that the king of *Majorca* with his fleet and army was very likely to intercept him; upon which he debarked his forces in *Majorca*, where Don *Jayme* quickly after landed; and, upon *Sunday* the twenty-fifth of *October*, was defeated, or rather oppressed by numbers, and fighting courageously, refusing quarter, was slain^b. His only son *Jayme*, after receiving a grievous wound in the face, was made prisoner, and carried by the admiral of *Arragon*, Don *Pedro de Moncada*, to his uncle, who received him graciously, and sent him to reside at *Barcelona*, ordering his father's body to be brought over, and buried in the cathedral church of *Valentia*^c. The viceroy of *Sardinia*, after the defeat of the king of *Majorca*, re-imbarked his troops, and, upon his arrival in that island, settled every thing to the king's satisfaction.

Don Pedro
causes the pope's
legate to be
hung up by the
heels. 1350.

1351.

1352.

His fleet, in
conjunction
with the Ve-
netian, de-
feats the na-
val force of
Genoa.

HOWEVER, Don *Pedro* considering that it lay at a distance, and that whenever disturbances happened there it gave him no small trouble, he signified to the malecontent lords, that if any thing could induce them to be quiet, he was inclined to do for them what they could desire; which, for the present, brought things into order^d. The pope's legate *Bernard Alanis*, canon of the church of *Valentia*, having excommunicated some persons of high quality for not paying some ecclesiastical dues, the king commanded him to absolve them, and upon his refusal, sent both him and his father to prison; which having no effect upon the legate, he ordered a gibbet to be erected upon the castle wall, and the legate to be hung up there by the feet, with an assurance, that if he did not do what the king directed, the rope should be cut, and he left to tumble down the rocks; but the canon having hung some time, desired to be taken down, and did as the king desired^e. The pope, as it might be well expected, took fire at this, and threatened the monarch of *Arragon* with all the thunder of the church; but the pope being poor, and the king rich and great, an embassy to *Avignon*, and a few good words, pacified all^f. On the twenty-seventh of *December*, Donna *Leonora*, queen of *Arragon*, was brought to bed of the infant Don *Juan*, to whom at his birth the king gave the title of duke *Gironne*; which, in succeeding times, became the title of course of the eldest sons of the kings of *Arragon*^g. He renewed likewise his alliance with Don *Pedro* the cruel of *Castile*, and terminated, by a treaty with the crown of *France*, all points in difference about the territories formerly belonging to the king of *Majorca*^h. He likewise concluded a new treaty with the *Venetians* against the *Genoese*, and, the civil war being again broke out in *Sardinia*, he sent a stout fleet to the assistance of his subjects, and of his allies.

THAT war becoming daily more serious, the king went into *Catalonia*, to hold an assembly of the states, where he demanded a very large supply, which was granted him, and having, in return, appointed Don *Bernard de Cabrera*, at the request of the states, general and commander in chief, he, to oblige them the more, gave him the county of *Bas*ⁱ. At the time of the arrival of the count, Don *Bernard* the viceroy was employed in the siege of *Algieri*; to succour which place, the *Genoese* sent a fleet of five large men of war, and fifty gallies, under the command of *Antonio Grimaldi*, one of the best officers in their service. Upon this, the count Don *Bernard* quitted the siege, and with the *Venetian* admiral *Nicola Pisano*, who brought with him twenty gallies, went to offer the enemy battle. The *Genoese*, proud of their former naval victory, did not decline it, and on the twenty-seventh of *August* the fleets engaged with great fury and obstinacy on both sides. Some say, that the *Venetian* and *Catalonian* gallies were not only intermixed but chained together; however that might be, there is nothing more certain than that this was one of the hardest fought battles in those times; but, in the end, the confederates gained a complete victory, the *Genoese* losing no less than eight thousand men, amongst whom were many of the principal nobility, thirty-three gallies, and three thousand two hundred prisoners; on the part of the *Catalans*, three hundred and fifty men were killed, and two thousand wounded^k. After this glorious success, Don *Bernard* returned to the siege of *Algieri*, which, having no farther succours to expect, surrendered upon terms, all the malecontents being allowed to march out, except *Fabian Doria*, whose head was struck off the next day^l.

Resolves to go
in person to put

THE *Genoese* were under such a consternation at this defeat, that they submitted themselves to the duke of *Milan*; and, being very desirous to keep the war at a distance, partly by

^a Chronica de Don Pedro IV.

^b ZURIT. FER.

^c Hieron. Blancæ, Marian.

de Don Pedro IV.

^d ZURIT. ABARC.

^e Rainald, Mayerne Turquet.

^f Chronica de Don

Pedro IV.

^g Chronica del Rey Don Pedro de Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Mezeray, Zurit.

^h Chron.

de Don Pedro IV.

ⁱ ZURIT. ABARC. Hieron. Blancæ, Marian, Fer. Mayerne Turquet.

^j ZURIT.

a money, partly by fair promises, excited a general insurrection in *Sardinia*, when the count *Don Cabrera* was on the very point of returning home. He debarked his troops again, and, having joined them with those of the viceroy, marched against the rebels, and gained a complete victory. However, finding that the *Genoese* had sent over a fresh supply of money and men, and were preparing a formidable fleet, he judged it expedient to return to *Barcelona* with his vessels, which stood in need of repair, in order to make a full report to the king of the situation things were in, and to explain to him the necessity of his going into *Sardinia* in person, if he judged the reduction of that island necessary to his glory, and the safety of his dominions^m. On his arrival, he found the king was at *Valentia*; upon which he went thither, was very graciously received, his plan being approved, and himself sent back to *Barcelona* to assemble a fleet fit for such an expedition. In the mean time, the king went to each of the great cities in his dominions, and demanded contributions for the war, which were very cheerfully and readily granted himⁿ. In this progress, the king had a hint given him, that himself, and all his predecessors, had been extremely wanting to their own glory, and to the welfare of their subjects, in not erecting any where a public seminary for learning: of which he was so fully convinced, that, notwithstanding the pressing conjuncture of his affairs, he thought fit to found instantly a university at *Huesca*, which has since produced men of eminence in all kinds of learning^o.

ALL the necessary preparations for the king's expedition being made, he went first to *Barcelona*, and from thence to *Roses*, where he embarked with the queen, and some of the principal nobility of his dominions, on the fifteenth of *June*. His army consisted of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, his fleet of twenty-one sail of capital ships, and a hundred galleys; which sufficiently explains the great power of this monarch at sea, and how much it had been augmented in a short time. Upon his arrival, he found *Algieri* again in the hands of the rebels and the *Genoese*; upon which he determined to besiege it by land and sea^p. The *Genoese*, on the other hand, attempted to relieve it by a fleet, but desisted from their project, finding it impracticable. The judge of *Arborea*, who was at the head of the malecontents, was more successful; for understanding that the king's army suffered much from an epidemic distemper, and that himself was retired to *Cagliari* much indisposed, he marched by land to its relief, with twenty thousand men: upon which *Don Pedro Exerica* and *Don Bernard de Cabrera*, who commanded the siege, entered into a treaty with the judge, and, by granting him large terms for himself, induced him to abandon the *Genoese*. It was with some difficulty that the king was brought to consent to this, but, at length, having ratified the treaty, which he never intended to execute, the town, on the nineteenth of *September*, was put into his hands, and he caused it to be peopled immediately by his own subjects^q. The next year, the king called an assembly of the states of this island at *Cagliari*, which instead of contributing, as he expected, to the pacification of the quarrels that had lasted so long, produced an unanimity of another kind, the issue of which was a general insurrection. His troops, however, had the good fortune to defeat the rebels in a general engagement; upon which, leaving the best part of his army behind, the king embarked for *Barcelona*^r. After his return, he made a tour to *Avignon*, to regulate some affairs with the pope, where, at his request, he offered to make peace with the *Genoese*, provided they would evacuate *Sardinia*, as, on the other hand, he was inclinable to make a cession of *Corfica*, reserving an annual tribute of fifty thousand florins; but the negotiation being drawn into a great length, at last ended in nothing, though both parties were weary of the war^s; but still their animosities ran too high to admit peace.

THE *Genoese* sending fresh troops into *Sardinia*, the king of *Arragon* made suitable preparations for the defence of that island, and committed the principal management of the war to *Don Bernard de Cabrera*, count of *Ossona*^t. While his affairs were thus embarrassed, *Don Pedro* the cruel of *Castile*, in a manner forced a quarrel upon him, as we have shewn in its proper place. *Don Pedro* of *Arragon* would willingly have avoided it; but when he found this was not to be done with honour, he defended himself and his dominions with courage. His mother-in-law, and both his brothers, were in the interest, and at the court of the king of *Castile*; but, on the other hand, the count *Don Henry* and the count *Don Tello*, brothers to that prince, had sought and received the king of *Arragon*'s protection^u. In a little time, his own brother *Don Ferdinand*, having made an irruption into his dominions with a body of *Castilian* troops, desired to be reconciled to him upon certain terms, with which he readily complied, and *Don Ferdinand* returned to his duty; which proved exceedingly fatal to his mother and his brother, whom

^m Chronica del Rey Don Pedro IV.ⁿ ZURIT. ABARC. FER.^o HIERON. BLANCÆ, ZURIT. ABARC.^p Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.^q ZURITA, FER.^r ABARCA, MARIANA.^s RAINALD, BALUZ, ZURITA.^t Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus

Gestarum, ABARCA, MARIANA.

^u Chronica del Rey Don Pedro the cruel. FER.

he left in *Castile*^w. The pope interposed in vain his good offices between the two crowns, and we may guess at the respect paid to his authority, by the king of *Arragon*'s entering into a league with the king of *Morocco*, as the monarch of *Castile* did with him of *Granada*; which, however, was a small offence, in comparison of causing the queen-dowager of *Arragon* to be put to death, upon suspicion, contrary to the ties of nature, and the law of nations^x. He attempted also to invade the kingdom of *Valentia*, and to make an attempt on the island of *Yvica*, but failed in both; neither had the fleets of *Arragon* any great success against those of *Castile*; it may be, the subjects of both crowns were wise enough not to act over vigorously in a quarrel in which they had no concern.

Makes a peace
with that
prince, who
takes the first
opportunity to
break it.
1360.

THE war continuing still with *Castile*, and Don Pedro the cruel having the advantage in a battle fought near *Najara*, Don Pedro of *Arragon* became very desirous of peace^y. He sent his daughter, the infanta Donna *Constantia*, this year, under the escort of a good fleet, into *Sicily*, to her husband the king Don *Frederic*^z. The next year, by the mediation of the pope, a peace was concluded with the crown of *Castile*; but the satisfaction resulting from thence lasted not long^a. Don *Jayme*, son to the last unfortunate king of *Majorca*, and nephew to the king of *Arragon*, by a bold and bloody attempt escaped out of the old palace of *Barcelona*, where he was detained, and went to *Avignon*^b. Don Pedro the cruel, having entered into an alliance with *Charles* the wicked, king of *Navarre*, and thereby secured his assistance, made no ceremony of breaking the peace with *Arragon*; and, in conjunction with the king of *Navarre*, attacked that monarch unexpectedly, who thereupon recalled count *Henry* of *Castile* out of *France*, and gave him the strongest assurances of his protection and assistance^c. The king had now two pretenders to the crown of *Castile*, the count Don *Henry*, and his own brother, the infant Don *Ferdinand*. He encouraged both, though he had no affection for either; but the count Don *Henry*, having excited some jealousy of the infant Don *Ferdinand*, the king his brother ordered him to be arrested, and, upon his refusing to submit, a struggle arose, in which he was killed, to the great satisfaction of the count, and without any great regret on the part of the king; whose hatred pursued him from his cradle to his grave^d.

The cruelty
and injustice of
Don Pedro of
Arragon to-
wards Don
Bernard Ca-
brera.

THE pope interposed in favour of Don *Jayme*, but to no purpose; for, upon offering his mediation for concluding a peace with the *Genoese*, who were very troublesome, the king of *Arragon* accepted it readily^e. The war with *Castile* gave him still a great deal of trouble; and though few princes have had parts better suited to their circumstances than the monarch of whom we are speaking, yet he found himself in a state of perplexity, which gave him inexpressible disquiet. This unhappy situation of mind drew him into one of the blackest and basest actions that a prince could commit. Don *Bernard de Cabrera* had been his general, his minister, and his favourite, from the beginning of his reign, and by innumerable services had merited his confidence, though it had lost him that of his fellow subjects, which he once possessed in a supreme degree. Don *Bernard*, sensible of this, and knowing his master better than any body, endeavoured to prevent a reverse of fortune, by a voluntary retreat; from which, in this confused state of affairs, Don Pedro had recalled him; but that great man perceiving how much he was exposed to envy, and fearing its effects, endeavoured to retire to *France*. Upon which, the queen, the count Don *Henry* of *Castile*, the count *de Ribagorça*, and others, prevailed upon the king to cause him to be pursued. Being overtaken and imprisoned, he was accused of numberless crimes, tortured by the king's command, and condemned by the infant Don *Juan*, duke of *Gironne*, whose governor he had been, to lose his head on a scaffold, in the great square of *Saragossa*, which was accordingly executed^f. There is cruelty and treachery enough in this story, as it is thus told; and therefore we cannot, with *Mariana*, yield any credit to those who report, that the king pronounced sentence of death, and that Don *Juan* cut off his head with his own hands; but it is more than probable, as the best historians agree in it, that Don *Bernard*'s great offence was, being too good a servant to a bad prince^g. The fleet of *Arragon* was this year beaten by that of *Castile*, which determined Don Pedro to those measures he afterwards pursued.

1364.

Assists Don
Henry, count
de Trastemara,
to mount the
throne of
Castile.

THE liberty the king had taken of discontinuing his tribute to the holy see for the island of *Sardinia*, induced the pope to look for a new tenant; and the judge of *Arborea* being still in arms against the king, and wanting only the gloss of a title, was willing enough to purchase it on the pope's terms. This could not be so secretly carried but it came to the king of *Arragon*'s knowledge, who immediately sent a person of distinction to do homage to pope *Urban* the fifth at *Avignon*, and to pay the arrears of tribute; upon which, in the judgment

^w ZURITA, MARIANA.

Don Pedro the cruel.

MARIAN.

TURQUET.

general de España, lib. xvi.

^z ZURIT. FER.

^b ZURIT. FER.

^d ABARC. MARIAN.

^x ABARC. RAINALD, FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^a RAINALD, ABARC. Chronica del Rey Don Pedro the cruel.

^c Chronica del Rey Don Pedro the cruel. MARIAN. MAYERNE

^e RAINALD, BALUZ, FER.

^f ZURIT. ABARC.

^g Hist.

a of the pope, he became a legal monarch again ^b. This, and some other troublesome affairs, did not hinder Don *Pedro* from prosecuting his great design, of enabling the count Don *Henry* to dethrone his brother the king of *Castile*; for which he expected a very large recompence, tho' it was visibly his interest to have concurred in it without any. We have shewn, in another place, how this revolution was effected, which, at the very beginning, did the business of Don *Pedro*, king of *Arragon*; for the king of *Castile* no sooner found himself pressed, than he abandoned all the conquests he had made in his dominions; but when he came to A. D. 1367. summon king *Henry*, when in possession of the crown, to yield him the kingdom of *Murcia*, which he had always aimed at, he refused it, tho' he complied with all the rest of his engagements ^c. This might very probably be one reason why the king of *Arragon* entered into a league with *Edward*, prince of *Wales*, granted him a free passage, and some assistance in his expedition for dethroning king *Henry*; by which he secured himself against the revenge of Don *Pedro* the cruel; but this did not hinder his entering into fresh negotiations with king *Henry* the next year, when he attempted the recovery of his kingdom ^d.

THE troubles in *Sardinia* continued, or rather augmented, so that the king was obliged to send a new army, under the command of Don *Pedro de Luna*, who obliged the judge of *Arborea* to shut himself up in the strong town of *Oristan*, which he immediately invested with the whole force that he had brought with him, and the best part of the troops that were in the island before, hoping to put an end to the war by the reduction of the place; but a sedition happened in his camp, and he had unluckily so great a contempt for the enemy, that he did not observe a very strict discipline: of which the judge of *Arborea* taking advantage, issued out of *Oristan* with all the troops he had therein, and attacked him with such fury, and so great advantage, that himself, his brother Don *Philip*, and the greatest part of his forces, were cut to pieces, and the rest, to a man, made prisoners; the news of which struck the king of *Arragon* with great consternation ^e. This induced him to temporize with the king of *Castile*, whose brother the count Don *Tello* had scandalously yielded to him many places in *Castile* ^f. He entered also into a league with the king of *Portugal*, who stiled himself monarch of *Castile*, but he did not execute it with any great punctuality, as he only aimed at keeping the king Don *Henry* in awe ^g. In *Sardinia*, when things were desperate, and there was no time to transport forces, he changed the face of affairs at once, by appointing a nobleman, of the family of *Doria*, viceroy. He was at that time amongst the malecontents, but, upon receiving this favour from the king of *Arragon*, he quitted them, and brought such an accession of force to the king's troops, as put things once more into a good condition, and gained time for the king to send thither a powerful squadron; which he did. On board of which went, as a soldier of fortune, an *English* gentleman, named *Walter Bennet*, who having undertaken to carry over a thousand lances, the king gave him all the lands of the judge of *Arborea*, when he could conquer them ^h. 1371.

THE next year the king renewed the truce which had been made with the king of *Castile*; married both his sons; the eldest Don *Juan* to *Martina*, sister to the count of *Armagnac*, and the younger Don *Martin* to Donna *Maria Lopez de Luna*, daughter to the count of that name ⁱ. At this juncture he did a thing, which ought not to be buried in oblivion; he sent for Don *Bernardin de Cabrera*, and having publicly declared, that he was satisfied of his grandfather's innocence, and that he had been most grossly imposed upon by his enemies, he restored him to the title of count of *Offona*, to all the estates of the family, and made him satisfaction for the time they had been in the hands of the crown. The people, who had applauded his injustice, because they hated his favourite, were very silent as to this action; which was by much the greatest in his whole reign ^j. As he grew old, he began to be apprehensive of the intrigues of the king of *Castile*, who had set Don *Jayme*, king of *Majorca*, at liberty, and practised the very arts that he had learned in his court, to give him disquiet. However, there was a circumstance, that, in the midst of all the intrigues on both sides, kept these princes from coming to extremities, or even from doing each other all the secret mischiefs they might have done. The Infant Don *Juan*, who was the heir of *Castile*, had been bred up in the court of *Arragon* with the Infanta *Leonora*, and being accustomed to consider her as his wife, before he knew what that meant, his passions increased with his years ^k. The king Don *Henry*, having perfected all his schemes, and having a numerous army on the frontiers of *Arragon*, sent to let Don *Pedro* know, that as he was sensible of the injuries he had received, so he did not forget the favours he had formerly done him, and therefore he was content, forgetting all subjects of dispute, to make a solid and lasting peace, and to complete the marriage

^b RAINALD, FER.^c ZURITA, Chronica del Rey Don Pedro the cruel.^d BARNES's history

of Edward III. ZURIT. MARIAN. MAYERN. TURQ.

^e Historia general de la Isla y Reyno de Cerdeña.

ZURIT. MARIAN.

^f ABARC. FER.^g EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, ZURIT. MARIAN.^h Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. ABARC. FER.ⁱ ZURIT. MARIAN. MAYERN. TURQ.^j ABARC. FER.^k HIERON. BLANCÆ, Chronica del Rey Don Henrique, ZURIT.

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of their children, that had been talked of from their infancy. The king Don *Pedro*, to whom this message was delivered, with a threat of declaring war, rejected the offer with scorn and contempt; but, at the same time, he signified to the queen of *Castile*, that tho' he disdained her husband's threats, yet out of respect to her, and the constancy of the Infant Don *Juan*, he was willing to sign a peace upon any terms; and, having kept his word, the marriage was accordingly solemnized with great splendor^a. On the second of *June*, the same year, died Donna *Leonora*, queen of *Arragon*; and Don *Jayme* of *Majorca*, much about that time, made an irruption into *Roussillon*^c.

Changes the
face of affairs
in Sardinia by
a critical act
of temerity.

BUT new disturbances sprung up as the old ones were composed; Don *Jayme* dying, left all his rights to the duke of *Anjou*, in consideration of the services he had done him while living, on a presumption that his sister Donna *Isabella* would do the like, which she did; and this duke prepared to assert his claim by force of arms^b. In *Sardinia* things grew more desperate than ever; the judge of *Arborea* had beat count *Doria*, and conquered all the island, except the town of *Cagliari*, which he besieged, while his son blocked up the place by sea; the governor being brought so low, as to dispose every thing for setting the place on fire, and making his escape in a few light vessels, if not relieved by a certain day^w. The king found means to rid himself of both troubles; he engaged the king of *Castile* to enter into a negotiation with the duke of *Anjou*, who, having reckoned upon him as an ally, could not refuse him as a mediator. It happened that he had a small squadron in the harbour of *Roses*, when the ill news from *Sardinia* arrived, and, having embarked a few troops, dispatched it immediately; for he judged, that, by surprising the enemy, he might save all, and, if that could not be done, the loss was but little enhanced. The event justified his reasoning; his fleet coming unexpectedly, beat that of the malecontents, and relieved *Cagliari*: the judge of *Arborea* seeing his hopes defeated, when on the point of being accomplished, fell sick, and died of grief^x. His son, thro' whose carelessness the fleet was beat, had such strong passions, and such weak abilities, that he was able to do nothing. On the 25th of *July*, in the succeeding year, died Don *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, leaving his only daughter Donna *Maria*, the heiress of his dominions; substituting, in case of her demise, his natural son *William*, and, if he died without issue, the royal family of *Arragon*^y. Don *Pedro* immediately applied himself to pope *Gregory* the eleventh, who, from *Avignon*, was returned to *Rome*, offering to do homage without delay; alleging, that the crown belonged immediately to him, because it could not descend to a woman. The pope contented himself with asking, how, in that case, his right arose? and took the young princess under his protection. However, this pope did not long survive; and Don *Pedro*, having engaged Don *Raymond de Moncada*, count of *Aoste*, he scaled the walls of the castle of *Catanea*, and carried off the young queen Donna *Maria* in the night^z.

Remainder of
the reign of
Don Pedro,
and his demise
in an ad-
vanced age.

1381.

1383.

THE king, being become for the third time a widower, the famous Donna *Joanna*, queen of *Naples*, imagined he would make no scruple of marrying her, with so rich a portion. *Pedro* was too wise a man to be caught with appearances, in a point that so much concerned his peace; and therefore he married *Sybilla de Tortia*, a widow lady of unexceptionable character; whom he caused to be crowned queen; which so provoked Donna *Joanna*, that she adopted his competitor, the duke of *Anjou*, for her heir^a. The next year, the inhabitants of the duchy of *Athens* and *Patras* threw off the yoke of the crown of *Naples*, and declared for the king of *Arragon*; which was the less strange, as they were, for the most part, descended from *Catalans* and *Arragoneses*^b. The king Don *Pedro* formed a project for marrying his two grandchildren, Don *Martin*, son of the Infant Don *Martin*, and Donna *Maria*, queen of *Sicily*, whom, for that reason, he caused to be brought into *Arragon*. About this time, a new and extraordinary scene opened in the island of *Sardinia*, where the people, wearied with the tyranny of the young judge of *Arborea*, put him to death, supposing that this would have restored tranquility to their country, as his sister *Leonora* was married to count *Doria*. But Donna *Leonora*, a woman of great parts and a high spirit, took up arms against her king and her husband at once^c. The continual expences of the war in *Sardinia* raised first murmurs, and then troubles in *Catalonia*. Besides, the queen Donna *Sybilla* quarrelled with the heir apparent Don *Juan*, in which the king took part against his son, more especially after he became a widower, and refused to marry his niece the queen of *Sicily*; but, with some difficulty, the royal Infant was prevailed upon not take arms^d. These disorders lasted two or three years, till at length the king resolved to make himself master of the city of *Tarragona*, which had always belonged to the archbishop, and, to accomplish this act of injustice, he made

^a RODERIC Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. Luc Tudensis Chronicon. ABARCA. MARIANA. ^z MAYERN. TURQ. ^u ZURIT. MARIAN, MAYERN. TURQ. ^w ABARC. FER. ^x ZURIT. MARIAN. ^y ABARC. FER. MAYERN. TURQ. ^z RAINALD, BALUZ, ZURIT. ^a ABARC. MARIAN. MAYERN. TURQ. ^b ZURIT. FER. ^c ABARC. MARIAN. MAYERN. TURQ. ^d ZURIT. FER.

a use of arms; upon which the archbishop excommunicated him. The king soon after fell ill, and, having first given satisfaction to the church, so as to entitle him to the sacraments, he deceased on the fifth of *January*, one thousand three hundred and eighty-six, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and in the fiftieth of his reign^c. He was surnamed *Don Pedro* the ceremonious, from that pomp and punctuality which he observed in all transactions of government. He was, in many respects, the wisest, but, in many more, the worst, king that ever sat upon this throne; and tho' he was better obeyed, he was much less beloved, than any of his predecessors. He was buried in the monastery of *Poblette*, and though his subjects durst scarce shew it, they were very well pleased with his death^f.

Don *Juan* succeeded his father in the throne, and, at the time of his demise, was himself dangerously ill in his palace at *Gironne*; his mother-in-law, the queen *Donna Sybilla*, being thoroughly sensible on how ill terms they stood, made her escape, the day before the old king's death, with her brother *Don Bernard de Fortia*. However, the *Catalans*, who hated that princess, pursued her so closely, that she had no remedy but to take shelter with her brother in his castle, which was presently invested by the Infant *Don Martin*, and the count de *Cardona*: *Donna Sybilla*. as they had no succours to expect, the queen and her brother thought it prudent not to augment the fury of their enemies by an obstinate resistance; so that they quickly surrendered, and were carried by the infant *Don Martin* to *Barcelona*, and there strictly confined^e. The king treated *Donna Sybilla* with a degree of severity that was by no means natural to him; the crime of which she was accused was fascinating or bewitching the deceased king, and this upon the evidence of a *Jew*, who acknowledged he had some hand therein. Upon this, several were put to the question, and, being found guilty upon their own confession, suffered death; and, in all probability, the queen herself had been in danger, if, very happily for her, the pope had not sent cardinal *de Luna*, with the title of his legate, who interceded for that princess, her brother *Don Bernard*, and the count de *Pailbars*; upon which the king pardoned them as to their lives, but he deprived the queen-dowager of her jointure, which he bestowed on his own queen *Donna Violante*^h. On the eighth of *March*, the king confirmed the privileges of the *Catalans*, declared void all his father's grants to the prejudice of the crown, and appointed the viscount of *Rocaberti* governor of the countries he held in *Greece*ⁱ. The count of *Ampurias*, who, in the quarrel between this prince and his father, had been stripped of his territories for adhering to the former, was no sooner informed of his accession, than he returned home, and took possession of them; which, at first, the king took extremely ill, as if it had been in contempt of his authority; but, in a little time, and upon better information, he restored him to his favour, and cancelled all that had been done to his prejudice in the former reign^k. By which, some think, he scarce did more than repair the injuries done him in his own.

THE famous *John of Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*, upon his return from that expedition, of which we have given a large account in a former section, thought he had some reason to take offence at the conduct of the king of *Arragon*; he sent therefore the archbishop of *Bordeaux* to demand a sum of money from that prince, as an equivalent for not furnishing him with a certain number of horse every campaign, as by his treaty with the crown of *England* he was bound to do. The king answered, that the troops were always ready; and, as they were never demanded, he did not think himself obliged to pay any such sum of money: the prelate, however, replied in such rude terms, that the king caused him to be arrested; upon which, the duke his master ravaged the territories of *Arragon*, but, in a little time, these differences were appeased^l. The emperor *Wenceslaus* sent an ambassador to compliment *Don Juan* upon his accession, who received this testimony of the emperor's respect with great kindness^m. In *Sardinia*, he granted all the estates of her father to *Donna Leonora de Arborea*, which restored peace in that island, and procured the new viceroy, *Don Simon Perez de Arenas*, a quiet administrationⁿ. At this time there was a schism in the church; but the king was prevailed upon to acknowledge pope *Clement* the seventh, who resided at *Avignon*, and thither he went to do him homage for the island of *Sardinia*^o. The character of *Don Juan* was certainly that of a mild and merciful prince, but he was too uxorious, and the queen *Donna Violante* much too fond of pleasures; her favourite *Donna Carazza Villaragut* had, for that age, a very refined taste in poetry and music, and she was so delighted with works composed in a mixed kind of language, which in *Arragon* they called *Gaya*, and, according to *Mariana's* interpretation, was no other than the dialect called in *France*, *Limosine*, that she prevailed upon the king and queen not only to entertain poets who excelled therein, but to erect schools and academies for the improvement of this kind of poetry. The nobility of *Arragon* were so little

^c MARIAN. ABARC. MAYERN. TURQ.
MAYERN. TURQ.

^d ZURIT. FER.

^f HIER. BLANCÆ, ZURIT. FER.

ⁱ Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. FER.

^e ABARC. MARIAN.

^k ZURIT. MAYERN. TURQ.

^l ABARC. BARNES'S History of Edward III. FER.

^m MARIAN.

MAYERN. TURQ.

ⁿ ZURIT. FER.

^o RAINALD, MARIAN.

pleased with the new turn taken at court, that they expostulated very roughly with the king, and were even on the point of taking up arms. The queen and Donna Carazza had also their party. However, in an assembly of the states, held at *Monçon*, that lady was banished, and these new-fashioned foreign diversions were prohibited under very severe penalties^p; neither did these disturbances break out any more.

The count de Armagnac, sets up a claim to the dominions of the crown of Majorca.

THE count de *Armagnac* sent his brother count *Bernard*, with a great body of troops, to make an irruption into *Catalonia*. The *Spanish* historians say, that they were *English*, *French*, *Flemings*, and, in short, a mixture of all nations; and that the cause of this irruption was a mere appetite to plunder: but from other historians we learn it was not so. The count de *Armagnac* pretended a right to the dominions of the crown of *Majorca*, and it was in support of this claim that his brother, at the head of all the soldiers of fortune he could collect, made this incursion in the midst of winter^q. In the spring he besieged *Besalu*, the garrison of which made an obstinate defence, and Don *Bernard de Cabrera*, having defeated part of the *French* forces, when the king marched with a numerous army to fight the rest, Don *Bernard de Armagnac* thought it expedient to retire, rather than run the hazard of the battle^r. The king, at the beginning of his reign, had created his brother Don *Martin*, duke of *Montalban*, and his son was entitled Don *Martin de Jerica*, from the lordship of that name^s. The great point in view of both brothers was, that of marrying this young prince last mentioned to Donna *Maria* queen of *Sicily*, their niece; and having with much difficulty obtained a dispensation from pope *Clement* the seventh, dated in the month of *November*, it is presumed, that they were married towards the close of the year; at least it is certain, that, in the beginning of the next, a fleet of one hundred sail, and a considerable body of land forces was assembled, on the coast of *Catalonia*, under the command of Don *Bernard de Cabrera*, with whom embarked the duke of *Montalban*, and his son and daughter, the king and queen of *Sicily*, for that island. This expedition was attended with success, and that with severity towards those who opposed these princes; but the history of this war belongs to another place. As new troubles were broke out in *Sardinia*, the king of *Arragon* intended to have gone thither with a royal fleet and army; but the apprehension of the kingdom of *Valentia*'s being invaded by the *Moors*, prevented his leaving his dominions, and obliged him to content himself with sending thither a numerous reinforcement, with a strong squadron^t. This year the Infanta Donna *Violante* was married to *Lewis* duke of *Anjou*, and the Infanta Donna *Joanna* to *Matthew* count of *Foix*, the former being the king's daughter by the reigning queen, as the latter was by his former consort^u. To strengthen the present harmony subsisting between the two crowns, and to prevent disputes on that head, the limits between the kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Arragon* were settled by the express command and conjunct authority of both princes^v. A precaution which had afterwards a very good effect.

Death of Don Juan, which occasions great confusion in the kingdom of Arragon.

THE next year the king renewed his preparations for passing into *Sardinia*, where things were in greater confusion than ever; but either want of money, or his own indolence, hindered him a second time, though he knew that his brother, his nephew, and his niece, were besieged in the fortress of *Catanea*, by the malecontents of *Sicily*, and he had given them the strongest assurances that, as soon as the affairs of *Sardinia* were redressed, he would infallibly come to their assistance^x. But Don *Bernard de Cabrera*, considering that his family had been raised by the crown, mortgaged all his lands for a large sum of money, and therewith equipped a strong squadron; by the timely arrival of which, under his command, their *Sicilian* majesties were saved from imprisonment at least, if not from death^y. Upon the decease of pope *Clement* the seventh, the cardinals of his faction at *Avignon* elected the famous *Peter de Luna*, of one of the noblest families in *Arragon*, who assumed the name of *Benedict* the thirteenth, and gave immediate notice of his accession to the papal throne to all Christian princes, and more especially to the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*^z. The concerns of Don *Juan* continued in great disorder, the count de *Armagnac* continuing to make incursions into *Roussillon*, to which he pretended a right; the troubles in *Sardinia* increasing, and the war in *Sicily* being still kept on foot^a. The king, who was a mild and good-natured prince, easily persuaded into wrong measures, but withal as easily set right, and who is celebrated by the historians of *Arragon* for a quality not common in kings, hearing reproofs patiently, and esteeming and preferring those from whom they came, left public affairs, in a great measure, to the queen Donna *Violante*, a princess of great spirit, and much given to intrigue; while he chiefly amused himself with the pleasures of the table, the conversation of his nobility, and the sports of the field. As he was hunting, he unluckily fell from his horse, frightened, as some writers

^p ZURIT. FER. MAYERN. TURQ.
FER.
FER.
ZURIT.

^q ZURIT. MARIAN. MAYERN, TURQ.

^r ABARC. MARIAN.

^s ABARC. MARIAN. FER. MAYERN. TURQ.

^t MARIAN. FER.

^u ZURIT. MAYERN. TURQ.

^v HIERON. BLANCET, ABARC.

^w ZURIT. FER. MAYERN. TURQ.

^x RAINALD, BALUZ,

a say, by the sudden appearance of a monstrous she-wolf, of which fall he died, on the nineteenth of *May* one thousand three hundred ninety-five, in the ninth year of his reign, and the forty-fifth of his life, leaving behind him two daughters married to two *French* princes, as we have before mentioned; his brother the duke of *Montalban* being at this time in *Sicily*^b.

THE sudden and unexpected death of the king occasioned great consternation and trouble; *The succession* the queen-dowager Donna *Violante*, probably with a view of gaining the regency, gave out, *secured to Don* that she was with child. *Matthew*, count of *Foix*, claimed the crown for his wife, the eldest *Martin duke of* daughter of the deceased monarch; but Donna *Maria de Luna*, duchess of *Montalban*, *Montalban, by* asserted the rights of her husband with equal spirit and success; and, in the month of *July*, *she spirit and* the states of *Arragon*, *Valentia*, and *Catalonia*, declared Don *Martin*, pursuant to the testi-
mony of the deceased king, the sole heir of his dominions, and confirmed the queen in the exercise of the administration^c. She made no scruple of putting guards upon the dowager, to prevent any imposture, and withdrew them immediately upon that princess's declaring she was not with child^d. She granted safe conducts to the ministers sent by the count *de Foix* to the states of *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, and granted that prince a copy of the clause relating to the succession in Don *Juan*'s will. She took equal pains to avoid a war by a negotiation, and to provide for it, if it was not to be avoided, which fell out to be the case. The count and countess *de Foix* passed the *Pyrenees*, and fell with a considerable body of troops into the territories of *Arragon*, assuming the title of king and queen, and made themselves master of the town of *Balbastro*, notwithstanding a very gallant resistance, and flattered themselves with the hopes of becoming possessors of that kingdom by force of arms. They were quickly convinced of their error by the steady defence of the citadel of *Balbastro*, into which the principal persons, amongst those who had defended the town, retired. Their army quickly found
e themselves invaded by famine; they no sooner sent parties on any side, in order to obtain a supply of provisions, than they were surrounded and cut to pieces. At length, having no other resource, they retired into *Navarre*, so miserably harrassed in their retreat, that their army was become little more than an escorte^e. A. D. 1395.

THE king Don *Martin* received the news of his accession, and a considerable reinforcement of troops, by a strong squadron which the queen had dispatched^f. He did not, however, *Don Martin* immediately embark for his hereditary dominions, but employed some time in settling the *settles his son's* affairs of his son; in order to which, the very report of his being become king of *Arragon* *affairs in Si-* did not a little contribute. This, however, took up so many months, that it was the middle *cily, and* of *December* in the next year before he was ready to embark. He judged it convenient, *makes a tour* to *Avignon* however, to take *Sardinia* in his way, where he settled every thing to the people's satisfaction, *before his re-* and provided with very strong garrisons some places that had been conquered in the island of *Corfica*. He then proceeded to the coasts of *France*, and, landing in *Provence*, went to *Avignon* to confer with pope *Benedict*, to whom he did homage for the kingdoms of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*. Having regulated several points of consequence with him, he re embarked on board his squadron, and continued his voyage to *Barcelona*, where he arrived on the twenty-
f sixth of *June*^g. On the twenty-eighth he declared the count and countess of *Foix* traitors, *1397:* and confiscated all their estates. He went afterwards to *Saragossa*, confirmed all the rights and liberties of the people, and, before the close of the year, sent powerful succours both to *Sardinia* and *Sicily*^h.

IN the month of *April* in the succeeding year, he held an assembly of the states at *Saragossa*, in which he expressed his gratitude for their zeal and duty in his absence, and expatiated *Caresses the* on this subject in so happy a manner, that they assured him he had nothing to do, but to *states in such a* acquaint them with any thing that might be still wanting to the prosperity of his affairs, and *manner as to* he should find they would act with the same spirit. He then desired they would acknowledge *draw from* his son, the king of *Sicily*, for his successor, upon condition that that kingdom should be *them larger* annexed to the crown of *Arragon*; to which they consented: they likewise granted him the *supplies than* sum of one hundred and thirty thousand crowns to pay his debts, and an annual revenue of thirty *any of his pre-* thousand crowns in the nature of a civil listⁱ. The count *de Foix* made a new attempt, in the autumn, to penetrate into *Arragon*, but without effect; and deceased, not long after, without issue^k. The corsairs of *Barbary* having disturbed the commerce of his subjects, Don *Martin* fitted out a strong fleet to chastise them, and afterwards sent a squadron to the assistance of pope *Benedict*; which, however, being harrassed by contrary winds, returned without per-

^b Hieron. Blancæ, Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.
^c Zurit. Fer. ^d Abarc. Marian. ^e Zurit. Fer. Mayerne Turquet. ^f Indices Rerum
ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. Fer. ^g Rainald, Baluz, Zurit. Abarc. Marian. ^h Fer.
Mayerne Turquet. ⁱ Zurit. Abarc. Marian. Fer. ^k Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus
Gestarum. Marian. Mayerne Turquet.

A. D. 1398. forming any thing. In the mean time pope *Boniface*, provoked by his attachment to his competitor, bestowed the kingdoms of *Sardinia* and *Sicily* on Don *Artal de Alagon*, count de *Molinetto*, provided he could find any way to get possession¹. A conduct in the court of *Rome*, which, however agreeable to *Italian* policy, is clearly inconsistent with the principles of the gospel.

Wisely compromises the dispute with the representative of the count de Foix.

DON *Martin*, in the ensuing spring, prevailed upon the *French* to raise the siege of *Avignon*, upon a promise that *Benedict* should renounce his right to the papacy, if his competitor would do so too^m. On the thirteenth of *April* the king was solemnly crowned in the cathedral of *Saragossa*, and, on the twentieth of the same month, the feast of *St. George*, the patron of the kingdom, the queen was also crowned with like pomp and splendourⁿ. *Archambaud de Grailli*, who had succeeded the count de *Foix* by marrying his sister, offered to renounce his pretensions to the crown of *Arragon* for a small county, which the king granted him with very good will^o. He sent, the same year, a fleet of seventy sail to the assistance of his son in *Sicily*, who, by the help of these timely succours, put an end to all the troubles in that island^p. The duke of *Anjou*, having demanded Donna *Violante*, the king's niece, with her fortune of one hundred and sixty thousand crowns, the king sent both that and the princess, upon her renouncing all title to the succession^q. The next year was fatal to the royal family in *Sicily*, where, early in the spring, Don *Pedro*, the only son of their majesties, deceased^r; and, on the twenty-seventh of *May* following, his mother Donna *Maria*, who by her will bequeathed the kingdom to her husband, who was also the heir by descent^s. As he was in the flower of his age, many marriages were proposed for him; but, by the advice of the king his father, he preferred the Infanta Donna *Blanca* of *Navarre*, and that princess was sent to him, on board a fleet commanded by Don *Bernard de Cabrera*, in the month of *September* following, where she was received with all possible demonstrations of joy and affection^t. But he still continued in the pursuit of irregular pleasures.

The king's unexpected death without heirs occasions an interregnum.

DONNA *Joanna*, the king's niece, widow of the count de *Foix*, who had formerly given him so much trouble, was exceedingly desirous of passing the rest of her days in her own country, and, upon her signifying this to Don *Martin*, he very readily assented, assigned her the palace of *Valencia*, and a revenue of three thousand crowns^u a year. He endeavoured by the like acts of condescension to pacify the troubles in *Sardinia*, where the nobility were continually caballing against each other, and all together against the royal authority; and the case was very much the same in the kingdom of *Arragon*, where, though all the lords professed great duty for the king, and really shewed it, yet, from an affectation of power and independency, they were continually embarked in factions and quarrels against each other^v. The young king of *Sicily*, giving too much ear to some bad counsellors, the king his father sent for him, and he came accordingly to *Barcelona*; but could not be prevailed on to remain long there, alleging, that his own dominions would suffer greatly by his absence, and, therefore, in the autumn of the same year, he returned to *Sicily*^w. The next was fatal to the old queen-dowager Donna *Sybilla*, and to the queen consort Donna *Maria*, whose death was equally lamented by the king her husband and by his subjects^x. The factions in *Valencia* were now become to the full as troublesome as those in the kingdom of *Arragon*; in consequence of which, Don *Raymond Boyle*, governor of the capital, was assassinated coming out of his palace, which murder the king caused to be enquired into so closely, that most of those who were any way concerned in it came to be discovered, and, as they deserved, put to death; his brother, who was not altogether innocent, escaped with the loss of his right hand^y. The island of *Sicily*, being torn with civil dissensions, and the lords, in the king of *Arragon's* interest, having signified the distress they were in to the king of *Sicily*, he immediately determined to go to their relief. He did so; and, not long after his arrival, he gained a glorious victory, which might have restored that country's quiet, if the victor had not been vanquished by his passion; for, being extremely captivated with a young woman whom he saw there, he abandoned himself, in such a manner, to his lust, that, being seized with a fever, he died on the twenty-seventh of *June*^z. The king his father, who was now become his heir, finding that great troubles were like to arise in his dominions about the succession, endeavoured to prevent it by marrying; and, accordingly, espoused Donna *Margaretta de Prades*, who was of the royal house of *Castile*: and this is supposed to have hastened his death, which happened on the last of *May* one thousand four hundred and ten^b; when he had just entered the sixteenth year of his reign.

¹ ZURIT. FER.

^m RAINALD, ABARC. MARIAN.

ⁿ Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus

Gellarum. MAYERN TURQ.

^o ZURIT. MARIAN.

^p ABARC. FER.

^q ZURIT. MARIANA.

MAYERN. TURQ.

^r Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gellarum.

^s ZURIT. FER.

^t ABARC.

MARIAN.

^u ZURIT. MARIAN.

^v ABARC. FER. MAYERN. TURQ.

^w ZURIT. MARIANA.

^y HIERON. BLANCÆ, Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gellarum.

^z ZURIT.

^a ABARC. FER.

^b HIERON. BLANCÆ, ZURIT. ABARC. MARIAN. FER. MAYERN. TURQ.

- a We are now arrived at an interregnum; for, upon the demise of this prince, the states assumed the supreme authority in the kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valentia*, and in the principality of *Catalonia*, till it should be determined by them to whom the crown of right belonged. It is to be observed, that notwithstanding they were united under one sovereign, yet these three states remained perfectly independent, and to these were now added the kingdoms of *Majorca*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily*. There had been many competitors for the succession in the life of *Don Martin*, which put him under great difficulties. Amongst these, the count of *Urgel* was the most troublesome, and therefore he twice appointed him vicar-general of his dominions; which was very satisfactory to the count, who judged, that it made him known to the people in the light of presumptive heir: the king saw it in the same light, but had quite another meaning; for he knew that the nobility of *Arragon* would consider it as an invasion of their privileges, and impute it not at all to his judgment, but to the count's ambition; in which he was not at all disappointed. The true scheme of the king was, in case he had no children by his last wife, to settle the crown on his grandson *Don Frederic*, the natural son of the king of *Sicily*. Which project of his he could never bring in any degree to bear; for the lawyers opposed it unanimously, as inconsistent with the constitution, injurious to the remains of the royal family, and prejudicial to the people. The lawyers had a great ascendancy in this country, and were superstitiously devoted to their ancient form of government; of which, as it could not be any where else so properly introduced, we will speak clearly and succinctly here.
- b
- c THOSE who take the antiquity of the kingdom of *Arragon* higher than we have done, say, that when the people, upon the subversion of the *Gothic* monarchy, made choice of a prince to lead them against the *Moors*, they made an express capitulation with him, that he should govern according to their laws, and should not invade their liberties, of which they were jealous to an extreme degree. But if this be true, in any sense, it must, as we shall hereafter shew, be true of the old kings of *Navarre*. It is, however, infinitely more probable, that the remains of the *Goths*, in general, throughout *Spain*, adhered as strictly to the old principles of their policy in the state, as they did to the doctrine and discipline of their church. That the latter was sooner changed than the former, was owing to the artful incroachments of the pope, whose authority, when it was once owned, was not easily to be resisted. But in the state, all the greater and the lesser nobility, that is to say, all who had any property, had so strong an interest in the preservation of their privileges, that it was much less easy to cancel, or even to change them. Besides, *Arragon*, being an inland kingdom, property underwent little alteration, and families, so long as they subsisted, preserved their estates. But be this as it will, it is beyond all question, that the monarchs of *Arragon* were very limited monarchs, and that the constitution, during the reigns of those princes, whose history we have written, was very little impaired. Let us now see what that constitution was. We have very ample materials; the substance of which we will represent as briefly as we can.
- d
- e THE men of property, those who had estates, which, generally speaking, they had acquired by their swords, were stiled originally, and in general, *Los Ricos Hombres*; that is, literally, rich men; but may be more sensibly translated, men of estates, or, men of property; that is, as the lawyers of this country express themselves in plain terms, barons; for they say, that whatever titles of honour were afterwards introduced, as flowing from the king's will and pleasure, yet the right of sitting amongst the states did not arise from their being dukes, marquisses, or counts, but was inherent to them as barons; and they give us a list of eleven or twelve old families, who were the original *Ricos Hombres*, or barons of *Arragon*. In process of time they came to be distinguished into the greater and lesser nobility. The former were those who, by the favour of the crown, were advanced to superior titles of honour; the latter such as retained only their ancient dignity; the prelates likewise sat in that assembly, and the deputies from the great cities. In this assembly of states, laws were made for the government of the whole realm, and to see those laws put in execution, and to prevent any subject, of what rank soever, from being denied the benefit of them, against the oppression of any other subject, or even of the king himself, they had a magistrate, who was the head of justice, whom they stiled, *El Justicia de Arragon*, or chief justice of *Arragon*, to whom appeals might be made from the king, who might controul the king if he acted against the law, and who was not accountable, for any thing he did in the discharge of his office, to the king, but to the states.
- f
- THE historians of *Arragon* affirm, and there is good reason to believe, that this office was as ancient as their monarchy; but, however, the history of these chief justices, which is very copiously and distinctly written, rises no higher than to the taking of *Saragossa* from the *Moors*. It is said, that, at the inauguration of their kings, the chief justice sat on a high tribunal in his robes, with his head covered; the king then came before him, and, kneeling down bare-headed, swore to maintain their privileges, and to govern according to law. Upon which proclamation

The disputes about the succession, begun in the days of Don Martin, revived on his decease.

Some account of the original constitution in the monarchy of Arragon.

Their kings; tho' not elected, were always confirmed by the people, and sworn to maintain the laws.

High office of chief justice of Arragon defined and described.

proclamation was made on the part of the assembly, in these words: *Nos que valemus tanto como vos os hazemos nuestro Rey y Señor con tal que guardéis nuestros fueros y libertades, si no, no*: We, who are as good as you, have taken you for our king and lord, so long as you respect our laws and liberties, and no longer. It is said, that the king Don *Pedro* the first, by great art and management, and by the promise of other privileges less dishonourable to the crown, and as advantageous to the people, procured this form to be abolished by the states; and, it is added, that having the parchment in one of his hands, which contained the law, he drew his dagger, and wounding the hand in which he held it, suffered the blood to stream over it, adding these words: *Ley de poder elegir Rey los Vassallos sangre de Rey avia de costar*. A law that gives vassals a power to elect their king, ought to be effaced with a king's blood: from whence he was surnamed Don *Pedro el Pugal*, or *Peter* with the dagger; and as a sufficient evidence of the truth of this, they shew his statue, with the dagger in one hand and the parchment in the other, in the *Casa de la Deputation*, or house of commons at *Barcelona*.

A common mistake on this subject stated and rectified.

THIS, though written by very grave authors, and taken upon trust by strangers, has very much the air of a fable; and so indeed it is, but not without a ground of truth. The king was not Don *Pedro* the first, but Don *Pedro* the fourth, surnamed the ceremonious; and the law was not of election, but that for establishing the union, which he cancelled in an assembly of the states, by cutting it in pieces with his dagger; in doing which he struck his finger by accident, and when he saw the blood run, he said to the states: A law, that has occasioned so much bloodshed, is happily wiped out of your statutes by the blood of a king. It is however certain, that though *Arragon* never was an elective kingdom, yet the confirmation of the states to the next heir's title was held so necessary, that it was very ill taken, if he either did any regal act, or even assumed the title, before he had sworn to preserve their privileges: and, in consequence of that oath, was recognized and acknowledged for their sovereign by the states. They likewise took upon themselves to examine and decide, when any disputes arose, in relation to the succession, as we shall see at large in another section; but, at present, it is requisite to give the reader, as we have undertaken, the histories of all the monarchies in *Spain*; that of *Majorca*, under the few kings that it had, in which the reader will find various circumstances worthy of his notice, and which do not occur in any of the accounts published in our history.

S E C T. XI.

The history of the kingdom of Majorca, from the time of its being conquered by James I. of Arragon, to its re-union, or rather second conquest by Don Pedro IV. after which it remained annexed to that crown.

^a **T**HE possession of the island of *Majorca*; and of those that depended upon it, was an object, which those who were masters of the continent of *Spain* had ever in view, and sooner or later achieved it. The *Moors*, as the reader will see in another place, made themselves masters of them, and lost them again; but, pursuing their designs some time after, they had better fortune, and had been actually sovereigns here upwards of four centuries, when Don *Jayne* of *Arragon* formed the design of augmenting his own dominions; by the junction of these islands^a. It must not, however, be understood, that, in all this space of time, they had received no interruption; for the contrary is true. Several of the counts of *Barcelona*, provoked, in some measure, by the depredations committed on their coasts by the *Majorcan Moors*, who had a natural turn to piracy, but chiefly out of a desire to make conquests, or, at least, reprisals by descents of a like nature, had given them a great deal of trouble, ruined some of their best towns upon the coast, and enriched themselves and their troops by the plunder^b. But as, in most of these expeditions, they were indebted to the *Pisans*, the *Genoese*, or some other of the *Italian* states, for the best part of the naval force that was employed in them, we thought it expedient, as well to avoid swelling this part of our work as to prevent repetitions, to refer those expeditions till, in the natural course of our undertaking, we shall come to treat of the history of these maritime states^c. Here, therefore, the reader is to expect only what regards the royal house of *Arragon*. Some historians have suggested, that when Don *Pedro* the second went into *Italy*, and was crowned by the pope, one great motive of his voyage was to negotiate a league with some of the republics before-mentioned, in order to facilitate a design he had formed, of invading and reducing these islands^d; but, as we have shewn in the history of his reign, he quickly found himself so much embarrassed, with a variety of troublesome affairs that he had upon his hands, that he left his project to be accomplished by some of his successors, under a probable expectation they would see the facility and expediency of this conquest, for the security of the rest of their territories.

As a sufficient account of these islands have been given in other parts of this work, ^a a particular description of them will not be expected here; and yet there are some things that, for the better understanding of the history, it is absolutely necessary to take notice of. These islands, but more especially *Majorca*, or, as the *Spaniards* write it, *Mallorca*, was in a far different condition from what it has been since^e. All writers agree, that there is hardly any country more indebted to nature; for though one part of it be mountainous, and consequently not very fertile, yet the greater part of it is flat, and of so excellent a soil, that it produces prodigious quantities of corn, as good in its kind as any in *Europe*; oil, wine, and salt in vast abundance; cattle and sheep sufficient for the inhabitants: but deer, rabbits, and wild fowl in such plenty, as might alone have furnished their subsistence^f. The air is very pure and temperate, and, by its situation, the heat in summer is so qualified by the breezes, that it is not only the largest and most plentiful, but by much the pleasantest of all the islands^g. These and other advantages were, at this juncture, improved to the utmost; for the *Moors*, ever industrious and indefatigable, and withal wonderfully populous, surrounded the whole coast with fortifications, that is, with a kind of towers, and lines between them; cultivated every spot that was not either rock or sand; carried on a great trade with their countrymen in *Spain* and *Africa*, and had no less than fifteen great towns, whereas there are not now above three^h; neither was it at all difficult for the *Moorish* sovereign to bring into the field an army much superior in number to the inhabitants that are now upon it, taking in all ranks, sexes, and ages. In a word, at this time the king of *Majorca* was very powerful, and his subjects rich and happy, through the exercise of trade with their own countrymen, and piracy upon the Christiansⁱ.

^a Historia general del Reyno Balearico por JUAN DAMETO.

^b FRANCISCO DIAGO, Historia de los antiguos Contes de Barcelona, Barcelona 1603. fo. MARIAN. MAYERNE TURQ.

^c See the respective histories of the republics of Pisa, Lucca, and Genoa.

^d Historia general del Reyno Balearico, por JUAN DAMETO.

^e DIAGO, ZURIT. MARIAN. ^f DAMETO, COLMENARES Abbe VAYRAC. ^g DAMETO.

Du Bois, COLMENARES. ^h DAMETO, ZURIT. MARIAN. ⁱ COLMENARES, Du Bois, Abbe VAYRAC.

*A very slight
cause occasions
the war, by
which the
island was
conquered.*

WE need not wonder that, in circumstances like these, both prince and people were less prudent than if they had been in a worse situation. They had, upon some slight pretences, taken two vessels belonging to *Barcelona*, one of which was very richly laden. Of this, the people of that city complained to their king Don *Jayme*, who was at that time but a very young man, much perplexed in his affairs, and who, in all probability, had never thought of attacking these islands; at least nothing of this kind appears from his conduct; for, upon this complaint, he sent an ambassador to the king of *Majorca* to demand satisfaction, which might have been easily given; for the *Catalans* were in reality the aggressors, and had taken a tartane of *Majorca*, though of no great value^k. But very unfortunately for the *Moorish* prince, he enquired of a *Genoese* master of a ship, what strength the king of *Arragon* had; who answered, that he was a poor pitiful prince, who, with the whole force of his dominions, was not able to take the castle of *Peniscola*^l. When the ambassador had his audience, the *Moorish* king put on an affected ignorance, and asked him, who his master was? My master, answered the ambassador, is Don *Jayme*, king of *Arragon*, the son of Don *Pedro*, who, at the memorable battle of *Tolosa*, cut many thousands of your nation to pieces^m. This unexpected answer so ruffled the *Moor*, that he was on the point of seizing him who gave it; and tho' upon reflection he did not do that, yet he answered him with contempt, and ordered him to quit his dominions without delay. A conduct inexcusable in itself, and of which he had quickly cause to repentⁿ.

*Don Jayme I.
makes an oath
not to desist till
the Moors
were at his
mercy.*

AT his return, the ambassador found his master at *Barcelona*, to whom he gave a very particular account of the reception he had met with, which so irritated Don *Jayme*, that he swore, at the altar, never to desist from his enterprize against *Majorca*, till he had the king by the beard, that is, till he had his enemies at his mercy. There is, however, great probability, that there was a mixture of policy with this resentment. He was desirous of being at the head of an army entirely under his own command, and of accustoming his nobility to obey him; his cousin Don *Nugno Sanchez* was very desirous of having the command given to himself, but the king would not hear of it^o. The nobility of *Arragon*, and even the pope's legate, advised him to turn his arms rather against *Valentia*; but he was determined. The nobles of *Catalonia* furnished him with all he could desire: and in what condition they were able to do this, will appear from the quota furnished by the archbishop of *Tarragona*; which was, a thousand marks in gold, five hundred quarters of wheat, one hundred men at arms, and one thousand foot, to be paid by him till the conquest of the island^p. His whole force consisted of fifteen hundred horse, and about fifteen thousand foot, of whom about a thousand were mere adventurers from *France*, *Provence*, *Gascony*, &c. He put to sea on *Wednesday* the first of *September*, and, after two or three storms, came upon the coasts of *Majorca*, where the *Moors* opposed his landing, which was not effected without much trouble and some loss; at length, however, his whole army was debarked, and a resolution taken to give the enemy battle: in which the soldiers were so eager, that they would have marched without their officers^q, who only laboured to restrain them till they were recovered a little from their fatigues: however, their impetuosity prevailed.

*The king of
Majorca and
his subjects ab-
solutely re-
duced within
four months.*

THE *Moorish* king lay with an army of five thousand horse, and thirty-seven thousand foot, in the best position he could take for covering his capital; Don *Jayme* attacked him with such fury, and his troops, who were all old soldiers, and accustomed to the field, were so much superior to the *Moors*, that, notwithstanding their superiority in point of numbers, they were quickly routed, and so totally, that the king had much ado to collect eight thousand men, nor could he do this till the city of *Majorca* was invested, into which he got with his forces by a stratagem^r. While Don *Jayme* remained before the place, several of the *Moorish* lords submitted to him; so that he was master of a great part of the island before the city was reduced^s. At length, the *Moorish* king offered to pay the expences of the war; and that being rejected, he proposed to surrender the place, and to pay a certain sum of money for every head, to preserve them from being put to death, which the king would have accepted, but the army refused, and demanded to be led to the assault. The *Moors*, absolutely desperate, defended themselves with great obstinacy, and some of the lords proposed to the king renewing the negotiation; which Don *Jayme* refused, adding, it is too late to be wise, now we must conquer or die. At length, however, the place was taken^t. The *Moorish* king endeavoured to conceal himself, but was taken, and presented to Don *Jayme*, as was soon after his son, a youth of thirteen years old. The king of *Arragon*, in discharge of his oath,

^k DAMETO, ZURIT. MARIAN.

general del Reyno Balearico. ZURITA, MARIAN.

de Cataluna, por BERN. DESCLOT. ABARCA, MARIAN.

MARIANA.

^l DAMETO, ABARCA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

Gestorum. ABARCA, Abbe VAYRAC.

del Reyno Balearico. ABARCA, FERRERAS.

^m Historia de Cataluna, por BERN. DESCLOT.

ⁿ DAMETO, MARIAN. ABARCA.

^o Historia general del Reyno Balearico. ZURITA,

^p Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus

^q DAMETO. ZURITA, MARIANA.

^r Historia general

a took his enemy by the beard, but spoke to him kindly, and promised him good usage; as for the son, he was instructed in the Christian religion, baptized by the name of Don Jayme, and the king gave him a very large estate in *Valentia*, where his posterity were still remaining in the days of *Mariana* ^u. The city was taken, and the island of *Majorca* consequently reduced, on the last day of the year; so that this expedition was executed in about four months, and the king enabled to comply with the promises he had made to his nobility, and to those of other nations, who, under the specious pretences of religion and honour, were in reality cutting out settlements for themselves with their swords ^v.

It was some years before the *Moors* were brought thoroughly into subjection; for, having a natural abhorrence to their new masters, as *Catalans* as well as Christians, they were perpetually taking up arms; and when they could no longer keep the field, they sheltered themselves in the natural fortresses of the island, that is, vast caves in the sides of high mountains, the entrances of which were easily defended, and the room within was so great as to admit many families without any considerable inconvenience ^x. By degrees, however, they were brought under, but it is judged that, by the slaughter during the war, and these insurrections, and the numbers that quitted their country, and retired into the kingdom of *Granada*, or to *Barbary*, this island lost one half its inhabitants. The king, Don Jayme, greatly augmented and adorned the city of *Majorca*, or *Palma*, which, at the time it fell into his hands, was built chiefly on the sea coast, and on the side of the mountain; upon the summit of which stood a citadel that protected, but, at the same time, commanded the town ^y. This the king caused to be demolished, and instead of it built a most beautiful cathedral, a noble palace, and other public edifices, which were also well defended by towers, and other fortifications; the port he secured by a most noble mole, and established an excellent form of government, which, by rendering the inhabitants easy and happy, drew thither continual supplies of people from all parts ^z. In 1232, he made a second voyage thither, when he summoned the *Moors*, who inhabited *Minorca*, to submit, and, by a stratagem of lighting many fires every night along the opposite coast, terrified them to such a degree with the apprehensions of an invasion, that he brought them to submit, and to pay him an annual tribute ^a. In 1256, he established his son Don Jayme in the possession of these dominions, which, however, gave great offence to the heir apparent of the crown of *Arragon*, and notwithstanding, as we have shewn in the former section, that he had formerly bestowed them upon the Infant Don Pedro of *Portugal*, as an equivalent for the countries which he had acquired by marriage ^b.

Don Jayme the second, upon the demise of his father, succeeded to the throne, in virtue of his father's will, who bestowed upon him, not only the kingdom of *Majorca*, and all its dependencies, but likewise the lordship of *Montpellier*, the counties of *Roussillon*, *Collioure*, *Constans*, *Cerdagne*, *Valespir*, and all that he possessed in *France* ^c. Don Pedro the third of *Arragon*, tho' he was by no means satisfied with this disposition, yet he confirmed it, upon condition that his brother should do him homage, and hold his territories as a feudatory to the crown of *Arragon*; which appears clearly, from a treaty between them, in the month of *January*, in the year following the death of their father ^d. However, Don Jayme was so offended with this, and with his not having the kingdom of *Valentia*, which he surmised his father likewise intended him, that when *Philip* the hardy, in pursuance of the pope's invitations, determined to invade *Arragon*, he not only granted him a free passage through his territories, which perhaps might have been justified, as he was his feudatory for the countries he held on the continent, but also assisted him in his war against his brother ^e. This so provoked that monarch, that he sent his son, the infant Don *Alonso*, with a potent fleet and army to depose his uncle, which he accordingly did; the people willingly submitted, upon account of the heavy taxes that had been imposed upon them by Don Jayme; he likewise reduced the island of *Ivica*, and left strong garrisons therein, and at the same time projected the entire reduction of *Minorca* ^f. The reason of this seems to have been, that the inhabitants, notwithstanding their submission to Don Jayme the first, continued their piracies; for which the sole remedy his prudence could suggest was to expel them that country: and this, after a vigorous war of two years, he gloriously effected, by the capitulation of *Port Mahon*, and of *St. Agatha*, when the *Moors* consented to give him a certain sum of money for every head to

Citadel of Majorca demolished, and a cathedral and palace erected in its room.

Don Jayme II. succeeds in the kingdom of Majorca, in virtue of his father's will.
A. D. 1276.

1278.

1283.

1285.

^u Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. Historia general de Espana lib. xvi. MAYERNE TURQUET.
^v DAMETO, ZURIT. MARIAN. FER.
^y DAMETO, COLMENARES, Abbe VAYRAC.
^z Historia general del Reyno Balearico, Les Delices de l'Espagne, tom iv. p. 577. Abbe VAYRAC.
^a Hieronymi BLANCÆ Arragonensium Rerum Commentarii.
^b ZURIT. ABARCA, MARIAN. MAYERN. TURQ. FER.
^c Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. MARIAN. Histoire de Languedoc.
^d Historia de Malorca, por VINCENTE MUT, Fol. in Malorca, 1650. ZURIT. MARIAN. FER.
^e Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. ABARCA, FER.
^f ZURIT. MARIAN. ARMSTRONG'S History of Minorca.

obtain leave to retire into *Barbary*, and that such as had it not to give, should remain, and submit to such terms as he thought fit to prescribe ^a.

A. D. 1287. *Deprived of his dominions by one nephew, and restored to them by another.* THE king Don *Jayme*, who still retained *Roussillon* and the rest of the countries he held in *France*, gave his nephew all the disturbance he could; but this served only to increase the weight of his misfortunes, as all his attempts proved unsuccessful. However, by the interposition of the pope and the king of *France*, Don *Alonso*, upon the conclusion of a general peace, consented to restore his uncle to all his dominions, to be held, as before, by homage rendered to the crown of *Arragon*; but before this treaty could be fully accomplished Don

1291. *Alonso* died ^b. His brother and successor Don *Jayme* the second was content that things should remain in this situation, as appears by a large and full treaty, which is still extant, concluded between them at *Argilers*, in which the former styles himself Don *Jayme*, by the grace of God, king of *Arragon*, *Valentia*, and *Murcia*, and count of *Barcelona*; and the latter king of the *Majorcas*, that is, *Majorca* and the islands dependent upon it, count of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne*, and lord of *Montpellier*; in which they stipulate a perpetual friendship for themselves and successors against all powers whatever, subject to the homage formerly stipulated; and this treaty bears date June 9, 1298. By virtue of this treaty ^c, Don *Jayme* found himself once more in the peaceable possession of his dominions, and so continued to the time of his decease; which was about four years after. By his queen *Esclaronda*, who was the daughter of the count de *Foix*, he had Don *Jayme*, who became a monk, Don *Sancho*, who succeeded him, Don *Ferdinand*, and Don *Philip*, who was an ecclesiastic. He had also a daughter, *Donna Sancha*. The body of this prince, Don *Jayme* the second, lies interred in the cathedral church of *Majorca* ^d.

Don Sancho succeeds his father, and governs his dominions peaceably.

Don *Sancho* did homage to *Philip* the fair, king of *France*, on the eighth of *December* the same year, for the lordship of *Montpellier* ^e; and, on the seventh of *July* in the year following, he likewise did homage to Don *Jayme* the second ^f. He had afterwards some dispute with the crown of *France* about his lordship of *Montpellier*, which the king of *Arragon* pretended was to be held of him, independent of the crown of *France*; and some proceedings there were upon this matter before the parliament of *Paris*; but *Philip* the long took the cognizance of this difference from them, and adjusted it with the two kings himself ^g. Don *Sancho* was a prince of a mild and equitable disposition, content with his small dominions, which he governed in peace to the time of his demise, which happened on the fourth of *September*, one thousand three hundred and twenty-four, without issue ^h.

The king of Arragon disposed to seize these territories upon his dying without issue.

Don *Jayme* king of *Arragon* immediately seized his dominions, as has been mentioned in the former section: but the *Spanish* historians, and even those of the kingdom of *Arragon*, who very highly commend his justice in restoring them, do not give us any clear account upon what motives the original measure was taken. It seems in the will of Don *Jayme* the conqueror, king both of *Arragon* and *Majorca*, there was a substitution of the royal house of *Arragon*, in case the heirs male should fail of Don *Jayme* king of *Majorca*; and some of the courtiers of the king of *Arragon* persuaded him, that, Don *Sancho* dying without heirs, he had a just title to the kingdom under that will ⁱ. But the Infant Don *Philip* of *Majorca* represented to him, that Don *Jayme* the second left four sons, of whom the late king Don *Sancho* was not the eldest, but succeeded in the place of his brother, who had renounced the world; that his next brother Don *Ferdinand*, who should have been his successor, was indeed dead, but had left by his wife *Donna Isabella*, heiress of the *Morea*, a son Don *Jayme*, who was indisputably the heir male of his grandfather, and consequently entitled, under that will, to the kingdom of *Majorca*, and its dependencies ^j.

Don Jayme III. does homage to the king of Arragon, and espouses his daughter Donna Constantia.

THE Infant Don *Philip* of *Majorca* did homage, as guardian of his nephew, and in his name, on the first of *October*, one thousand three hundred and twenty-seven, to Don *Jayme* the second of *Arragon*, and by the interest of the same Don *Philip* a marriage was concluded for the young king, with the Infanta *Donna Constantia* of *Arragon*, daughter to Don *Alonso*, heir apparent of that kingdom ^k. It is indeed suggested by *Mariana*, that it was in regard to this marriage Don *Jayme* of *Arragon* sacrificed his claim to the crown of *Majorca*; but this seems very improbable, since the young king had infinitely more interest in marrying that princess than her grandfather could have in disposing of her, since he might, without difficulty, have matched her to princes of equal rank and greater power. On the twenty-fifth of *October*, one thousand three hundred and twenty-eight, Don *Jayme* of *Majorca* did homage in person to king *Alonso* the fourth of *Arragon* his father-in-law ^l; when, without question, the treaties between the two crowns were renewed; by which it was settled, that they should assist each

^a Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. ZURIT. MARIAN. FER. ^b Hieron. BLANCÆ, ALEAC. ZURIT. MARIAN.

^c Historia de Malorca, por VINCENTE MUT, lib. iv. ZURIT. FER. ^d VINCENTE MUT, ZURIT. MARIAN. MAYERN. TURQ. ^e Histoire de Languedoc. ^f VINCENTE

MUT, ZURIT. FER. ^g ZURIT. Hist. de Languedoc. ^h VINCENTE MUT, Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. MARIAN. ⁱ Historia de Malorca, por VINCENTE MUT. Histoire de Languedoc.

^j VINCENTE MUT, MARIAN. ^k Corps Diplomatique de Droits des Gens. ^l VINCENTE MUT, ZURIT. FER.

a other with their whole force; and in case any differences arose between them, the points in controversy were to be determined by the pope: neither is there any reason to suppose, that Don *Alonso* would insist upon any harder terms from a prince of his blood, and his son-in-law, than the kings his predecessors had done from the ancestors of this young prince; but, on the contrary, there is nothing more probable, than that Don *Jayme* looked upon himself as very secure of support from *Arragon*, as well in consideration of this alliance, as of those treaties by which he was, strictly speaking, entitled to it^c.

It may be, that his conceiving too highly of the benefits he might draw from this alliance, might induce him to frame false ideas of his own power, and put him upon making a greater figure than his predecessors had done. The very situation of his dominions, and their tenure, b exposed him to continual difficulties, in which the making one or two false steps was more than sufficient to throw himself and his subjects into the utmost distress. The circumstances of the times were very critical; and though he was a prince of high courage, and did not want abilities, yet his having a spirit superior to his fortune, and his affecting an independency which was altogether impracticable, drew him quickly into perplexities, and, in the end, proved his ruin^d. He was summoned by *Philip de Valois*, king of *France*, to do homage for his lordship of *Montpellier*, and all its dependencies; and being, at that time, embarrassed by the *Moors*, he accordingly did homage on the twenty-eighth of *April*, though unwillingly, as conceiving there was none due^e. He applied himself the same year to pope *John* the twenty-second for two favours, the first was, a power to levy the tenths upon the clergy; the second, c a permission to send three ships with rich merchandize to *Alexandria*; for without the licence of the pope, in those days, Christian princes could not suffer their subjects to have any correspondence with the infidels; and both were to enable him to defend his territories from the invasions of the *Moors*, and to clear the adjacent seas from their corsairs^f. The pope granted him both his requests, provided that the ships he sent to *Alexandria* did not furnish the infidels with arms or military stores; and, in all probability, these supplies enabled him to protect his subjects, and to repress the pirates of *Barbary*^g. We have good reason to believe, that his success in this served to support and to heighten that ambition, which was but too high already.

UPON the demise of his father-in-law Don *Alonso*, he was summoned by Don *Pedro* the d fourth to do him homage, which he accordingly did, on the seventeenth of *July*, in the states of *Catalonia*, assembled at *Barcelona*. The very next year his dispute broke out with the king of *France*, who, being jealous of his intention to shake off his sovereignty, had expressly forbid him to celebrate jousts or tournaments in any of the places he held from him, without his permission first obtained; in contempt of which the king of *Majorca* caused them to be performed^h. He was encouraged to this, by the dangerous war in which *Philip de Valois* was then engaged with the crown of *England*, and the hopes he had of being supported both by that monarch, and the king of *Arragon*ⁱ. Some historians deny this, others pass it over; but there are unquestionable authorities to prove, that there was at this time an alliance brought upon the carpet between the crowns of *England*, *Arragon*, and *Majorca*, against *France*. There is, however, great reason to believe, that Don *Pedro* was never at all in earnest, but took these steps purely with a view to amuse and mislead this unhappy prince to his destruction^j. Don *Pedro* was a great politician, and having formed in his own mind a resolution to deprive him of all that he held, as a feudatory to the crown of *Arragon*, he judged that nothing could be more conducive to the effectual execution of this scheme than to leave the *French* king at full liberty to strip him of all the lordships for which he had done him homage. He executed this perfidious plan with such dexterity and address, as deceived the unhappy Don *Jayme* to the last^k; who by letters, ambassadors, and personal applications, repeated his demands of succours, in virtue of the treaties subsisting between them, and on the score of his being his vassal; which succours, tho' Don *Pedro*, under various specious pretences, f declined, yet he would never deny, but flattered him with hopes, till the *French*, by dint of a superior power, deprived Don *Jayme* of the lordship of *Montpellier*, and all its dependencies, and then, as at the proper season, he disclosed his meaning plainly^l.

HE caused, as we have said in a former section, the king of *Majorca* to be summoned, to answer to certain points of accusation that were brought against him, nor would he grant him any delay, though he desired it; and in his own memoirs Don *Pedro* acknowledges, that all

^c VINC. MUT, ZURIT. ABARCA, MARIAN. MAYERN. TURQ. FER. ^d VINC. MUT, RAINALD, MARIAN. FER. ^e Hist. de Languedoc. Tresor. des Chart de Montpellier, No. xvi. ^f RAINALD Historia de Malorca. ^g ZURIT. VINC. MUT. ^h Indices Rerum ab Arragonie Regibus Gestarum. ⁱ ZURIT. Histoire de Languedoc. FER. ^j RYMER's Fœdera, tom. v. ^k ZURIT. Histoire de Languedoc. ^l Historia de Malorca. ABARCA, FER. ^m Indices Rerum ab Arragonie regibus Gestarum. ABARCA.

the answers he gave to his applications were, Let him appear before the states; let him justify his own conduct, and I will grant his request. As to two of the three points of the charge, that is, that he had entered into a war with the king of *France* without his consent, and that he had imposed very heavy taxes upon his subjects, they were plainly things with which he had nothing to do; for, by the treaty subsisting between them, they were reciprocally obliged to assist each other if attacked; but the king of *Majorca* was not at all restrained from making war or peace as he thought fit: and, in respect to taxes, it is in express words declared, that the king of *Majorca* might impose and levy them as he thought proper^c. In regard to the third head, of coining money at *Perpignan*, the king of *Majorca* was not so excusable, as there was a clause which prohibited this in the treaties; and as it appeared to have been the intention of the original donor Don *Jayme* the first of *Arragon*, that no money should be current in the five counties, bestowed upon this prince's grandfather, but what was coined at *Barcelona*^d. We are assured by *Mariana*, that, besides the heads before-mentioned, there were other accusations, of a far more heinous nature; such as having formed a design to assassinate the king of *Arragon* at their last interview, which, out of humanity and the affection due from a sister, the queen *Donna Constantia* had discovered to Don *Pedro*; and that he had offered to enter into an alliance against him, not only with the king of *France*, but with the king of *Morocco*^e. These, very probably, were only thrown in to make up weight, or to deter the king from appearing, if he had any such design; since, if they had been founded in truth, they would have been far better reasons for depriving him of his dominions than those which were assigned.

From whom he takes that island, and all its dependencies, by an invasion.

THE king of *Majorca*, being no longer at a loss to know his brother-in-law's intentions, published a manifesto, in which he loaded him with reproaches, declared war against him, and took the best measures he could for his own defence. The historian of *Majorca* asserts, that, in the midst of his misfortunes, his subjects were never wanting in their fidelity, and produces a public instrument of their's^b, by which they approve and justify that monarch's conduct; which is directly contrary to what the historians of *Arragon* assert, as to their being universally discontented, and of their inviting Don *Pedro* to deliver them^f. But perhaps truth in this case may lie on both sides, that is, the people of *Majorca*, while the king was in possession, might publish, or might allow him to publish, whatever he thought proper, in their names, for his justification, and yet be secretly discontented, and entertain a private correspondence with his enemies. At least there seems to be some cause to suspect this, from the slender resistance that Don *Pedro* met with, when he soon after invaded *Majorca*^g. It also appears, that there must have been great errors in government, from the condition that things were then in; for, notwithstanding the extremity to which he was reduced, and the necessity he was under of raising the whole force of his dominions, Don *Jayme* was not able to bring into the field above a third part of the troops which the *Moorish* king assembled, when in the like circumstances; neither did these make any considerable defence: but all things fell immediately into such confusion, that the king, tho' personally brave, was constrained to seek his safety in flight, and that with a few followers only, while Don *Pedro* made a public entry into *Majorca* with loud acclamations of the people, leaving a viceroy behind him, with a small number of forces, who held these territories afterwards without trouble or dispute on the part of the people, whom the historians of *Arragon* therefore affirm to have been very well pleased with this revolution^h.

The king of France seizes what small territories the king of Majorca had left.

A. D. 1345.

WE have in a former section related how this war ended, and the unfortunate king of *Majorca* was despoiled of all his dominions; and even of his regal title, by his enemy, which induced him to retire to the count *de Foix*, to preserve his life and liberty, with a power at least of meditating revenge: he sent a long memorial, containing the history of the injuries that had been done him, to pope *Clement* the sixth, who interposed with Don *Pedro*, in regard especially to the king's family, exhorting him to restore at least his queen and his children, if not his dominions; upon which Don *Pedro* suffered his sister *Donna Constantia* to go to her husbandⁱ. It is also certain, that he solicited the king of *France* to interpose in his behalf, who treated him very unkindly, though he gave him fair words and fine promises^j. Don *Jayme*, to stave that, tho' his fortune might, yet his spirit never could, be broken, embarked a small body of troops aboard a few galleys, and attempted to make a descent on *Majorca*; but was repulsed in such a manner, that he was obliged to retire; upon which, taking advantage of the troubles in *Arragon*, he made an irruption into *Roussillon*, and recovered the county of *Conflans*; but Don *Pedro* marching against him from *Barcelona*, a smart action

^c VINC. MUT, ZURIT. ABARCA. general de Espana, lib. xvi.

^d ABARCA, MATERN. TURQ. MARIAN.

^e FER. BALUZ.

^f Historia de Malorca. ZURIT. Histoire de Languedoc.

^g Historia de Malorca, por VINC. MUT.

^h ZURIT. ABARCA, FER.

ⁱ Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum, ABARCA,

^j Historia de Majorca, Hist. Languedoc,

a happened between them at *Vinea*, in which Don *Jayme* was routed, and forced to retire.^o He made afterwards an attempt upon *Puyserdan* with the like ill fortune; and at this time the king of *France* seized his lordship of *Montpelier*, alleging, that, as he was his vassal, and had made these incursions without his leave, he had forfeited that feigniory^p. This fact is put out of all doubt by a letter from the pope to the *French* king, dated *August* the eighteenth, the same year, intreating him to restore that lordship, that this unhappy prince might not be driven to absolute despair, or his family, descending from a long race of kings, be utterly deprived of subsistence^q. It appears from hence how much those authors are mistaken who A. D. 1347. assert, that Don *Jayme* of *Majorca* was present in the battle of *Cressy*; and how much more those writers are deceived, who affirm, that he was killed there *August* the twenty-fifth, one thousand three hundred and forty-six, which is a piece of false history that deserves certainly to be exploded, tho' it has so long passed current amongst us^r.

ALL his disappointments served only to sharpen the courage of Don *Jayme*, who having, by a deed, signed the eighteenth of *April* at *Avignon*, and assented to by both his children, sold the lordship of *Montpelier*, and all its dependencies, to the king of *France*, for one hundred and twenty thousand golden crowns^s; he spent the whole in raising an army for the recovery of *Majorca*. Some writers say, that this consisted of three hundred horse and three thousand foot; others say, fifteen hundred horse and eleven thousand foot: it may be the former was the number of troops he carried over, and the latter of his army when joined by his partisans in *Majorca*^t. He was as unfortunate in his last as in his former expeditions; for, before he could have time for taking any proper measures for augmenting his forces, by the accession of all who were yet well affected to him in *Majorca*, he was attacked by *Gilbert de St. Ellas*, viceroy of that island, and by *Rimbao de Corbera*, viceroy of *Sardinia*, at the head of eight hundred horse and twenty thousand foot, all old troops; upon which his new-raised forces immediately fled, but, those he brought with him remaining firm, the king fought it out to the last, and refusing quarter, was pierced thro' the body with a lance; after which, as some say, the *Catalans* cut off his head^u. This happened on *Sunday* the 25th of *October*. In him ended the monarchs of *Majorca*, of the royal house of *Arragon*^v. By his first wife, *Donna Constantia*, he had two children, Don *Jayme* and *Donna Isabella*; by his second, *Donna Roland*, or *Donna Violante*, whom he married after her decease, which happened in the year one thousand three hundred and forty-six, it does not appear that he had any issue.

We might here close this section, without pursuing the history of this unlucky family any farther; but then some passages in the foregoing history, and others in the following sections, would be left very obscure, and, which is worse, under great suspicion of inaccuracy, falshood, and contradiction; which is frequently the case with writers of general history, by their affecting brevity too much. We will therefore give a succinct account of the son of this monarch Don *Jayme* the younger, whom the *Italian* writers stile sometimes *James* of *Majorca*, from his pretensions to that kingdom; and sometimes *James* of *Tarracona*, from the place of his birth, better known afterwards by the more illustrious title of king of *Naples*^x; which did not hinder him from bearing still in his mind the claims that he derived from his birth, which led him into adventures that have brought him more than once in our way; and it is to reduce them into their natural order, and to fix their dates from authentic authorities, that we find ourselves obliged to resume them here. The strange errors which some great authors have fallen into upon his account, will sufficiently justify our conduct.

We cannot fix the time of this prince's birth, tho' we can come pretty near it, for, in the ratification of his father's sale of the lordship of *Montpelier*, dated *May* 15th, 1349, he is said to be more than eleven, and under fourteen^y. In *October* the same year he was taken prisoner in *Majorca*, and sent by his uncle to be kept at *Barcelona*, where, on the first of *May*, having found means to furnish himself with false keys and with arms, he opened the prison doors; and, having slain *Nicholas Rovira*, who was his keeper, and would have hindered him, he made his escape to *Avignon*, where he was protected and caressed by the pope^z. As he was at this time esteemed one of the handsomest and most accomplished princes of the age, queen *Joan* of *Naples*, who was just become a widow, offered him her person and her crown, which, in his circumstances, he thought it prudent to accept^a. His

^o Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. Hist. de Languedoc. FER. doc. BALUZ, FER.

^q RAINALD, BALUZ, Histoire de Languedoc.

^r ADAM MURIMOTHECONT TRIVET Chron. HEN. KNYGHTON Chron. THORN, WALSINGHAM, GIOVAN. VILLANI à Stowe, BARNES's,

^s Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. ABARCA, FER. ^t Histoire de Languedoc.

^u Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum. ABARCA, FER. ^v PANDOLFO

^w VINC. MUT, ZURIT. HIER. BLANCÆ, ABARCA, MARIAN. FER. ^x PANDOLFO

^y Histoire de Languedoc. ^z Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum, ABARCA, MARIAN. MAYERN.

^a ZURIT. PANDOLFO COLLENUCCIO, Historia del Reye de Napoli. BRANTOME.

After Donna *Isabella* likewise espoused *John* the marquis of *Montferrat*, and received from her a
uncle Don *Pedro* a considerable fortune^b; but, notwithstanding this seeming turn of fortune,
he was still so possessed with a desire to recover his hereditary dominions, and found so many
circumstances that imbibited his stay at *Naples*, even with the regal title, that, four years
afterwards, we find him at *Bordeaux*, soliciting *Edward* the black prince to assist him in the
recovery at least of his dominions on that side the *Pyrenees*; which the prince promised him,
provided he would attend him in his expedition into *Spain*; which he did^c; and, in his
passage, must have marched through his uncle's territories, who could not be very well pleased
to see a young monarch, whom, contrary to the ties of nature, and the law of nations, he had
so much injured.

Dies, endeavouring to recover his dominions.

1375:

His sister Donna Isabella conveys her pretensions to the duke of Anjou.

THE next summer, when the prince of *Wales* retired out of *Castile*, he was constrained to
leave Don *Jayme* sick behind him, and by this means it was that he fell into the hands of Don
Henry, king of *Castile*, a prince who, having felt the weight of misfortunes himself, had a
generous concern for the distresses of others^d. He treated the king of *Naples* kindly, but
kept him a prisoner till he had made his peace with *Arragon*, when Don *Pedro* was in hopes
that he would either have delivered him up, or have confined him closer; but the king Don
Henry suffered him soon after to go to *Avignon*, where, by the assistance of the duke of *Anjou*,
he for four years together alarmed the king of *Arragon* at least, and at length assembled an
army, with which he advanced as far as the *Pegro*, where, finding himself distressed for
provisions, and his forces in danger of being surrounded, he sent to Don *Henry* of *Castile* for
assistance and advice^e. That great and gallant monarch gave him both; he offered him his
court for an asylum, and he promised to persuade or to compel the king of *Arragon* to grant
him an establishment; and, to deliver him out of his present perplexity, he ordered a corps
of troops to advance to *Soria*, where the king of *Majorca* joined them. But unhappy princes
are commonly deceived by the glimmerings of good fortune; Don *Jayme* fatigued himself so
much in this forced march, that, being seized by a malignant fever, he died in a few days,
and was buried in the monastery of *St. Francis*, in the town of *Soria*^f. The reader will
judge what credit is due to those historians who so positively assert, that his consort queen
Joan of *Naples*, having found him in bed with a mistress, caused him to be beheaded^g.

His sister Donna *Isabella*, widow of *John* Marquis of *Montferrat*, was with him at that
time, and, by the interposition of the king of *Castile*, a convention was concluded with the
king of *Arragon*, by which a sum of money was given her for the pay of the troops that were
about her, and they were allowed to retire without molestation^h. It was this princess, who,
after the decease of her brother, confirmed the donation, which, in conjunction with him, she
had made of all her rights to the duke of *Anjou*, to whom they were under very great obliga-
tionsⁱ. How these pretensions were afterwards transferred, and at length extinguished, has
been shewn in its proper place, so that we are now at liberty to return to the history of *Arra-
gon*. But, before we do this, it may not be improper to take notice of an observation made
by *Ferreras*, that the misfortunes of Don *Jayme* the third, king of *Majorca*, ought to be a
perpetual warning to all princes in his situation, who should be extremely careful to preserve
their dominions in peace, and by that means secure the affections of their subjects, who, jealous
of their own happiness, will make such efforts for its preservation as they would think imprac-
ticable in defence of any monarch's title. Time, and a prudent use of favourable events,
may gradually aggrandize even the smallest sovereignty; but a little king, who racks his
subjects, that he may make a figure which he esteems worthy of a crowned head, takes the
surest and speediest method of being no king at all^k. To this we may add, that, if Don
Jayme the younger had lived to be an old man, he would have been the indubitable heir of
his persecutor's dominions, and consequently have prevented that struggle amongst the com-
petitors for this succession, of which it will be our business to give the reader a comprehensive
view at the beginning of the next section, which will conclude the history of *Arragon*, and
all the territories annexed to it, before its conjunction with *Castile* in the persons of Don *Ferdi-
nand* and Donna *Isabella*.

^b Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. reg. Gest. ABARC. FER.

of Edward III. lib. iv. cap. 2.

TURQ.

Arragon. reg. Gest.

de Espana, sect. 14.

^c ZURIT. ABARC. FER.

^d RAINALD, FER.

^e ZURIT. ABARC. MARIAN. MAYERN.

^f See the article of Joan Queen of Naples in BAYLE's Dictionary.

^g Indic. Rerum ab

^h ABARC. Histoire de Languedoc, FER. MAYERN. TURQ. MARIAN.

ⁱ Historia

S E C T. XII.

The history of the kingdom of Arragon, continued from the interregnum on the death of Don Martin, to the union of the crowns of Castile and Arragon, under their catholic majesties Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella.

^a **T**HERE never was a country left in a more miserable or exposed condition than this of *Arragon*, by the death of the king *Don Martin*, who, in the last months of his life, employed all his thoughts to preserve himself in ease and safety, without being obliged to declare in favour of any of the pretenders, who he knew could none of them be settled in the legal and quiet possession of the throne, but by the authority of the states, to whose decision therefore he was inclined to leave it ¹. Upon his demise, all things seemed to fall to pieces; *Arragon*, *Valentia*, *Catalonia*, became at once sovereign states, without any other union than their mutual regard for their own interests, which were better consulted by their having but one sovereign, than any other way; and yet separately they were in great confusion. In *Arragon* the factions of the *Lunas* and the *Urreas*, the former espousing the party of the count *de Urgel*, while the latter, who were his declared enemies, scattered discord through every corner of the kingdom ^b. In *Valentia*, the *Contellas* and the *Villaraguedes*, by their dissensions, did the like ^c. In *Catalonia* things were in a more composed condition, the states immediately assembled, and assumed the government ^d. In *Majorca*, and the islands dependent upon it, all things were perfectly quiet, through the care of *Don Roger de Moncada* ^e. *Sardinia* was torn to pieces by a civil war; and in *Sicily*, *Don Bernard de Cabrera*, count of *Modica*, held a very suspicious conduct, seizing by force most of the considerable places, putting garrisons in them, fitting out several squadrons to cruise upon the coasts, though he pretended to aim at nothing more than preserving the island for the crown of *Arragon*; and yet he besieged the queen-dowager *Donna Blanca*, who had assumed the title and power of queen regent for the same purpose ^f. What ^g is most extraordinary, notwithstanding all these quarrels and disturbances, there was nothing lost; and though it was a long time before they were appeased, yet, when that happened, all things fell into the old channel, and the lustre of the crown of *Arragon* was not at all diminished. A felicity that has scarce ever attended a complicated succession left in such a manner.

^h **P**OPE *Benedict* the thirteenth, who was himself an *Arragonian*, used all imaginable methods to quiet the minds of the people in that kingdom, and in *Valentia*, to very little purpose ⁱ. Some indeed of the nobility in both kingdoms acted like good patriots, and acted to the utmost of their power for the welfare of the state; in order to which, they procured a truce to be made in *Arragon* for three years, by which all private quarrels, on what pretence soever, were to be suspended during that time, and to this they were sworn. It was in general so well observed, that, when *Don Antonio de Luna* demanded a conference with the archbishop of *Saragossa*, *Don Garcia Fernandez de Heredia*, he made no scruple of consenting to it, though he was the head of the opposite faction. When they met, *Don Antonio* picked a quarrel with the archbishop, and, having posted an ambuscade conveniently for that purpose, attacked and murdered him, which threw the whole kingdom into a flame, and alarmed not a little the parliament, then sitting at *Calatayud*; to oppose which, *Don Antonio* and his party called another assembly, to which they gave that title in another place ^j. In *Valentia* the troubles were near as great, and the malecontents had recourse to the same method of meeting again in another place, and of calling themselves a parliament. In both kingdoms they were forced to have recourse to the Infant *Don Ferdinand* of *Castile*, to desire that he would send troops to protect them, and to give a proper degree of weight to the only legal authority subsisting in either country ^k. In *Catalonia* things went somewhat better; the parliament at *Tortosa* were generally and chearfully obeyed; so that when the count *d'Urgel* advanced with a body of troops, the parliament sent him so quick a message, that he thought fit to retire. They likewise desired the Infant *Don Ferdinand* to withdraw his forces; from which he excused himself, as they were not sent to awe but to protect the parliaments of *Arragon*.

¹ Hieronymi Blancæ Arragonensium rerum Commentarii, Mariana, Ferreras.

Annal. Arragon, Abarca, Mayerne Turquet.

^b Hieronymi Blancæ Comment.

^c Dameto, Mut, Historia de Malorca por Vincent Mut.

^d Abarca, Mariana.

^e Rainald.

^f Historia general de la

Isla y Reyno de Cerdena, Zurita.

^g Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. Zurita,

^h Ferreras.

ⁱ Abarca, Mariana.

^j Zurita

^k Abarca,

and *Valentia*^k. These three assemblies, having conferred by deputations, agreed to lose no time in the election, or rather declaration, of a king, for which purpose they appointed a standing committee to take the preparatory measures, who were to meet and hold their deliberations at *Alcaniz*. The troops, however, of the count *de Urgel* committed so many disorders; that the parliaments were obliged to have recourse to the Infant of *Castile* for troops sufficient to keep the passages to that place clear and safe; and, after this, the deputies from all three parliaments resorted thither, and began to enter in earnest upon the business^l entrusted to their care.

At length nine judges are chosen, to determine the title of the claimants. AFTER mature deliberation, it was resolved, that this great affair should be decided by nine judges, men of experience and integrity, and that each state should chuse three; and that they should meet at *Caspé*, a place standing very conveniently on the frontiers of *Valentia* and *Catalonia*, belonging to the knights templars; but upon this occasion, by the permission of the pope, there was put into it a very strong garrison, composed of *Arragoneſe* and *Catalan* troops, for at that time the two parliaments of *Valentia* kept that country so divided, that it was not easy to distinguish where the authority lay. Orders were given to the several competitors to send their agents to *Caspé*^m. In the mean time the civil war which had begun the year before in *Valentia*, rose to such a height, that the viceroy, who was intirely in the interest of the count of *Urgel*, endeavoured to join a body of his forces with all the strength of his own party; but, being intercepted by the chiefs of the opposite faction, an action ensued on the twenty-seventh of *January*, in which there were five thousand slain, and, amongst them, the viceroy and the grand bailiffⁿ. There happened at this time an incident which manifests the true spirit of party; the victors obliged Don *Arnold de Bellera*, the son of the viceroy, to carry his father's head upon a pole, when they made their public entry into *Morviedo*. This melancholy affair, however, was attended with some good events, for the people in general began to see the folly of keeping up these divisions, and consequently the rage of parties gradually declined; insomuch that, towards the end of *March*, the two parliaments united, and sent a detachment of troops to make their quota of the garrison of the fortress of *Caspé*, into which, without any dispute, they were received, and all things disposed for the reception of this august tribunal^o, to whom the preservation of so many kingdoms was consigned.

W^hic^h, by the consent of all the parliaments, are named by the viceroy and chief justice of Arragon. THE judges were not chosen with the same facility. The *Catalans* and *Valentians* especially were much divided. At length, understanding that the *Arragoneſe* had referred the choice of their commissaries to the viceroy and chief justice, they all agreed to leave the nomination of their judges to the same persons; who declared, for the kingdom of *Arragon*, Don *Dominic Ram*, bishop of *Huesca*, Don *Francisco de Aranda*, Don *Berenger de Bardogi*; for the principality of *Catalonia*, Don *Pedro Zagariga*, archbishop of *Terragona*, Don *Gulermo de Balseca*, and Don *Bernard de Galbes*; for the kingdom of *Valentia*, Don *Boniface de Ferrier*, general of the chartreux, his brother *Vincent de Ferrier*, of the orders of frier preachers, a man of a vehement disposition, but who, by his probity and disinterestedness, had acquired a general reputation of a saint, and Don *Ginez de Rabaza*, the most celebrated civil lawyer in the kingdom. But when the judges were all arrived, had taken their respective seats, and, in their first sessions, appointed tutors to maintain the cause of Don *Frederic*, count *de Luna*, on account of his youth, the last of these judges, Don *Ginez de Rabaza*, either lost, or pretended to lose, his senses; upon which his family had leave to withdraw him; and *Pedro Bertran*, another very eminent lawyer, was appointed in his stead^p.

These judges meet at Caspé, open their tribunal, and hear the claims of the several pretenders. WE have insisted the longer upon this affair, as there are but very few instances in history where the rights of succession have been canvassed before a tribunal composed of judges who were immediately to become the subjects of him in whose favour they declared, and whose authority, after their decision, was as properly owned and submitted to as before. It is true, that some exceptions were taken by two of the parliaments, upon their nomination, against some of the judges, upon a presumption that their sentiments were already known; but, in answer to this, it was alleged, that stations change men, and that the notions of the private person might give way to the lights acquired by the judges; that it would not be easy to replace them by men of as great character, not liable to the same objection; and, lastly, that these exceptions came too late, since it was unanimously agreed to adhere to the persons named by the viceroy and the grand bailiff; and at length all the parliaments acquiesced^q. It is now time to inform the reader who the competitors were, and how their claims were supported; since, in the course of this or perhaps of any other history, there is scarce a parallel of a proceeding of this nature, in which all things were conducted

^k HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN. HIERONYMI BLANCÆ COMMENT. ^l MARIANA, ABARCA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^m ZURITA, RAINALD, FERRERAS. ⁿ HIERONYMI BLANCÆ COMMENT. PEREZ DE GUZMAN, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^o ABARCA, FERRERAS, MARIANA. ^p HIERONYMI BLANCÆ COMMENT. ZURITA ANNAL. ARRAGON. FERRERAS. ^q ABARCA, MARIANA.

a with a dignity and an impartiality suitable to the importance of that question which they were to decide.

THERE were in the whole seven competitors, five princes and two princeſſes. The first of these was Don *Alonso*, duke of *Gandia*, the son of the Infant Don *Pedro*, and the grandson of Don *Jayme* II. king of *Arragon*, so that he was a direct male descendant of the royal house of *Arragon*. This prince died while the controversy was depending; upon which Don *Juan* count *de Prades*, his brother, claimed in preference to his nephew the count of *Denia*, son to the deceased duke. But the judges determined clearly that the right accruing to the duke of *Gandia*, in case he had any right, accrued at the death of the king Don *Martin*; and that therefore the title, whatever it was, must be in his son, who was his representative, and not his brother. Don *Jayme* count *de Urgel* was the next claimant, as being the son of Don *Pedro* count *d'Urgel*, and the grandson of the Infant Don *Jayme*; who was so created by his father Don *Alonso* the fourth, the eldest son and successor of Don *Jayme* the second; so that it was alleged he had clearly a better right than the duke of *Gandia*, since, Don *Jayme* the second being their common ancestor, he claimed under the eldest, whereas the duke claimed under the youngest son. The third was Don *Frederic* count *de Luna*, natural son to Don *Martin* the younger, king of *Sicily*, who would have been indisputably the heir of all these dominions, but for the flaw in his birth; to help which, three legitimations were insisted upon; that of his father, that of his grandfather, and that of the pope. However, upon examining these legitimations, it appeared, that the intention of them all was to qualify him for the succession in *Sicily*; and, in the act of legitimation by his grandfather, it was declared, in express terms, that he should not be qualified or intitled thereby to succeed to the crowns of *Arragon*, *Valentia*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, and *Majorca*, or to the counties of *Barcelona*, *Rouſſillon*, and *Cerdagne*. Lewis of *Anjou*, duke of *Calabria*, and count *de Guise*, claimed in right of his mother, Donna *Violante*, queen of *Naples*, daughter to Don *Juan*, the elder brother of Don *Martin*. That queen herself also claimed, as did Donna *Isabella*, the wife of the count of *Urgel*, as being the daughter of Don *Pedro* the fourth. Lastly, the Infant Don *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile* set forth his title, being the son of Donna *Leonora*, the eldest sister of the two last kings.

THE advocates for his title seem to have been much abler men than those intrusted with the concerns of the other candidates; they set out with overturning all the old doctrine about the right of heirs female, which, in a military state, as that of *Arragon* originally was, they affirmed could never subsist, because an heir female is a perpetual minor, and therefore incapable of being at the head of such a state. As to the case of *Petronilla*, upon which all the other lawyers had stumbled, they removed it by a very subtle, but at the same time by a very plausible distinction, asserting, that she neither had, nor was ever understood to have by the states, any right in her own person at all. Her husband Don *Raymond* never assumed the title of king, but administered the government till there should be one; that, upon his demise, she indeed assumed the title of queen, but it was only that there might be the greater formality in her act, by which she devolved the government upon her son Don *Alonso*, tho' an Infant, who was the true heir of his grandfather Don *Ramiro*, surnamed *the Monk*. Upon this, the true rule of succession was laid down to be, that heirs female were excluded; but that the heirs male descended from females were capable of the succession, in proportion as they stood nearest in alliance to the last deceased prince, and were capable of administering the government; upon which principle the king of *Caſtile* had declined making any claim, tho' the representative of his father, who had a right prior to the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, because he was at this time himself a minor. That, with regard to the duke of *Calabria*, the states had already precluded him, by setting aside his mother, as well as the countess of *Foix* her sister, when they called the late king Don *Martin* to the throne; so that, upon the whole, the Infant Don *Ferdinand* was the nearest heir male to the last reigning prince, capable of the succession. However this had been received in *Arragon*, the *Caſtilian* lawyers had so fully possessed Don *Ferdinand* with an opinion of this title, that he would have asserted it by force.

THE judges spent thirty days in hearing with great candour and calmness whatever could be offered to them in behalf of any of the candidates. This being done, they assembled, and debated the matter among themselves. *Vincent de Ferrier* was the first who spoke, and declared for the Infant Don *Ferdinand*; five more of the judges concurred with him; the archbishop of *Tarragona* gave his voice for the count *d'Urgel*, *Gulermo de Balseca* was of his opinion; as for *Pedro Bertram*, he declined giving any opinion at all, as not having had time to acquaint himself with their several pretensions. But as the three judges for *Arragon*, two of the

^r HIERONYMI BLANCÆ COMMENT. ZURITA Annal. Aragon. HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

Valentians, and one *Catalan*, were of the same opinion, they proceeded to draw up the decree, which was made public on the twenty-eighth of *June*, in the church of *Caspé*, with all the marks of solemnity that could be devised, and with great acclamations of the people, who were glad to see the interregnum at an end, and the antient form of government restored^a. It cannot, however, be supposed, that, in a case of this nature, any decree could be made that would have no malecontents. *St. Vincent*, as they stiled him, plainly perceived this, and that the count of *Urgel* had still a very strong party, who complained openly that they called an Infant of *Castile* to the succession of the crown of *Arragon*, in prejudice to the noble race of the counts of *Barcelona*, from whom the count was indisputably descended; and therefore he endeavoured to dispel their melancholy by a sermon that he preached the next day with great emphasis, but which, notwithstanding, made very little impression on those who were of another opinion, though it very strongly confirmed such as were in the same sentiments, as, in disputes of this nature, is commonly the case. The *Castilian* writers, when they tell us, that, exclusive of his pretensions, *Don Ferdinand* was, of all the candidates, the prince who, for his personal great qualities, best deserved the throne, cast a shade of calumny upon the judges, whom they labour to commend, for they were not appointed to consider of conveniencies, but to decide a point of right^b by the known laws of their country.

Good reason to believe they decided according to their consciences in this affair.

UPON the closest inspection, however, it will probably appear to the candid and impartial reader, that they really discharged their consciences; though it must be allowed that they cast the succession upon a prince, who, if they had been free to make their choice, would have best deserved their suffrages. Those who were in the interest of the count of *Urgel* magnified his descent in a direct line from the counts of *Barcelona*, without distinguishing that this could only give him a title to the principality of *Catalonia*, and this too upon a supposition that heirs male, descending from females, were not capable of inheriting. But the principality of *Catalonia* and the kingdom of *Valentia* being united to the crown of *Arragon* by the assent of the states, the rule of succession to that crown was to be the rule of succession in the present case; and as the counts of *Barcelona* had acquired the regal dignity by their descent from a female, there was no reason that another family should not acquire it in the same way, which was the unanimous sense of the commissioners of *Arragon*. Besides, the count of *Urgel* had taken up arms, had committed hostilities against his country, and was looked upon to be the author of the most execrable assassination of the archbishop of *Saragossa*. To all which we may add, that, to prevent the miseries of a civil war, the parliaments of *Arragon*, *Valentia*, and *Catalonia*, who had an unquestionable right of declaring and confirming the titles of their kings, had in the most solemn manner devolved their power upon this occasion on the nine judges, and were therefore bound to follow their decree, it being made upon mature deliberation, freely, and without any suspicion of corruption^c. A kind of reasoning, which, through the whole of this affair, they had approved and pursued.

He is acknowledged, proclaimed, accepts the crown, and comes immediately to take possession of it. A. D. 1412.

ACCORDINGLY each of the parliaments sent deputies to the new king *Don Ferdinand*, to acknowledge his title, and to do him homage; which having accepted, he confirmed all who were in employment, and, in the beginning of *August*, he held an assembly of the states, received their oaths of fidelity to himself and to his son the Infant *Don Alonso*, his heir apparent; the kingdoms of *Sardinia* and *Sicily* likewise submitted, and the *Genoese* concluded a truce with him for five years^d. He went afterwards to *Barcelona*, where he held the states of *Catalonia*, confirmed their privileges, and received their oaths^e. The count of *Urgel*, however, could not be persuaded to acquiesce, or to pay his homage, though the king *Don Ferdinand* assured him of his favour, of indemnity for what was past, and, as he had no children but daughters, offered to marry the eldest of them to his son the Infant *Don Henry*, and to create him duke of *Montalban*. The count for some time kept the treaty on foot, and seemed to act as if he intended a submission, demanding an immense sum of money for the expences he had been at in pursuing his title to the crown, and other favours; which granted, he was content to do homage: however, *Don Ferdinand* would listen to nothing of that kind, but insisted on his doing homage first; which step taken, he was willing to do for the count whatever he could reasonably desire; and with this conduct the states of *Catalonia* were perfectly satisfied. But the count was privately taking other measures, in conjunction with *Don Antonio de Luna*, and other busy spirits, who were bent upon raising a civil war^f, which turned not at all to their advantage, though it gave much disturbance to the new king, and brought many and great miseries upon their country.

^a Chroniques de Espanya, que tracta dels Reys, dels Gots, y dels Comtes de Barcelona, e Reys de Arago, compilada per MIGUEL CARBONEL, Barcel. 1536. ^b HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN, FERRERAS.

^c Hieronymi BLANCÆ Comment. ZURITA, ABARCA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^d ABARCA, HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN, MARIANA, FERRERAS. ^e ZURITA Annal. Arragon. Hieronymi BLANCÆ Comment. FERRERAS.

^f MIGUEL CARBONEL, ZURITA Annal. Arragon. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^a At the opening of the next year it appeared, that the count *de Urgel* had entered into an alliance with the duke of *Clarence*, had promised him his eldest daughter in marriage, and expected great succours from him out of *Gascony*: he took likewise every other measure that he thought capable of exciting domestic troubles, or bringing in foreign invaders. He prevailed so far as to cause some tumults in *Saragossa*, and to bring a multitude of adventurers of all nations, to try what was to be got by plundering *Arragon* and *Catalonia*: but he was not capable of bringing a strength into the field sufficient to look the king in the face, which obliged him to take shelter in the fortress of *Balaquer*, a very strong place, on the north side of the *Segro*, commanding a very pleasant and fertile country, which he defended with great courage and spirit for a long time, in hopes of being succoured by his foreign allies². The king, *Don Ferdinand*, commanded the siege in person, in which the duke of *Gandia* served with great courage and reputation, and at length the count of *Urgel* was compelled to surrender at discretion, and to go and throw himself at the feet of the king *Don Ferdinand*³. The states of *Catalonia*, who at the beginning had declared him a traitor, passed sentence upon him of perpetual imprisonment; the king having absolutely promised him his life, they confiscated all his estate, and that of his mother, by whom he was principally encouraged to act as he did. The king sent the count to be kept in *Castile*, and ordered him to be treated with all possible lenity and respect, as^b some authors say.

Reduces the count de Urgel, who had taken up arms against him.

A. D. 1413.

In the month of *January*, *Don Ferdinand* was crowned with great solemnity at *Saragossa*, where he created his eldest son prince of *Gironne*, and the Infant *Don Henry* prince of *Pena-fiel*; gave audience to the ambassadors from the emperor, and most of the other crowned heads in *Europe*, and made several good laws. In the assembly of the states^c, the same year, he had an interview with pope *Benedict* the thirteenth^d. A conspiracy was soon after discovered, by the mother of the count of *Urgel*, to poison the king; and by the assistance of foreign troops to raise her son to the throne. The king caused her with great secrecy to be arrested; in her custody letters were found from the king of *Portugal*, the duke of *Clarence*, and other princes who were acquainted with her intrigues. The king confined her and her daughters strictly, but would not proceed to extremities^e. He sent his son the Infant *Don Juan* into *Sicily*, having signed the contract of marriage for him with the young queen of *Naples*, but that princess had married the count *de la Marche*, of the house of *Bourbon*, before his arrival. The *Neapolitans* were extremely piqued at the queen's conduct, and made the king of *Arragon* offers of taking up arms in favour of the young prince; but *Don Ferdinand* told them, that he had kingdoms enough already, and that, considering the inconstancy of their queen, he thought his son had a good escape^f.

Is crowned with great solemnity at Saragossa, and is as well received at Arragon as possible.

1414.

The countess of *Urgel* intending to send her daughters into *France*, the king sent for the two eldest to court, and left the two youngest with her, upon a promise that she would not send them out of the kingdom^g. He had demanded of the states of *Catalonia*, a year before, a sum of money, to enable him to regulate the affairs of *Sicily*, which they were not inclined to grant; he made the same demand again this year at *Barcelona*, and was without ceremony refused; but was given to understand, that it was not out of disrespect to him, or for want of money, but to vindicate their privilege of refusing when they thought fit^h; which the king took so extremely ill, that he went to make a tour into *Castile*, where, his health being before infirm, he died, on the second of *April*, when he had governed the kingdom of *Arragon* three years nine months and five days. He had by his consort *Donna Leonora de Albuquerque* five sons, *Don Alonso*, prince of *Gironne*, the Infants *Don Juan*, *Don Henry*, *Don Sancho*, and *Don Pedro*; all of whom, except *Don Sancho*, survived him; and as many daughters. He was a prince of the most unblemished character that the age produced, of real piety, strict justice, and great moderation; the only fault his new subjects found with him was, that he loved his countrymen the *Castilians* too much, and had too many of them about his personⁱ; which though in itself a virtue, was in his situation misplaced.

1415. The states of Catalonia expostulate with him, on which he retires into Castile, and dies.

1416.

^f The prince of *Gironne* succeeded his father by the title of *Alonso* the fifth, and found the first moments of his reign perplexed by the insolence of pope *Benedict* the thirteenth, who, having amused his father with a promise of giving peace to the church by a resignation, was so much provoked at his renouncing obedience to him, and sending ambassadors to the council of *Constance*, as other Christian princes did, that he declared him a schismatic, and fallen from his regal dignity^k; notwithstanding which, his partisans had the confidence to desire the king's leave to supply him with provisions in the fortress of *Peniscola*, where, without this

Don Alonso V. succeeds, and applies himself with great vigour to settle the government.

² Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. Abarca, Hernando Perez de Guzman.

³ Zurita, Mariana, Ferreras.

^b Annal. Arragoni.

^c Miguel Carbonel, Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Mayerne Turquet, Mariana.

^d Rainald, Abarca.

^e Zurita, Annal. Arragon.

^f Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. Abarca, Ferreras.

^g Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

^h Hieronymi Blancæ Comment.

ⁱ Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Abarca, Mariana, Ferreras.

^k Hieron. Blancæ Comment.

Miguel Carbonel, Mayerne Turquet, Rainald.

indulgence, he must have perished. However, the king consented to their demand, without departing any farther from his father's measures ¹. About the same time Don *Antonio Luna* involved a great many persons of quality in a very black design against the king's life, and for putting Don *Jayme*, count of *Urgel*, upon the throne; for the carrying on which scheme, he had amassed from the friends of the count a million of florins; but, when it was upon the point of being carried into execution, it was discovered, and a list of all the nobility that had any share in it put into the king's hands; who tore it without reading it, contenting himself with saying, that he would at least force them to acknowledge he had more regard for their lives than they had for his ^m. The wars in *Sardinia* and *Corfica* gave him great disturbance, so that at length he meditated an expedition in person; but he found the same difficulty his father had done in procuring supplies; instead of which the states of *Catalonia* sent deputies to expostulate with him on the keeping so many *Castilians* about him; but he told them, that he employed none of his *Castilians* in public affairs; and that he would not be dictated to as to the servants who were about his person ⁿ. We have in another part of this work given an account of the share he had in the affairs of *Castile*, and therefore shall not mention them here. His brother the infant Don *Juan*, whom he had recalled in the beginning of his reign from *Sicily*, from an apprehension that mutinous people might have set him upon the throne, married about this time the queen-dowager Donna *Blanca*, who was the heiress of *Navarre*, with the king's consent ^o. Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, having obtained, by the assistance of pope *Martin* the fifth, a sufficient supply of money, executed his design of going in person to *Sardinia*, where, as he expected, he settled every thing to his own satisfaction, and obtained from the states of that island a free gift of one hundred thousand florins for the expences of his voyage, and to enable him to proceed to *Sicily* ^p, where his presence was become absolutely necessary.

Is adopted by
2. Joan of
Naples, and
resolves to
vindicate his
title by force
of arms.

1420.

1421.

WHILE he was providing for this new expedition, *Antonio Carracca* applied to him on the behalf of queen *Joan* of *Naples*, against whom the pope, the duke of *Anjou*, and the constable *Sforza*, had entered into a confederacy to depose her, offering that she should adopt him for her son and heir, and give him immediately the duchy of *Calabria*, if he would assist her. The king, knowing that the duke of *Anjou* had entered into a treaty with the *Genoese*, accepted the proposal, and sent a stout body of troops to her relief, by whom the siege of *Naples* was raised; upon which the queen installed Don *Alonso* by proxy heir apparent of her kingdom, and duke of *Calabria* ¹. However, in his expedition against *Corfica*, the king of *Arragon* was not altogether so fortunate. The next year he went to *Sicily*, and, having assembled a great fleet and army, passed over to *Naples*, and made his entry into that city on the seventh of *June*, where he was very kindly received by the queen, who, notwithstanding, began to alter her sentiments in relation to the services done her by that prince, and to consider some way of revoking her adoption ^r. The pope, in point of dissimulation, fell not at all short of this princess; for some writers say, that he confirmed the adoption of Don *Alonso*; but all agree, that he caused several places in the territories of *Naples* to be delivered up to him, as heir of the kingdom, at the very time he was carrying on intrigues against him ^s. The king Don *Alonso* was in the mean time employed in reducing that part of the kingdom of *Naples* which still adhered to the duke of *Anjou*; and his success, which ought to have endeared him to the queen and her minister, served only to increase their hatred, from a persuasion that whatever augmented his power must lessen theirs ^t. The plague being at *Naples*, the king and queen retired to *Gaeta*, where the latter carried on her intrigues with the pope, the duke of *Milan*, and even her competitor *Lewis* duke of *Anjou*; of all which though the king was not ignorant, he took no sort of notice; but, as soon as *Naples* was free from the plague, he marched back thither by land with his forces, having appointed a squadron of gallies to transport the queen, who, surmising on the sudden that those gallies might have orders to carry her to *Spain*, absolutely refused to go on board, and, with those who were about her, took shelter in the strong fortrefs of *Capua*; so that now the breach between the king and queen became public, though as yet there were no acts of hostility committed; on the contrary, both sides affected to give out, that their disputes were far from being irreconcilable; and that, upon a proper explanation, there was nothing more likely than that they should become good friends ^u.

Becomes master
of the city, and
of the city, and *Arragon* residing in another, all exterior marks of civility being still kept up between them.

¹ ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. RAINALD.

gon. MIGUEL CARBONEL, FERRERAS.

^o HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Comment. FERRERAS.

TURQUET.

¹ MIGUEL CARBONEL, ALBINUS,

RITA, Annal. Arragon. ABARCA, MARIANA,

Comment. FACIO, Æn. Sylv. Sand. FERRERAS.

Arragon. MARIANH, FERRERAS.

^m HIERONYMI BLANCÆ Comment. ZURITA, Annal. Arra-

ⁿ HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN, MARIANA, ZURITA.

^p ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. MARIANA, MAYERNE

PONTANUS, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^r RAINALD, MIGU. CARBONEL.

^s MIGU. CARBONEL, ALBINUS, ZURITA, Annal.

^t HIERON. BLANCÆ

- a At length the queen having entered into an alliance with the powers before-mentioned, and procured a promise from the pope, that he would cancel her adoption of the king of *Arragon*, and confirm that she was about to make of *Lewis*, duke of *Anjou*, she judged the shortest and surest method of bringing this new scheme to bear, was to remove the king of *Arragon* secretly; in order to which, she sent her high steward to invite him to a conference. Don *Alonso*, having intelligence of the design, caused that lord to be arrested, and set out immediately to go to the conference which the queen had proposed; but when he drew near the castle, they not only refused him admittance, but discharged such a flight of arrows as wounded his horse in several places, and killed some of the nobility who were about him; which so provoked him, that he attacked and besieged it, though to no purpose^w. By this means a civil war broke out in the very city of *Naples*, which lasted till the subjects of Don *Alonso* sent him such powerful assistance, that the queen was glad to escape, and leave him in possession of the capital; where he did not however remain long; but leaving his brother Don *Pedro*, who came with these succours, his viceroy, he embarked on board his fleet, in order to return to his hereditary dominions, and, in his passage, landed his troops, and made himself master of *Marseilles*; which tho' he suffered to be pillaged by his soldiers, yet he placed guards upon the churches, to protect the ladies who had taken refuge in them; and when, in return, they would have made him a valuable present out of the jewels which they had saved, he refused it, saying, that he revenged the injuries he had received as a prince, and did not come thither to plunder^x. It is necessary to remark, that at this time the city of *Mar-*
- b *seilles* was in possession of the house of *Anjou*.
- c

ONE of the principal reasons of the king of *Arragon*'s returning home was, to procure the liberty of his brother the Infant Don *Henry*, whom Don *Juan* of *Castile* had very justly imprisoned for the disturbances he had created in that kingdom, and of which, in speaking of the reign of that prince, we have given a large account. While this affair was depending, the Infant Don *Juan* of *Arragon* became king of *Navarre* by the death of *Charles the Noble*, and, by his interposition, prevented a war from breaking out between the crowns of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and the liberty of his brother Don *Henry*. But, notwithstanding this, jealousies between these two monarchs continued, and even increased; insomuch that, Don *Alonso* of *Arragon* apprehending that some advantage might be taken of the count *de Urgel*'s remaining a prisoner in *Castile*, he caused him to be taken from thence by force, and carried to the castle of *Xativa*^y. Upon the death of *Benedict* the thirteenth, who, some writers say, was poisoned, the king of *Arragon* protected *Giles Munoz*, who had assumed the title of pope in opposition to *Martin* the fifth, whom he considered as his determined enemy; for which this last-mentioned pope caused him to be cited to *Rome*, with an intent to form a process against him; but it being the interest of neither to come to extremities, matters were at length compromised between them, and the king promised to use his endeavours with the pretended pope to lay aside that title, which he afterwards did^z. The misunderstandings with *Castile* still continuing, the last-mentioned monarch entered into intrigues with some powerful subjects, who were discontented with the king Don *Alonso*, and amongst these was Don *Alonso de Arguillo*, archbishop of *Saragossa*; but the conspiracy being discovered, most of them were arrested; however, only one suffered, who was beheaded; and this prelate, concerning whom there are many different reports, was never seen afterwards. *Ferreras* is very angry with a certain successor of his, for insinuating that it was not barely treason, but a treason of a kind not to be divulged, which induced the king to treat the archbishop with so much severity. But if there had been nothing in this story, it is not easy to conceive the death of the primate of *Arragon* should not have drawn upon the king greater censure^a.

- f THE affairs of Don *Alonso* in *Italy* had declined from the time he left that country; and his brother the Infant Don *Pedro* came in person to acquaint him how little hopes there were of retrieving them; which however did not hinder the king from sending such succours as he was able to those who still adhered to his interest^b. At last, when things were almost grown desperate, and the duke of *Anjou* was become master of the best part of the kingdom of *Naples*, Don *Alonso* was surprised by an application from queen *Joan* and her high steward, who, on the part of the queen, represented to him, that she was very desirous of seeing him at *Naples*; and from the high steward, that he had a corps of six thousand horse and foot ready to join him as soon as his fleet should appear. The king sent a minister of his own to *Rome*, to learn the pope's disposition; to whom *Martin* the fifth very frankly declared, that he would give the king all the assistance in his power; upon which Don *Alonso* began to think in earnest of another expedition; for undertaking which he made vast preparations in the king-

^w PONTANUS, MIGU. CARBONEL, FACIO, MARIANA.

^x ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. ABARCA, FER-

RERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^y HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN, HIERONYMI BLANCÆ, FERRERAS.

^z RAINALD, ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. FERRERAS.

^a ABARCA, Historia de Espana, sec. 15.

^b MIGU. CARBONEL, ÆN. Sylv. Sand.

dom of *Valentia*. While he was thus employed, the pope died ^c, which gave him great uneasiness, but did not however intirely defeat his scheme, though he thought it prudent to give out that his armament was intended against the king of *Tunis*. When things were in proper order, the king appointed his consort regent of *Catalonia*, and gave his brother the king of *Navarre* the like authority in the kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valentia* ^d. The reader perhaps will not be displeased if we inform him, that, exclusive of the reasons assigned in history, an author ^e who may be depended upon acquaints us with the private but principal motive which induced this monarch to spend the remainder of his days in perpetual action and fatigue. He was one of the most graceful, as well as one of the most accomplished princes in *Europe*; and his queen Donna *Maria* of *Castile* was so jealous of him, that he found it impossible to live in peace. It is true that this was not without reason, since by one of the ladies of her court he had a son Don *Ferdinand*; which provoked the queen to such a degree, that she put the lady to death; and this affected Don *Alonso* so much, that he resolved upon this method of dissipating his cares ^f.

A. D. 1431.

He carries it into execution, and at length resolves upon conquering Naples.

THE king's fleet consisted of nine sail of ships of war, twenty-six gallies, and a great number of transports. His first exploit was attacking the island of *Gerbes*, upon the coast of *Africa*, where, on the first of *September*, he gained a decisive victory by land over the troops of the king of *Tunis*, took his tent with great riches therein, and twenty-five pieces of artillery, and, having reduced the island, and left a garrison there, proceeded to *Sicily* ^g. There he received an application from pope *Eugenius* the fourth, who was desirous that he should enter into a league with the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*; which he offered to do, provided he would grant him the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples*, to which however the pontif would not consent ^h. However, in the winter he made a new treaty with the queen of *Naples*, who promised to revoke all she had done in favour of the duke of *Anjou*, and to declare him her successor ⁱ. The next year passed intirely in negotiations, as did also part of the following, during which *Lewis* duke of *Anjou* died; and not long after the queen of *Naples*, notwithstanding all her treaties and all her professions, called his brother *Rene* to the succession, though he was at that time prisoner to the duke of *Burgundy*; however, he sent his consort *Isabella*, duchess of *Anjou*, to *Naples*, who, by the assistance of the pope, was received and treated as queen ^k. In the mean time the queen of *Arragon*, who had sent the Infants Don *Pedro* and Don *Henry* to prevail on the king to return into his own dominions, but without effect, at length engaged Don *Juan*, king of *Navarre*, to make a voyage to *Sicily* for the same purpose, not doubting that, upon his representations, the king his brother would return, and ^l, from his own observations, he induced to remain.

1432.

1434.

Involves himself in a war with the duke of Milan and the republic of Genoa, in which he is taken prisoner.

HE found Don *Alonso* absolutely bent upon attempting once more the conquest of *Naples*, and, with a fleet and army ready for that purpose, the king of *Navarre* and the Infant Don *Henry* embarked with him; but the Infant Don *Pedro* was left to command in *Sicily*. The duke of *Sessa*, and some others of the king's party, made themselves masters of *Capua*, to which city the king and his brothers repaired; and, having held a council of war there with all the *Neapolitan* grandees in his interest, the siege of *Gaeta* was resolved on; and thither accordingly the king sailed with his fleet, with which he blocked up the place by sea ^m. Two brave men, *Otho Zopo* and *Francisco Spinola*, commanded in *Gaeta* for the duke of *Milan* and the republic of *Genoa*, who found themselves under the necessity of turning out women, children, and other useless mouths, from within the place; whom the generals of the king of *Arragon* advised him to turn back, as a certain means of taking *Gaeta* quickly; however, Don *Alonso* received, relieved, and dismissed them, with this memorable expression, that he had much rather lose any city in his dominions than the reputation of humanity ⁿ. The *Genoese* sent a squadron of twelve men of war and three gallies, commanded by *Blaise Acereto*, chancellor of the republic, exceedingly well manned and provided, to relieve the place. The king sent two gallies to bring him intelligence; and, as soon as he knew their strength, he sailed with fourteen ships of war and eleven gallies to meet and fight them. In three days he distinguished the *Genoese* fleet, and on *Friday* the fifth of *August* he engaged them. The chancellor *Acereto* brought only nine ships and three gallies into the line, giving orders to three of his stoutest ships to fall in upon any critical juncture, where they saw it necessary ^o. The *Genoese*, being better seamen, and their ships in all respects better furnished, had the advantage, and the king's ship was particularly very roughly handled; however, he would have made a tolerable retreat, if the three great men of war had not unexpectedly borne down, and in a few minutes

^c RAINALD, PONTANUS, ALBANUS.^d ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. ABARCA, MARIANA, FERRERAS.^e Las Memorias de FELIPE DE COMINES, Confescolios propios de DON JUAN VITRIAN, part i. p. 3.^f ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. FERRERAS.^g ABARCA, MIGU. CARBONEL, PONTANUS, MARIANA,

MAYERNE TURQUET.

^h RAINALD, ZURITA, ALBANUS, BENEDICTI.ⁱ HIERONYMI BLANCÆ

Comment. ABARCA, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^k FELIPE DE COMINES, PONTANUS, ZURITA, Annal.

Arragon. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^l ABARCA, MARIANA.^m ALBANUS, MIGU. CARBONEL, FACIO.ⁿ ZURITA, FERRERAS.^o ABARCA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

- a distressed him to such a degree, that the ship was sinking; upon which, to save those who were with him, he caused his flag to be struck to the duke of *Milan*. The vessels that were near him followed his example, and, except a single ship, the whole fleet was taken^p. This action lasted ten hours: there were about six hundred slain on the side of the king of *Arragon*, and about as many thousand taken prisoners, amongst whom were the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, the infant Don *Henry* of *Arragon*, Don *Juan de Soto Major*, grand master of the order of *Alcantara*, Don *Diego Gomez de Sandoval*, count *de Castro*, with his two sons *Diego* and *Ferdinand*, Don *Ruy Diaz de Mendoza*, surnamed *the Bald*, and the sons of Don *Ruy Lopez de Avalos*, with a multitude of other persons of distinction, *Arragonese*, *Valentians*, and *Catalonians*; the prince of *Tarento*, duke of *Sessa*, the count *de Campo Baso*, and many others of the prime nobility of *Naples*^q. The victory itself became in some measure a burden to those who gained it; insomuch that the chancellor *Blaise Acereto*, apprehensive of the consequences that might attend keeping such a number of prisoners on board the fleet, under colour of generosity let four thousand private men on shore the very next night, amongst whom many gentlemen escaped^r.

- UPON the news of this victory the siege of *Gaeta* was raised; but the chancellor of *Genoa* would not carry the fleet into that port, from an apprehension that the command would be immediately taken from him by *Francis Spinola*; he sailed therefore to the island of *Ichia*, and demanded of the king Don *Alonso*, that he should order the fortress and island to be put into his hands; but he answered, that he would not give a fort to prevent his throwing him into the sea; upon which the *Genoese* admiral returned to *Savona*, which at that time belonged to the duke of *Milan*, and there landed the two kings, and other persons of distinction; from thence they were carried to *Porto Venere*, where they were met by *Nicholas Picinino*, one of the duke's principal generals, who, with an escort of six hundred horse, conducted them to *Milan*, into which city the king of *Arragon* and the rest of the great persons who were the companions of his misfortunes, made their public entry on the fifteenth of *September*: and thus ended the triumphs of the duke and the *Genoese*^s.

- GREAT trials and sudden changes of fortune are the true tests of abilities. The fifth of *August* was not the most unfortunate, the fifteenth of *September* was the most happy, of this monarch's life. The duke of *Milan*, from a point of generosity worthy of so great a prince, treated the king of *Arragon* with equal magnificence and respect; but what at first was mere complaisance and generosity, became very quickly something more. The very ceremonies of his reception were hardly over, when the king of *Arragon* told the duke, that he was amazed they should be enemies, whose tempers and whose interests were the same: he said, that, in preferring the neighbourhood of the duke of *Anjou* to that of a king of *Arragon*, he acted wisely, and like a politician, but that he ought to consider, that, if a *French* prince became once king of *Naples*, it would be a conquest made for *France*, who would not fail to pour in troops through *Piedmont* and the state of *Genoa*; by which they would soon have *Lombardy* at their mercy, and consequently he, who was now the protector of the duke of *Anjou*, would be in great danger of becoming the king of *Naples*'s vassal. The duke was struck with this observation very much, more especially when the king added, that these were always the sentiments of *John Gallias* his father, which the chief counsellors of the duke confirmed. The consequence of this was, that within a few weeks the duke of *Milan* changed sides, and entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with the king of *Arragon*, against all the princes in the world, the pope not excepted; with which news the king of *Navarre* was sent away into *Spain*, and the king of *Arragon*, his brother the infant, and the *Italian* princes, after receiving rich presents and the highest honours, were dismissed without ransom^t; which happy turn in his affairs the king knew so well how to second by his instructions to his generals, that, upon *Christmas-day* in the same year, the infant Don *Pedro* became master of *Gaeta*, and thereby opened a passage to the conquest of the whole kingdom of *Naples*^u. The republic of *Genoa* could not at all relish this signal act of generosity, but took advantage from thence to revolt from the duke of *Milan*, and to declare war both against him and his new ally^v.

THE news of the king's captivity, and that of his brother the king of *Navarre*, made a great noise in *Spain*, more especially as the affairs of *Arragon* were not at that time in the best condition, the disputes with *Castile* remaining yet unsettled. The queen Donna *Maria* acted upon this occasion with a prudence so much the more laudable, as it was scarce to have been expected from her sex, and under so much affliction. She dispatched a herald at arms immediately with letters to the king her husband, and assembled as soon as possible the

^p HIERON. BLANC. ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.

Annal. Arragon. MARIAN.

ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.

^q ALBINUS, PONTANUS, MIGUEL CARBONEL, ZURIT.

^r ABARC. FER. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^s ALBINUS, MIGUEL CARBONEL,

^t ABARC. ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. PONTANUS, MIGUEL CARBONEL, FER.

^u ALBINUS, FACIO, MARIAN. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^v ZURIT. Anna^l. Arragon. FER.

states of *Arragon* at *Saragossa*; upon which occasion they shewed the true spirit of a free people; for they advised her to call a general assembly of the states of *Arragon*, *Valentia*, *Catalonia*, and *Majorca*, in some convenient place, and took upon themselves to dispense with the usual formalities, alleging, that they were contrived only to guard against the royal prerogative, from which they had now nothing to fear^a. The queen fixed upon *Monson*; to which place the deputies resorted, and took all the steps necessary for the security of their respective kingdoms; after which the queen had an interview with her brother Don *Juan* of *Castile*, who, at her request, prolonged the truce^b. While the states were contriving how to procure the sum necessary for the king's ransom, the king of *Navarre* very unexpectedly arrived, and laid before them the surprising alteration of that monarch's circumstances, and his earnest desire that they would afford him such a supply as his exigencies required. The states at this time were at *Alcaniz*; but, upon receiving this information, they immediately separated, those of *Valentia* retiring to *Morella*, and those of *Catalonia* to *Tortosa*, that they might make their levies with the greater ease^c. As for the states of *Arragon*, they remained where they were; and, to give a good example, granted the king one hundred and twenty thousand florins; in *Valentia* they gave him one hundred thousand, and the like sum in *Catalonia*, where they ordered it to be laid out in fitting out a great fleet under the command of the count *de Modica*^d. Thus the king was in all respects a gainer by his defeat before *Gaeta*, and was himself amazed at the receiving of succours, which nothing could have procured but the surprize attending such a misfortune, happily improved by the application and address of the queen *Donna Maria*.

His hereditary dominions suffer many inconveniencies in his absence.

THIS part of the war in *Italy* has so close a connection with the affairs of *Arragon*, and it was so necessary to explain the reason of Don *Alonso*'s continuing in that country, that we could not avoid entering into the particulars; but if the reader is inclined to pursue the history of this war farther, he will find it under the history of *Naples*, to which it properly belongs. Don *Alonso* being accounted from this time king of that country, the possession of which not without great difficulty he acquired by his arms; and though, being often pressed, he sometimes promised to return to his hereditary dominions, yet it never seems to have been his intention, and perhaps he was as little inclined to draw the queen thither, though he sometimes requested it, and particularly when he sent for his natural son Don *Ferdinand*, who, notwithstanding her severity to his mother, the queen caused to be educated with great care^e. As for the king of *Navarre*, and the infant Don *Henry*, they were wholly intent on promoting their interests in *Castile*, where they had the displeasure of hearing that the infant Don *Pedro* had lost his life before *Naples*; and, what added to their trouble, the duke of *Anjou* procured a great body of adventurers to make an irruption into *Arragon*, which however produced little^f. On the other hand, the success of Don *Alonso* alarmed the *Italian* princes so much, that a league was formed against him by the pope, the duke of *Milan*, the count of *Sforza*, the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and *Genoese*; notwithstanding which, he became the very next year master of *Naples*, and broke that confederacy to pieces^g.

1442.

Becomes sole and absolute master of the kingdom of Naples, and is so acknowledged.

THE ensuing year was still more glorious for Don *Alonso*; the inhabitants of most of the provinces of which the kingdom of *Naples* was composed, being weary of the miseries of war, submitted themselves willingly to that prince, who, by the advice of some of his best friends, resolved to call together the states general of the whole kingdom, which he did at *Beneventum*, from whence, at their own request, they were transferred to the capital city of *Naples*, into which the king made a public entry, very little inferior to that of a *Roman* triumph; the prelates and clergy preceding his chariot, before which was led a white horse richly caparisoned, the chariot being drawn by four horses of the same colour, being open, and very richly gilt, in which was the king alone, followed by all the princes and nobility of the kingdom on foot^h. What added a lustre to the ceremony was, the unaffected modesty of the king, who did not wear either diadem or crown, but behaved towards every body with so much ease, and yet with so much dignity, that he was beloved in the same degree he was admired. In this assembly of the states, his son Don *Ferdinand*, whom he had created duke of *Calabria*, was acknowledged successor to the crown; and the king created marquisses and counts, though their number was considerable enough beforeⁱ. He was now reconciled to the duke of *Milan*, by whose interposition he concluded a peace with pope *Eugenius*, and who negotiated a marriage for his natural daughter *Donna Maria* with *Lionel d'Este*, duke of *Ferrara*^j. This disoblged *Francis Picinini*, the son of *Nicholas*, who had rendered the king great services during the war, and who had flattered himself with the hopes of marrying the princess by way of reward, and who, finding himself disappointed, quitted

1443.

* ABARC. ZURIT. MARIAN.

Annal Arragon.

^a ABARC. MARIAN. FER.

Memorias de FELIPE DE COMINES, &c. FER.

PANORMITA, MARIAN.

^f ABARC. ZURIT. MARIAN. FER.

^y HERNANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^b ALBINUS, ZURIT. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^d PONTANUS, MIGUEL CARBONEL, BENEDICTI, ALBINUS,

^c ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. ALBINUS, PONTANUS, MIGUEL CARBONEL, &c.

^e ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. MAYERNE TURQ.

^g ABARC. MAR.

his

a his dominions in twenty-four hours^b. Towards the end of the year, two very considerable officers in his service, *Broylo de Mure*, and *Pietro Brunoro*, formed a project of seizing his person, in hopes of being gratified by count *Sforza*; but the plot being discovered when it was almost ripe for execution, the king seized and sent them into *Arragon*, where they remained for many years prisoners in the castle of *Xativa*. The duke of *Milan*, whose son-in-law count *Sforza* was, and who had hitherto lived upon bad terms with him, now thought fit to grant him his protection, and pressed the king to desist from making warⁱ.

THE continuance of his good fortune augmented, instead of extinguishing, the envy of his neighbours; but though it gave him some disturbance, the loss fell upon them, and the king carried his point. The pope was obliged to grant him the investiture of *Naples*, which he had so often refused. He likewise legitimated his son, which, though a point of complaisance in him, was however very convenient to the king, since it took away all doubt about the right of succession; for *Naples* being held as a fief of the see of *Rome*, the pope, by this act of favour, removed the single advantage that himself and his successors might have taken against him^k. About the same time this young prince was married to *Isabella de Clermont*, niece to the prince of *Tarento*; and, to crown his felicity, the *Genoese*, who had hated him so heartily, and from whom he had received so much hurt, were constrained to demand his protection^l. His subjects in *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, and *Valentia*, regretted his absence extremely, as they gave him frequently to understand, though at the same time they persisted steadily in their duty, of which they gave him many substantial marks. His brother Don *Juan*, king of *Navarre*, though not a little opinionated, often demanded his advice, which he did not often follow; for Don *Alonso* always recommended a good understanding with the king of *Castile*, to whom he sent several embassies; and though he could not prevent his brother's taking contrary measures, yet he hindered in a great measure the bad consequences that might have attended them, and enabled the queen *Donna Maria* to remain always on good terms with her brother. He excited a spirit in the states of *Arragon*, that enabled him to controul Don *Juan* of *Navarre* in those violent measures he took in regard to his son the prince of *Viana*, and in his intrigues with the malecontents of *Castile*, with which crown a solid peace was on the point of being concluded, when the king Don *Juan* of *Castile* died. This was actually concluded with his successor Don *Henry* upon the very terms that *Alonso* desired^m, and, during his life, punctually kept on both sides.

d As the flower, so the decline, of his age was spent in the hurry of negotiations, political intrigues, and the din of arms; neither were they without some disagreeable scenes and uneasy apprehensions. His nephew Don *Carlos*, prince of *Viana*, after having sustained a war against his father Don *Juan*, and suffered a tedious imprisonment, was at length compelled to retire to *Naples*, in hopes of enjoying some repose under the shadow of his protection. Don *Alonso* received him with a generosity worthy of so great a prince, and the tender affection that might be expected from so near a relationⁿ. His cousin the duke of *Calabria*, either in imitation of his father, or from a principle of compassion, shewed him all the respect and kindness imaginable: so that he enjoyed, while he remained with them, all the happiness that it was in their power to bestow, and, through their mediation, things were compromised to his satisfaction with the king his father^o; but afterwards the flame burst out with greater violence than ever, the people of *Navarre* having proclaimed him king, by which the civil war was renewed; which so provoked the king Don *Juan*, that he disinherited him and one of his sisters^p.

e Don *Alonso*, having prevailed on his nephew to leave all things to his decision, dispatched one of his ministers to the king Don *Juan*, who came at the critical conjuncture when things were on the point of being determined by a battle; but he executed his commission with such firmness and dexterity, that the king of *Navarre* consented to admit his brother's mediation, to declare all his proceedings against his son null and void, and to leave the terms of pacification to be settled as that monarch should think fit^q. At this time, though he had conquered many difficulties, and had united his old antagonist *Francis Sforza*, now duke of *Milan*, to his interests, by the marriage of his grandson to the duke's daughter, and his grand-daughter to the duke's son, yet fresh sources of trouble broke out. Pope *Calixtus II.* though born his subject, was not well-affected to him, and the *Neapolitans* in general disliked the duke of *Calabria*, who was of a cloudy and reserved disposition, and had nothing of that easy address and natural affability which had contributed more to his father's success than either his courage or his abilities; in which, however, few princes were his equals. But what troubled Don *Alonso* most was the discovery that some of the principal nobility of his kingdom had tampered with his nephew Don *Carlos*, who had not given so clear and

f His death, at which he bequeaths the kingdom of Naples to his natural son Don Ferdinand.

ⁱ ALBINUS, PONTANUS, MIGUEL CARB. FER.

^k RAINALD, ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. MARIAN.

^l ALBINUS, PONT. FACIO, ABARC.

^m HERN. PEREZ DE GUZM. ZURIT. FER.

ⁿ MIG. CARB

ABARC. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^o ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.

^p ABARC. F. MAYERNE TURQUET

^q ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. MAR.

direct an answer as the obligations he was under both to the father and son required. This affected the king so much, that he fell into a fever; and Don Carlos, suspecting the cause, very prudently withdrew into *Sicily*, while the king, restless and uneasy, caused himself to be carried from one castle in *Naples* to another, and at length expired on the 22d day of *June*, 1468, in the 43d year of his reign over *Arragon*, and the countries dependent upon that crown.

The character of Don Alonso. THE character of Don *Alonso V.* of *Arragon*, and the first of *Naples*, having long ago exercised, as a certain author^r reports, the pens of more than threescore eminent historians, stands not at all in need of any thing we can say; and yet there are certain circumstances that, for the satisfaction of our readers, ought not to be omitted. He was, beyond all doubt, the greatest prince that ever sat upon the throne of *Arragon*; a very able statesman, and one who did his business directly; disdaining, as became him, whatever looked like cunning; a gallant soldier, and a great captain, perfectly skilled in the art of war, which he managed openly, and without cruelty^s; learned himself, and the greatest patron of learning that age produced. He gave for his device a book opened; and it was his common saying, that an unlettered prince was but a crowned ass. He had, with many and great virtues, some vices, which, however, regarded rather his private than his public life. The greatest of his failings was his love of women, which was fatal to Donna *Margarita de Hajar*, the mother of Don *Ferdinand*, and who was big with child by him, when she became the victim of his queen's jealousy^t. He had, besides, a *Neapolitan* mistress, who made much more noise in the world, and whom some say he was inclined to marry. Her name was *Lucretia Alania*, and his fondness for her in a very advanced period of life sullied his reputation very much^u. He died, however, with great marks of penitence, declaring, by his last testament, his brother Don *Juan*, king of *Navarre*, heir to the crowns of *Arragon*, *Valentia*, *Majorca*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily*, and the principality of *Catalonia*, with all their dependencies^v. The kingdom of *Naples*, acquired by his arms, and to which he had a personal, not an hereditary right, he bestowed on Don *Ferdinand* duke of *Calabria*. Besides this natural son, he left behind him two daughters, Donna *Maria* marchioness of *Ferrara*, and Donna *Leonora* princess of *Rossano*, and duchess of *Sessa*. His death falling out as it did, saved the republic of *Genoa*, which was on the very point of being overwhelmed by his arms^x, and furnished new matter for intrigues to all the refined politicians in *Italy*.

Don Juan II. succeeds to the hereditary dominions, and the queen dowager dies soon after. As soon as the news of the king's death reached *Arragon*, Don *Juan II.* was acknowledged and proclaimed king at *Saragossa* on the 25th of *July*^y. His first care was to appoint his daughter, the countess of *Foix*, vice-queen of *Navarre*, and to send Don *Lope Ximenes de Urrea*, with the title of viceroy, into *Sicily*, where he was apprehensive that his son, the prince of *Viana*, would have created some disturbances; but Don *Carlos* removed that fear by his letters, in which he declared he was willing to reside in any part of his father's dominions that he should assign him; which gave him great satisfaction, tho' he could not presently resolve where to place him^z. On the fourth of *September*, the same year, died at *Valencia* Donna *Maria*, queen dowager of *Arragon*^a. In the succeeding month of *November*, the king went to *Catalonia*, where he confirmed the privileges of the inhabitants; and the next spring he did the same at *Valencia*^b. The prince Don *Carlos*, by his command, quitted *Sicily*, and came to *Majorca*. During his residence there, a treaty was concluded between him and his father, by which the prince gave up all that was held by his partisans in *Navarre*, and, on the other hand, he was permitted to live in any part of his father's dominions, excepting that kingdom and in *Sicily*; in consequence of which also he was restored to his father's favour, such as had been imprisoned on his account were set at liberty, her appenage restored to his sister Donna *Blanca*, and the revenues of his principality of *Viana* secured to him^c. This treaty thus concluded, the prince quitted *Majorca*, and went to *Barcelona*, where he made the deepest submission possible to the king his father, and to the queen his mother-in-law Donna *Juana*, daughter to the *Amirante* of *Castile*; and thus, in appearance, all past disputes were buried in oblivion; but as children often fall out with their parents, so it seldom falls out that these differences are thoroughly healed^d. The king held the states of *Arragon* at *Fraga*, where it was expected that he should have caused the prince Don *Carlos* to be acknowledged for his successor: as he did not, it occasioned some murmurs; to silence which, he united the kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* for ever to the crown of *Arragon*^e. He went from thence to *Lerida*, where he held the states of *Catalonia*, where, though he managed things with great dexterity, yet he could not hinder the *Catalans* from proposing that the infant Don *Carlos* should be acknowledged for his successor; but he found means

^r MAR. FER.^s VARILL. Anecdotes de Florence.^t MAYERNE TURQ, Histoire general d'Espagne.

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^u ZURIT. FER.^v MARIAN.^x ALBINUS.^y ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.^z HIERON.

BLANCÆ. Comment.

^a FER.^b HIERON. BLANCÆ Comment.^c MIG. CARB.^d ZURIT.

Annal. Arragon.

^e MAR.

a to elude that proposition after it was made, and at length dissolved them at the assembly, without giving them any definitive answer. It was not long, however, before this troublesome affair created fresh confusion, which issued at length in a very melancholy catastrophe, which it is necessary for us to relate, and which we shall endeavour to do as clearly and succinctly as possible, though there are few points in the *Spanish* history, about which authors are more divided in their opinions, or indeed with a greater shew of reason on both sides ^f.

THE king of *Portugal* had proposed to Don *Juan* of *Arragon* a match between the prince *Quarrel be-*
of *Viana* and the infanta *Catalina*, or *Catherine*, of *Portugal*, with which the king seemed to ^{between that}
be pleased, and to which the prince shewed no dislike. But the ambassadors sent by Don ^{king and his}
Henry of *Castile* to the count of *Arragon* found means to acquaint the prince, in their master's ^{son the prince}
b name, that he should not trouble himself about the hard usage he met with, since their of *Viana*.
master was desirous he should marry the infanta *Donna Isabella*, his sister; in consideration of which marriage, he would maintain his rights, and set him upon the throne by force. The prince, who saw but too much reason to doubt of his father's intentions towards him, did not reject this proposition, but gave a general answer, which the *Castilian* ambassadors might interpret as they pleased ^g. It was not long before the admiral of *Castile* obtained intelligence of this treaty, and gave notice of it to the queen of *Arragon*, who laboured to persuade the king that this was little better than a contrivance to dethrone him. When her arguments failed of persuading, she had recourse to tears; and the old king, to quiet her, promised to arrest his son, and keep him in prison. To seize him at *Barcelona* was impos-
c sible; he sent for him therefore to *Lerida*; and though the prince was told what his father's intentions were, yet nothing could prevent his going; notwithstanding which the king caused him to be seized in his presence, and to be afterwards transferred from prison to prison, as if ^{His imprison-}
he had been guilty of some great crime; and, which was worse, he gave out that the prince ^{ment and death.}
had conspired against his life ^h. The states of *Arragon* remonstrated upon this; the states of *Catalonia* did more; they demanded the prince's liberty, and that he should be declared heir apparent; and they raised a numerous army, and fitted out a great fleet to procure it ⁱ. The king Don *Juan* armed on his side; but the queen grew afraid, desired her husband to set the prince at liberty, and to comply with their demands; to which he consented, and she had the credit of it. The states of *Catalonia* thanked her for it by their deputies; but
d they would not suffer her to come with the prince to *Barcelona*, and the king found himself obliged to leave the whole principality of *Catalonia* in his hands ^k; but, as if he intended to shew how much this was against his will, he entered into a treaty with the king of *Castile*, whom he easily engaged to abandon and betray his son, and committed to prison a gentleman whom he had sent to execute a commission of some importance to them both; which behaviour, as it manifested an irreconcilable aversion, affected the prince to such a degree, that he fell into a slow fever, of which he died at *Barcelona*, on *Wednesday, September* the 23d 1461, in the 41st year of his age.

THIS prince was highly remarkable for his great qualities and his extensive learning, and still more for his misfortunes. He was certainly intitled to the crown of *Navarre*, of which ^{Some particu-}
e his mother was the heiress. His courage, his modesty, and his steady adherence to his ^{lars of this}
friends, made him generally beloved. He was a great master of antient literature, as appears ^{young prince's}
from his writing a commentary on the *Ethics* of *Aristotle*. He composed likewise a history ^{life and cha-}
of *Navarre*. He was a great admirer of poetry, and delighted principally in the conver- ^{acter.}
sation of men of letters. He gave for his device two mastiffs snarling over a bone; and sometimes told his friends that bone was the kingdom of *Navarre*, which sometimes felt the teeth of *Castile* and sometimes those of *France*. On his death-bed he desired his father's pardon, and, by his testament, bequeathed the kingdom of *Navarre* to his sister *Donna Blanca*. His favourites would have persuaded him to have married his mistress *Donna Brianda Vaca*; but he refused it, probably out of respect to his sister. He left by that lady
f two sons, Don *Philip* count of *Beaufort*, Don *Juan Alonso*, and a daughter *Donna Ines*, or *Anne* of *Navarre* ^m. It was generally believed that he was poisoned; and that the poison was given him by a physician at the instance of the queen his mother-in-law, while he was confined ⁿ. He was so intirely beloved by the people of *Barcelona*, that they believed miracles were wrought at his tomb. Their resentment of his ill usage ran so high, that they were strongly inclined to set up for a free state; and to this they were not a little encouraged by *Lewis XI.* of *France*. We will end this subject by observing, that the infanta *Donna Catalina* of *Portugal* entered into the convent of *Santa Clara* at *Lisbon* as soon as she heard of the prince's death. A point of honour very common amongst princesses in those days, but intirely voluntary, and might be omitted without reproach ^o.

^f FER.

BLANCÆ Comment.

^g MIG. CARB.^m MIG. CARB.^h ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.ⁿ Idem.ⁱ MIG. CARB.^o ZURIT. Annal.^k HIERON.

The Catalonians revolt against their king, out of hatred to the queen Donna Juana.

As the queen Donna *Juana* was a princess of infinite dexterity and address, she prevailed, notwithstanding these prejudices, on the states of *Catalonia* to acknowledge her son Don *Ferdinand* for the legal successor, and to take the oaths to him, considered in that light. The people, however, were intractable; insomuch that a general insurrection ensued, partly owing to the indiscretion of the queen, who encouraged the peasants in a certain district to throw off the yoke of their lords; which disgusted all the nobility, and the queen found herself obliged to retire with her son to *Gironne*, where she was soon after besieged by the rebels^p. In the mean time the king Don *Juan*, being in great want of money, entered into a treaty with *Lewis XI.* of *France*, to whom he mortgaged the counties of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne* for 200,000 crowns; and by the help of this money, and with the assistance of *French* troops, raised the siege^q. He not long after seized his daughter Donna *Blanca*, carried her by force over the *Pyrenees*, and put her into the hands of the count and countess of *Foix*, who, though they were her nearest relations, were her bitterest enemies. That unfortunate princess wrote to the king of *Castile* for assistance, to whom she bequeathed her right to the kingdom of *Navarre*. She was imprisoned for about two years in a castle in *Bearn*, and then poisoned^r. In the mean time the *Catalans* continued in arms, and, as we have already shewn, offered their principality to the king of *Castile*, proclaimed him at *Barcelona*, and procured succours from him several times, till he was prevailed upon to leave all disputes with the crown of *Arragon* to *Lewis XI.* of *France*, who declared these proceedings void^s. The *Catalans* then called in Don *Pedro* of *Portugal*, under whom they continued the war, though with no great success, the king gaining several advantages over them, and particularly a battle on the last of *January*, in which several persons of distinction were taken prisoners^t. The credit of this was given to the infant Don *Ferdinand*, though some writers say that he was no otherwise intitled to it than by being in rear of the army. This was followed by the loss of many places of importance; and, on the 29th of *June*, in the year following, the infant Don *Pedro* died, leaving his claim to the principality of *Catalonia*, which arose from his mother, descended from the count *d'Urgel*, to the infant Don *Juan*^u. This, however, had little effect; for, on the one hand, the king reduced *Tortosa*, and, on the other, the *Catalans* called in *Rene* duke of *Anjou*, and his son *John* duke of *Lorraine*, as being descended from a house that once set up a claim to the crown of *Arragon*.

Great actions and death of that princess, and what she is reported to have said on her death-bed.

THE duke of *Anjou* was then so far in years, that he was in a manner superannuated; but as ambition is the last inclination subdued by princes, so this application of the people of *Catalonia* revived him as it were from the grave; and though himself, like the rest of his family, had been hitherto unfortunate in all his pretensions, yet he exerted himself to the utmost in raising forces, which were embarked for *Catalonia* under the command of his son *John* duke of *Lorraine*^v. The king of *Arragon*, foreseeing that this affair would give him a great deal of trouble, solicited assistance from all quarters; and, though he was very old and infirm, put himself at the head of his armies, and shewed great spirit and experience in the conduct of the war; for the maintenance of which the people of *Barcelona* spent without reluctance that immense wealth which they had gained by their commerce^x. On the other hand, the queen was no less active; and though many princesses have, like her, entered into their husbands councils, yet there are few examples of their commanding an army as she did. What is still more extraordinary, she formed the project of embarking troops, in order to besiege *Roses*; which, however, she found it not easy to reduce: after which she made a tour into the county of *Foix*, where she regulated several points of importance in regard to the kingdom of *Navarre*. These fatigues, however, became at last too great for her constitution; so that, finding herself indisposed, she retired to *Tarragona*, where, after a long illness, she breathed her last on the 13th of *February*, in the year 1468^y. In her last moments, it is said, she exclaimed with great passion, *My son, my son, Ferdinand, how dear has thy greatness cost me!* Some authors pretend, that she acknowledged the death of the infant Don *Carlos*; and that when the king Don *Juan* was informed of it, he expressed the greatest horror and detestation of the fact imaginable^z. He was, not long after, in great danger of being taken prisoner by the duke of *Lorraine*, who took all his baggage, and afterwards formed the siege of *Gironne*^a. The king then went to *Saragossa*, where he held an assembly of the states, in which he declared his son Don *Ferdinand* king of *Sicily*, and his coadjutor in the throne of *Arragon*. The same year Don *Juan*, who had been some years almost blind by cataracts on both eyes, was couched by a *Jew*, and recovered his sight^b.

THERE wanted not many who thought the death of the queen would be very detrimental to the king's affairs; but it proved quite otherwise; for the people had been accustomed to attribute most of the violences in his reign to the ascendancy she had over him; and it

^p FER.

de FELIPE DE COMINES.

^z MIG. CARB.

^q LAS MEMORIAS DE FELIPE DE COMINES.

^r ZURIT. ANNAL.

^y ZURIT. ANNAL.

^a MIG. CARB.

^s HIERON. BLANCÆ.

^u HIERON. BLANCÆ COMMENT.

^x HIERON. BLANCÆ COMMENT.

^t LAS MEMORIAS

^v ZURIT. ANNAL.

^b MAR.

quickly

a quickly appeared that the people are not always mistaken in their sentiments. The king ^{persist obstinately in their rebellion.} assembled a good army for the relief of *Gironne*, before which the duke of *Lorrain* lay with an army of 15,000 men; but when the troops of *Arragon* drew near the place, they found it had already surrendered: upon this the king quitted the command of the army, and retired with a small body of troops, in order to enjoy the pleasure of hunting^c. Don *Ferdinand* king of *Sicily*, finding himself at the head of an army, was prevailed upon by some of his favourites to attempt surprising the duke of *Lorrain*, who being a brave and a better soldier than himself, beat him thoroughly, and would have made a great use of this victory, if the old king had not advanced to *Urgel*, and thereby hindered his son's troops from flying farther^d. When both armies were gone into winter-quarters, the count *de Foix* made an
b irruption into *Navarre*, against whom Don *Juan* was obliged to march; but matters were quickly compromised. What gave him more trouble than all these, was his extreme want of money, his treasury being in a manner exhausted by the presents and subsidies which were requisite for promoting his son's marriage with the infanta *Donna Isabella*. He found means, A. D. 1469. however, to fit out a good fleet, in order to intercept the enemy's succours; and, by the sale of some places to the prelates and clergy, he was in some measure delivered from his distress^e. His subjects in *Sicily*, and his nephew Don *Ferdinand* sent him also assistance.

ABOUT the middle of *May* in the next year the king assembled the states of *Catalonia* at *Monson*, where things passed rather better than he expected; however, nothing decisive hap-
pened in the campaign; and, in *September*, when he came to hold the states of *Arragon* at
c *Saragossa*, they granted him all that he demanded; so that he found himself in a condition ^{Are defeated in a general action by Don Juan, with a considerable loss.} to put a good army on foot against the ensuing spring^f. On the 16th of *December* the duke of *Lorrain* died at *Barcelona*; and, in his last moments, advised the *Catalans* to make their peace with the king Don *Juan*; which, however, they refused to do, and employed a considerable sum of money in hiring *Italian* and *French* troops for their own defence^g. *Nicholas*,
the eldest son of the duke of *Lorrain*, little regarding his father's admonition, assumed the
title of king of *Arragon*, notwithstanding that the major part of the inhabitants of *Barcelona* were inclined to submit to the *French*^h. The king Don *Juan* reduced *Gironne*, and several other
places; but ran a very great risk at the siege of *Peralada*, where the count of *Campo Baso*,
at the head of a corps of mercenaries, broke into his camp in the night, and forced the old
d king to save his life by flying on horseback, without any thing on but his shirt: he returned,
however, the next day to the siege, and carried the placeⁱ. The inhabitants of *Perpignan* also
cut the throats of the *French* garrison in the night, and opened their gates to the king's troops^k.
The rebellion was now in a manner confined within the walls of *Barcelona*, and the king gave
orders to his natural son Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, and the count of *Prades*, to block up that
city, in hopes it would produce a treaty; but the rebels, grown desperate, and provoked by
the scarcity of provisions, ordered their generals, Don *Denis* of *Portugal*, and *James Galeot*,
to march out and attack the king's forces^l. This engagement happened on the fifth of
November, and at the very beginning the *Catalans* gave way; however, about 4000 remain-
ing firm, Don *Alonso* and the count *de Prades* surrounded and cut them and their two
e generals to pieces; and soon after, the count *de Prades* defeated the count *de Campo Baso*, and
his *Italians*. In all probability the king had put an end to the war, if he had not been
obliged to attend to the affairs of *Navarre*, and to those of his son Don *Ferdinand*, whose
marriage with *Donna Isabella* required continual supplies of money^m, since his business could
no otherwise advance in a corrupt court.

IN the ensuing spring Don *Ferdinand* came to make a his father a visit, and found him ^{Barcelona,} employed in the siege of *Barcelona*, which was carried on both by land and sea. The pope's ^{after a most gallant defence, but prescribes its own terms.} legate cardinal *Borgia* came thither also, and had an audience of the kingⁿ. In the mean
time *Lewis* the eleventh of *France*, and the duke of *Lorrain*, made various efforts in order
to raise the siege of *Barcelona*, but without effect. At length things were brought to such an
f extremity that the besieged had nothing to hope, when the king offered to receive them all to
his mercy, to confirm their privileges, to bury in eternal oblivion all that was past, and not
to punish them either in person or in property; which terms they rejected, chiefly by the
influence of the count *de Pailbars*, whom he had pardoned the year before^o. The army
on the other hand was very earnest in being led on to the assault, in hopes of having the
plunder of the place. The king, upon this, wrote a letter to the citizens, dated the 6th of
October, in terms as tender and affectionate as if they had been his children, bewailing the
miseries they had brought on themselves, and concluding with a protestation, that they, and
not he, must be answerable for future events. Upon this, at the persuasion of a priest, who

^c Hieron. Blancæ Comment.
ubi supra.
Annal.

^h MAR.

^m Idem ib.

^d ZURIT. Annal.

ⁱ ZURIT.

ⁿ MAR.

^o FER.

^e MIG. CARB.

^f MAR.

^g Las Memorias de FELIPE DE COMINES.

^h Hieron.

ⁱ ZURIT.

had the reputation of sanctity, they sent their deputies to the king, and made a capitulation^a on the 17th of the same month; in which the king took all upon himself, acknowledged they took arms upon just motives, and pardoned every body, the count *de Pailbars* excepted, who, however, was suffered to escape^p. On the 22d, the king made his public entry into the city, and confirmed their privileges^q. The same year a marriage was concluded between Don *Frederick*, the second son of Don *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, and the infanta Donna *Joanna* of *Arragon*^r.

The inhabitants of *Perpignan* in the utmost terror of being besieged by the French.

THE inhabitants of *Perpignan* and *Elne* having massacred the *French* garrisons, in order to put themselves again under the obedience of the king of *Arragon*, began to be very apprehensive of the vengeance of *Lewis XI.* who was assembling a great army, on purpose to chastise them. The king came in person to direct the new fortifications of *Perpignan*, and brought with him his son Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, the counts of *Cardona* and *Prades*, and several other officers of distinction, who omitted nothing that could be devised for the security of the place^s. When the strength of the enemy was thoroughly known, they intreated the king to retire; but Don *Juan* having observed consternation in the countenances of the inhabitants, called a general assembly in the great church, where he told them, that he knew very well the character of the prince they had offended, and the danger to which they were exposed; that they could be only safe by a vigorous defence; and, to encourage them to this, laying his hand suddenly on the gospels, he swore he would remain with them, and undergo all the fatigues of the siege^t. The place was presently invested by a numerous army, under the command of *Philip* count of *Bresse*. The *Catalans* no sooner received advice of this, than, forgetting their former disposition, they took arms every-where throughout the principality, and sent deputies to desire Don *Ferdinand* king of *Sicily* to come and put himself at their head. That prince, ever famous for his prudence, would have excused himself from the perplexed state of his own affairs; but Donna *Isabella*, and the archbishop of *Toledo*, told him, that his duty required him to forget all things but the danger of his father and his king. He set out therefore immediately for *Barcelona*, where he found an army of 25,000 men in complete order, and ready to march.

Are gloriously defended in two sieges by the old king, who forces the enemy to raise them both.

THE king Don *Juan* defended *Perpignan* with a steadiness that exceedingly perplexed the *French*, and notwithstanding a circumstance very extraordinary, which was that the citadel was yet in their hands. Their army was at first near forty thousand men; but by *Midsummer*, when Don *Ferdinand* passed the *Pyrenees*, they thought themselves too weak to continue the siege, and therefore set fire to their camp and retired^u. The old king marched out with his garrison to meet and embrace his son, who in a few days followed the *French* with his army, but found them so well intrenched, that he did not think fit to attack them. Upon their motion a truce was concluded for a time; upon which Don *Ferdinand* returned with his troops to *Barcelona*, where he dismissed the greatest part of them^v. On the other hand, *Lewis XI.* after bestowing the bitterest reproaches upon his generals, cancelled the truce, and having reinforced the army with 10,000 men, sent them back to see if they could take *Perpignan*, now there was no army to relieve it. The king Don *Juan* was still there, when the place was a second time invested; and, finding himself pushed hard, he caused a report to be spread, that the great cities behind the *French* army had revolted, and were marching with great force to attack them in their trenches; upon which they raised the siege a second time, and he handled their rear-guard so roughly, that there was no bringing them to look at *Perpignan* any more^w. On this *Lewis XI.* thought fit to send a minister to negotiate a peace, which, both parties being heartily weary of the war, was very speedily concluded, upon easy and reasonable terms^x. The king Don *Juan*, returning through *Catalonia*, was received with the loudest acclamations, and those who had been the most forward in the rebellion were not the most backward in paying their court to the victorious monarch, who received them with great courtesy and kindness, and exhorted them to make use of the peace to restore their country to its former flourishing condition^y.

The French, by an insidious treaty, gain what they could not gain by a fair war.

BUT he was quickly convinced that this treaty, which had been negotiated with so much seeming candour, required many improvements and explanations, in order to render it a safe and solid peace. He sent therefore two persons of distinction to *Paris*, with full powers to adjust every thing, and to set the most difficult points in a full and clear light. These ministers found so many obstacles on the road, that it was a long time before they got to *Paris*, and when they came there, they found the king absent. They would have followed him, but those intrusted with the administration caused them to be arrested^z. This method of acting answered two ends; it gave the *French* an opportunity of destroying all the

^p Hieron. Blancæ Comment.

Comines.

Comment.

^q Mayerne Turquet.

^r Las Memorias de Felipe de Comines.

^s Zurit.

^t Mariana.

^u Marian.

^v Zurita.

^w Abarc.

^x Las Memorias de Felipe de

^y Hieron. Blancæ

^z Zurit. Annal.

- a harvest in the neighbourhood of *Perpignan*, in hopes of causing a scarcity there, when they entered it, as they did with a powerful army; and, on the other hand, it kept the old king of *Arragon* in the dark, so that he had no kind of certainty whether peace or war was to be expected^c. He went, however, to *Barcelona*, where he held an assembly of the states, who granted him all he could desire, or rather all they were able^d. He sent also for his son Don *Ferdinand*, and though his affairs were much embarrassed in *Castile*, yet, by the advice of Doña *Isabella*, he set out for *Arragon*, and travelled with great dispatch; but, on his arrival at *Saragossa*, he found things in much confusion, the whole country being rent with faction^e. He obtained, however, what forces he could, and, having assembled the states, desired them to enable the viceroy and the chief justice to put the laws in execution, and to restore the public tranquility, giving them to understand, that where there was no law there could be no liberty. In the mean time, the old king, having received a supply of provisions from *Naples*, had re-victualled *Perpignan*, and, with the assistance of the troops his son brought him, had a tolerable army in the field^f. Don *Ferdinand* returned again in a little time to *Saragossa*, where there was one *Ximenes Gordo*, who had gained such an ascendancy in the city that nothing could be done without him, whose relations and creatures were possessed of all the good employments, and who, notwithstanding, were guilty of the most outrageous acts of oppression. Don *Ferdinand* inquired why these mischiefs were not redressed, and was told that *Gordo's* exorbitant power was too strong for the laws. Upon this he sent for him to the palace, and conducted him into a private apartment, where there were some of his guards, a hangman, and a priest, in whose hands he left him; and, as soon as he was informed that he was dead, he ordered the body to be publicly exposed, and then went to the states, and told them that it was their business to do the rest: upon which they seized his creatures, convicted and executed them by due course of law. Having thus restored the public peace, he returned to *Castile*^g. The *French*, having a superior power in *Roussillon*, A. D. 1474. made themselves masters of *Elne*, and ravaged best part of the country without measure or mercy, the circumstances of Don *Juan* being such as put it out of his power to oppose them.

- THE king Don *Henry* of *Castile* being dead, and that country in the utmost confusion, *Lewis* XI. took the opportunity of pouring in multitudes of troops upon *Roussillon*; so that at length his generals were in a condition to besiege *Perpignan* for the third time^h. The old king Don *Juan*, though laden with cares and infirmities, neglected nothing that could be done for the relief of that place, and would certainly have relieved it, if he had either been possessed of money himself, or if his subjects had been wealthy enough to supply him. But, for want of this, the *French* prevailed. The inhabitants, after eating cats, dogs, and all kind of vermin, surrendered, upon tolerable terms, about the middle of *March*; and, having stipulated a liberty of quitting the place, most of them retired into *Catalonia*ⁱ. After this conquest, *Lewis* thought fit to propose a truce for six months, which Don *Juan* was forced to accept, that he might have some time to provide against the next campaign. As soon as the truce was ended, the *French* renewed their hostilities, and pushed their conquests to the very frontiers of *Catalonia*^k. At the same time that they made war on *Arragon*, the *French* attacked the dominions of *Castile* likewise, and made two irruptions into *Biscay*, but with little effect. However, the last obliged Don *Ferdinand* to make a tour into that province, which gave him an opportunity of having an interview with his father, whose affairs were never in a worse situation than at this juncture^l. *Arragon* was so torn by factions, and overrun by banditti, that all the states could do to restore quiet was to authorize holy confederacies, that is, voluntary associations of private men taking arms for the public service. In *Valentia* the like mischiefs prevailed, and the plague ravaged *Barcelona*, and a great part of *Catalonia*^m. The *French* heightened all these mischiefs by continuing the war, while the *Catalans* found it impossible to assemble an army, till necessity obliged them to lay their hands upon the treasure belonging to the city of *Barcelona*, with which the inhabitants were very little pleased; but as there was no remedy, they were obliged to submit, more especially as it was not done without the king's orders.

AMONGST the rest of those potent persons, who made no scruple of increasing the calamities, and adding to the confusion in which affairs then were, Don *Jayme* of *Arragon* was one of the most troublesome. Having assembled a band of lawless persons, by their assistance he took possession of the duchy of *Villa-Hermosa*, and fortified several places for their own security. Upon this the king dispatched his orders to the viceroy of *Valentia* to set up the royal standard, and to make a fair trial whether the people of that kingdom would not

Distressed state of Arragon by plague, war, and factions.

1475.

1476.

^c Hieron. Blancæ Comment.

^e Zurit. Annal.

^h Idem ibid.

^d FER.

^f FER.

^e Zurita Annal.

^k Zurit.

^l Hieron. Blancæ Comment.

ⁱ Abarca.

^m Mariana.

enable him to redress these disorders, and to bring this powerful criminal to justice. The ^a viceroy, in obedience to the king's orders, assembled what forces he was able, besieged the fortresses into which Don *Jayme* had retired, and, having made him prisoner, sent him to *Barcelona*, where the king caused him to be beheaded, but gave his whole estate to his grandson ^a. In the month of *August*, the infanta Donna *Joanna* embarked on board the fleet sent from *Sicily*, and, having touched first at *Genoa*, went from thence to *Naples*, in order to espouse the king Don *Ferdinand* ^o. In the last interview the king of *Arragon* had with his son Don *Ferdinand*, he had pressed him exceedingly to receive the archbishop of *Toledo* again into his favour; to which all the answer he received was, that he would labour to overcome the extreme resentment that the queen Donna *Isabella* had against him; and it was with great satisfaction Don *Juan* received the news that this was accomplished; but he was by no means ^b pleased that his son and daughter were determined to conclude a peace with the king of *France*; in consequence of which he saw plainly that the counties of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne* would be lost. To protract, however, the evil hour as much as possible, he negotiated a truce for another year, in hopes that by that time he might be in a better condition to carry on the war ^p. His natural son Don *Juan de Arragon*, archbishop of *Saragossa*, being dead, he, in conjunction with his son Don *Ferdinand*, solicited the pope to give that archbishoprick to Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, who was the natural son of the king Don *Ferdinand*; which the absolutely refused, on account of his being a child, and named the cardinal of *Montreal* to that archbishoprick; but the two kings adhering obstinately to their resolution of not having any other archbishop, the pope was constrained to declare Don *Alonso* administrator of the ^c archbishoprick, with which they were satisfied ^q; and which shews how little these lucrative benefices contributed to the welfare of the church, when he, who was esteemed the head of it, could be obliged to grant administration of such a see to a bastard of six years of age, and thereby create a precedent equally pernicious and scandalous.

1478.
Dies at Barcelona, by which Arragon and its dominions are united to the crown of Castile.

THE king Don *Juan*, having appointed an interview with his son at *Daroca*, was preparing for his journey thither, when he was surprised by death at *Barcelona*, January 19th, 1479, when he had lived fourscore and two years, and had reigned over *Arragon* twenty-one ^r. He had by his first queen Donna *Blanca*, the widow of *Martin* king of *Sicily*, and the heiress of *Navarre*, the unfortunate Don *Carlos* prince of *Viana*, the still more unfortunate Donna *Blanca*, who espoused Don *Henry* of *Castile*, and, after having spent her whole life in ^d sorrow, died of poison in prison, and Donna *Leonora* countess of *Foix*, who succeeded him in the kingdom of *Navarre*. By Donna *Juana Henriques* he had his son Don *Ferdinand*, pope who succeeded him in the throne of *Arragon*, Donna *Juana* queen of *Naples*, Donna *Maria*, and Donna *Leonora*, who died young. His natural children were almost without number. By a lady of the illustrious family of *Avellaneda* he had Don *Juan* of *Arragon* archbishop of *Saragossa*; by Donna *Leonora de Escobar* he had Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, duke of *Villa Hermosa*, and count of *Ribagorça*; by a lady of *Navarre* he had two sons, that died young, and a daughter, Donna *Leonora*, who espoused Don *Lewis de Beaumont*, constable of that kingdom; and, at the very time of his decease, he had a mistress who was a *Catalan*. He was naturally just as well as brave, very liberal, but was apt to confide too much in his ^e wives, his mistresses, and his favourites, whence arose all his misfortunes. His body was first deposited in the cathedral of *Barcelona*, and then carried on the shoulders of the principal nobility of *Catalonia* to the monastery of *Poblete*, and there interred with his ancestors ^s. His son Don *Ferdinand* confirmed the laws and privileges of the kingdom of *Arragon* at *Saragossa* on the 26th of *June*, did the same at *Barcelona* on the first of *September*, and from thence went to *Valentia* for the like purpose ^t; and thus the crown of *Arragon* was united to that of *Castile*.

^a Hieron. Blancæ Comment. ^o Zurita. ^p Ferr. ^q Zurit. Annal. ^r Idem ibid.
^s Mariana. ^t Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Abarc. Hieron. Blancæ, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet,
Ferreræ.

S E C T. XIII.

The history of the Spanish monarchy, from the accession of their Catholic Majesties Ferdinand and Isabella, to that of the emperor Charles the fifth, and the first of that name in Spain.

- a **T**HE news of Don Henry's death no sooner reached the ears of the archbishop of *Toledo*, Their majesties than he dispatched a courier with a letter to Don *Ferdinand*, then in the kingdom of *Arragon*, in which he gave him the title of king of *Castile* and *Leon*, and pressed him to lose Don Ferdi- no time in returning to his dominions^a. His consort *Donna Isabella* did the like, but she nand and Don- thought it very expedient not to defer the ceremony of taking possession of the crown till his na Isabella arrival. It was therefore with this view that, on the thirteenth of *December*, she caused proclaimed at herself to be publicly invested with all the ensigns of regal dignity, on a scaffold erected in the town of *Segovia*, upon which a throne was placed very richly adorned; and, when the queen was seated, a herald proclaimed Don *Ferdinand* and *Donna Isabella* king and queen of *Castile* and *Leon*; after which, she went to the cathedral, where *Te Deum* was sung with loud A. D. 1474.
- b acclamations of the people, and many of the principal nobility came to compliment her upon her accession, and to assure her of their fidelity, amongst whom none was more active than the cardinal of *Spain* and the archbishop of *Toledo*^b. She dined that day with *Andrew de Cabrera*, alcaide of the citadel of *Segovia*, who delivered up to her that important fortress, with all the treasures that were in it. After dinner, she gave him the gold cup in which she drank; assuring him, that herself and her successor should annually, upon that day, send to him, or his representative, the gold cup in which they drank^c. On the other hand, the marquis of *Villena* took all imaginable precautions for the security of the infanta; and, having renewed his intrigues with the king of *Portugal*, is supposed to have sent him the original will of king *Henry*, that he might be better satisfied as to the rights of
- c this princess, be the more inclined to marry her, and to support the faction which the marquis was forming in her favour^d, and to which his own numerous family and some other persons of quality, adhered.

UPON the arrival of the king Don *Ferdinand* at *Segovia*, he made a public entry with great magnificence, and, in conjunction with the queen, continued all the great officers of the crown in their respective charges^e. It was not long, however, before some differences arose about the administration of the government. Many of the nobility thought it belonged intirely to the queen, as the sole heirs of *Castile* and *Leon*. Some, however, were of a contrary opinion, and had the lawyers on their side. At length it was agreed, that this delicate affair should be referred to the cardinal of *Spain*, *Mendoza*, and the archbishop of *Toledo*; and by them it was decided, that they should govern jointly; that the king's name should precede the queen's, but that he should do nothing of importance but by her consent, with which he was not intirely satisfied^f (A). The archbishop of *Toledo* was so much displeased at the regard shewn by their majesties to cardinal *Mendoza*, that, after visible signs of discontent, he quitted the court intirely, under pretence of being desirous of spending the rest of his days in quiet, but in reality, as himself more truly expressed it upon another occasion, that he might contrive ways and means to make them sensible how dangerous it was to disoblige an archbishop of *Toledo*^g. The king Don *Juan* of *Arragon* sent two persons of distinction to soften him; the king Don *Ferdinand* sent several of the first nobility on the same errand; the queen went herself to make him a visit to *Alcala*, but to no purpose,

^a HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, ZURITA.
de Espana.

^b LUCIUS MARINÆUS SICULUS.

^c GARIBAY, Historia

^d DAMIAN DE GOES, EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, ZURIT. FER.

^e HERNANDO DEL

PULGAR, & al.

^f GARIBAY, &c.

^g ZURITA, LUCIUS MARINÆUS SICULUS, FER.

(A) The articles settled between the arbitrators are reduced to five by *Mariana*, and are in substance these (1): 1. That in all letters, public acts, and inscriptions upon money, the name of the king should precede that of the queen; but with regard to the arms and titles of their respective dominions, those of the queen should have the preference. 2. That the governors of provinces, cities, and fortresses, should be appointed solely by the queen, hold the places in her name, and that all officers in the revenue should be accountable only to her. 3. That the provision of bishopricks, and other ecclesi-

astical benefices, should be in both their majesties names, but the nomination solely in the queen. 4. That when they happened to be separate, each should administer justice in the places where they happened to be. 5. And, with respect to ordinary magistrates, either of their majesties might appoint them, who had the privy council attending upon his or her person. It is very certain that Don *Ferdinand* was so little pleased, that he had some thoughts of returning into his own dominions; and it is also certain, that it was not the statesmen, but the queen *Donna Isabella*, who satisfied and made him easy (2).

1) *Historia general de Espana*, lib. xxiv.

(2) *Alonso de Palencia*, *Hernando del Pulgar*. Zurita.

for he sent her word, if she entered the town at one gate, he would go out at the other^a. They tampered also with the marquis of *Villena*, who made no scruple of setting his price, but, like many great politicians, set it too high¹. At length Don *Alonso* the fourth, of *Portugal*, in the month of *May*, entered *Castile*, espoused his niece the infanta publicly, and took the titles to which he pretended by this marriage; so that the rest of the year was spent in all the confusion of a civil war, in which though the malecontents did not make any great progress, and even the principal places in the marquisate of *Villena* revolted in their favour, yet they found themselves so much distressed for money, that, they were obliged to borrow, and convert into specie the church plate, which for many reasons, was never done without great reluctance^k.

The Portuguese defeated before Toro by the king Don Ferdinand.

THIS war was carried on, on both sides, at least as much by policy as by force of arms, which gave Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Isabella* great advantages. The former inquired strictly, and punished with great severity, all offences against the state; but shewed great mildness and lenity in affairs that regarded the crown, received almost all into favour who desired it, and granted them pardons for what was passed, but admonished them to do their duty and obey the laws for the time to come^l. The queen was still more active, milder, and more munificent, the fame of which had great effects. The citadel of *Burgos*, which had held out an obstinate siege, was surrendered to the queen in person; and this became so much the mode, that with a flying army of no considerable force she reduced several places of strength. The king Don *Ferdinand* had recovered the town, and was besieging the citadel of *Zamora*. He made an attempt upon *Toro*, which was the king of *Portugal*'s head quarters, but without success. He managed this siege with greater address, investing the citadel so closely, that no succours could enter; and fortifying his camp so well, that it was very difficult to force. Don *Alonso*, notwithstanding, resolved to attempt the relief of the place, towards which the infant Don *Juan* brought him a great reinforcement of troops out of *Portugal*, for the raising of which he had made free with all the churches treasure. The army of Don *Alonso*, thus reinforced, arrived before *Zamora*ⁿ. Don *Ferdinand*, though superior in number, remained close within his lines, and contented himself with disappointing all the attempts that were made to throw succours in into the fortress, or to attack any of the posts. On *Friday* the first of *March* the enemy retired, but in good order, the king in the centre, the prince Don *Juan* on the right, the archbishop of *Toledo*, and his malecontents, on the left wing. Don *Ferdinand* passed the river with his army in pursuit of them; and about four in the afternoon, marching down the side of a mountain, he saw the enemy drawn up in order of battle, in a plain at a small distance from *Toro*, upon which an engagement ensued. Authors differ much in their accounts of this battle; but it is however agreed, that the centre and the left wing of the *Portuguese* were routed, the prince of *Portugal* retired towards night to an eminence, and made a good retreat from thence the next day. The loss was far from being great, and yet the victory proved decisive^o. Don *Alonso* first sent the prince to cover his own country, and then followed with the rest of the army. The citadel of *Zamora* surrendered, and Don *Ferdinand* was left at liberty to go into *Biscay*, where the *French* were for the third time obliged to raise the siege of *Fontarabia*^p. The archbishop of *Toledo* and the marquis of *Villena* detached themselves from the *Portuguese*, in order to mind their own affairs. The queen Donna *Isabella* drew over many of the malecontents, and most of the cities and fortresses that had been garrisoned by them revolted, and submitted to their majesties^q.

1476.

Insolence of Don Alonso de Carillo, archbishop of Toledo, and firmness of the king and queen.

THE king of *Portugal* being gone into *France* to solicit succours from *Lewis* the eleventh, Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Isabella* had the more time to restore the domestic quiet of their dominions; a thing so much the more necessary, as in almost all the cities and great towns there were factions that kept up a kind of civil war amongst themselves, without paying any respect to the laws, or regard to the royal authority. At *Toledo* these heats were carried so high, that, in their majesties absence, a battle was fought between the contending parties, in which a considerable number was slain on both sides. At their return they caused a great number of the most factious persons to be arrested, and brought to a trial, where some were condemned to death, others to banishment and lighter punishments, according to the nature of their crimes; nor would their majesties hear of commuting those punishments for the sake of money, which had a very good effect^r. There was still a kind of treaty going on with the archbishop; to facilitate which, their majesties went to *Madrid*, and the king offered to treat in person with that prelate at the *Pardo*; but the latter brought such a multitude of armed men in his retinue, that the king, who was very slenderly attended, thought fit to retire without seeing him^s. Under colour of this treaty the archbishop sent for the constable, the duke of *Infantado*, the count *de Haro*, and other friends and relations, to the castle of

^a HERNANDO DEL PULGAR. ANTON. NEBRISS.

SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES.

¹ MARIANA, & al.

^c DAMIAN DE GOES, HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, MARIANA.

& al. ^r EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, GARIBAY, ZURIT, FER.

ⁱ GARIBAY, & al.

^k EMANUEL DE FARIA Y

ⁿ ALONSO DE PALENCIA, GARIBAY, FER.

^p GARIBAY, ANT. NEBRISS.

^q ZURIT.

^s LUC.

- a *Uceda*, where he prevailed upon them to sign a letter to their majesties, drawn up with great skill and art, full of promises of fidelity and submission, but insinuating that sovereigns ought to have a great regard for their nobility; and proposing, at the close, that the method which had been practised in the reign of king *Henry*, when the king did nothing but by consent of four of his grandees, who by turns attended on his person, should be revived. Their majesties returned a very quick answer to this letter, in which they told the archbishop and his friends, that they would ever respect the laws to the maintenance of which they had sworn, and make a strict observance of those laws the recommendation to their favour; but this being the rule of their conduct, they knew not any rank of their subjects that had a right to exemption; and that, deriving their authority from divine and human laws, they would govern as sovereigns, and not as slaves to grandees, by whom they expected to be obeyed[†]. This answer mortified the archbishop extremely, more especially when he understood that the constable, and some other lords, were gone to *Madrid*, to make their submission to the king and queen; and that all the rest, being summoned, had taken the same step^u. An ambassador from *Edward* the fourth of *England* had an audience of their majesties, and was received with great respect. The marquis of *Villena* had made his peace the year before, and promised to restore all the places he held to the crown: one of the chief of these was *Truxillo*, the queen went thither and summoned it; the governor refused to open the gates; the queen sent the marquis word, that if it was not surrendered by a certain day, he was to consider the agreement as void; upon which he came in person and put it into her hands^w, upon the twenty-fourth of *June*.
- c In like manner the king and queen traversed most of the provinces, and settled things in the best manner possible, by a proper mixture of clemency and justice; and, by their orders, a truce for three years was concluded with the king of *Granada*, who, taking advantage of the troubles in their dominions, had made an irruption into the kingdom of *Murcia*, which being in direct breach of a treaty, tho' for the present passed by, was not either forgiven or forgot^x, more especially as it was accompanied with extraordinary provocations.

- THE queen spent the best part of the next year in the southern provinces of *Spain*, and was brought to bed of a son at *Seville*^y, where the factions and disputes which had reigned for many years were intirely pacified, and the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and the marquis of *Cadiz*, whose animosities were the principal source of this disorder, were commanded to quit the city, but allowed to live where-ever else they pleased. At the time their majesties quitted *Toledo*, they appointed *Gomez Manrique* corregidor or chief magistrate of that city, with instructions to look very closely to the behaviour of the inhabitants, and to prevent the reviving of those feuds which had already cost them so dear. The corregidor, who executed his office with great punctuality, suddenly called the principal inhabitants together, and having put them in mind of the peace and happiness they had enjoyed under his government, and of the miseries to which they had been exposed for many years before, acquainted them with a design that had been formed to murder him in his bed, by the instigation of the archbishop; at which the whole assembly expressed the utmost abhorrence, caused such as were concerned in this black affair to be seized, and, upon conviction, executed, banished, or whipped, without the least trouble or disturbance^z. This disappointment in his design so provoked that proud prelate, that he suffered his troops to ravage all the country about *Madrid*, and solicited the king of *Portugal* to renew the war, promising to put all the places that he held into his hands^a. The king and queen, being informed of this, took a short resolution of keeping no farther measures with him, and thereupon sent orders to Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, the king's brother, to block up *Alcala*; immediately forbad his vassals, by proclamation, to pay him any rent, or to have any correspondence with him; and demanded of the pope, that an administrator might be named to receive the revenues of the archbishoprick, till, in virtue of a process in form, the see should be declared void. This had such an effect upon the turbulent archbishop, that he very speedily submitted, and, to obtain their majesties pardon, and the restitution of his temporalities, surrendered all the places he held in his hands^b. This year the peace was concluded A. D. 1478. with *Lewis* the eleventh of *France*^c, notwithstanding all the representations made by Don *Juan* of *Arragon* against it, who looked on himself as abandoned by it.

THE death of the king Don *Juan* of *Arragon* having obliged Don *Ferdinand* to make a tour into his hereditary dominions, the weight of the administration for that time was intirely supported by the queen Donna *Isabella*, who proceeded very roundly with such as still resisted, for there were very few now who disputed her authority. The war with *Portugal* still continued, and a great irruption was made in the spring into *Galicia*, where the enemy had some success at first, but were beaten in the end, and obliged to retire with loss; but they had

† MARIAN. & al. u HERN. DEL PULGAR, GARIBAY, FER. w BERNALDEZ CARVAJAL. x LUC. MARIN. SICUL. & al. y ZURIT. MARIAN. z HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, ANT. NEBRISS. a GARIBAY & al.

c Memoires de FELIPE DE COMINES.

better fortune in attacking a *Castilian* fleet which had been sent to the coast of *Guiney*, and returned from thence with an immense quantity of gold, of which not so much as a ship, or even a man, escaped. The bishop of *Evora*, who with a great body of troops, partly *Portuguese*, and partly *Castilian* rebels, made an irruption into *Estremadura*, in order to disengage some of the fortresses in that country, which were still in the hands of the malecontents, and which the queen had caused to be besieged, were engaged by the grand master of *St. James*, and beaten. The loss was not considerable on either side, but the greatest part of the *Castilian* malecontents were taken, which made it of consequence, and enabled the Infanta Donna *Beatrix*, the widow of Don *Ferdinand*, brother to the king of *Portugal*, and aunt to the queen of *Castile*, to prevail upon Don *Alonso* to allow her to treat with the queen Donna *Isabella* of a peace between the two crowns^c. The queen of *Castile* received this intelligence with great satisfaction; and, as soon as she could dispose things properly, had an interview with the Infanta at *Alcantara*, where the principal articles of the peace were very soon adjusted; and though, upon the return of the Infanta, the king of *Portugal* testified some dislike to them, yet by the persuasions of the Infanta, and of his son the prince of *Portugal*, he was brought at last to approve them, and they were accordingly signed on the twenty-fourth of *September* (B); so that now their majesties were acknowledged by all their neighbours, and were left at full liberty to redress all the grievances, and remove all the inconveniencies, that, during so many years of confusion, had crept into the government^f.

Wise methods
pursued for
settling the in-
terior affairs
of their domi-
nions.

THIS was the first care both of the king and queen, who for that purpose called a general assembly of the states at *Leon*, in the month of *January*, where several old laws were repealed, others explained, and many new ones made. Besides this, the whole frame of administering justice was reviewed, amended, and extended, in such a manner, that persons of all ranks were brought within the reach of the law, and every town and village throughout their dominions had its proper magistrates assigned^e. The next thing that fell under their consideration was the repeal of the grants made by *Henry* the fourth, of crown lands and of pensions out of the royal revenues, upon which the deputies from the cities very strongly insisted; but the king and queen thought it was a matter required much deliberation, and that some distinctions likewise ought to be made. The nobility were likewise of this opinion; and all possessed of these grants were obliged to exhibit them to their majesties confessor, who was vested with the power of allowing, annulling, or abridging them, as he thought proper; which he exercised in such a manner, that thirty millions of marvadies annually were brought into the exchequer. The queen Donna *Isabella* ordered the first year's revenue to be distributed amongst the widows and children of such as had suffered in any degree for their service^h. Amongst the criminals that suffered in consequence of the new regulations, was *Ferdinand Alarcon*, whom the marquis of *Villena* had placed about the archbishop of *Toledo*, and who had been the principal author of the archbishop's ill conductⁱ. Yet sure it was some impeachment of their majesties justice, that, while this fellow was sent to the gallows, the archbishop and the marquis were

^c ALONSO DE PALENCIA, EMAN. DE FARIA Y SOUSA, BERNALDEZ, HERN. DEL PULGAR. FER. ^f ALONSO DE PALENCIA, CARVAJAL, GARIBAY, ZURIT. MARIAN. FER. ^h HERN. DEL PULGAR, MAYERN. TURQ. ⁱ ZURIT. ANTON. NEBRISS. HERN. DEL PULGAR, FER. ⁱ LUC. MARIN. SICUL.

(B) This is commonly called the peace of *Alcacovas*, from the place where it was concluded. It is generally believed that Don *Alonso* made this peace against his will, being forced to it by the remonstrances of his son the Infant Don *Juan* on one side, and wearied into it by the solicitations of the Infanta Donna *Beatrix*, duchess of *Viseo*, on the other. The terms are somewhat differently reported, but in the main appear to have been these: 1. The king of *Portugal* was to quit the title and arms of *Castile*, and their majesties were likewise to quit all pretensions upon *Portugal*. 2. He undertook not to marry the Infanta Donna *Joanna*, or to give her any assistance. 3. The princess Donna *Joanna* was to make her choice, whether, she would marry the Infant Don *Juan*, then but a year old, or retire into a convent, and this in the space of six months. 4. The Infant Don *Alonso*, son to the Infant Don *Juan*, and grandson to the king of *Portugal*, was to marry, when of fit age, the Infanta Donna *Isabella* of *Castile*. 5. The navigation of *Guiney* was reserved to the crown of *Portugal*, and that of the *Canary Islands* to *Castile*. 6. All who had followed the party of *Portugal* during the war were to be restored to their honours and estates, and their ma-

jesties were to grant a general pardon, without any exceptions. 7. The *Portuguese* were to restore what they possessed in *Estremadura*, and to evacuate that province. 8. For the security of the peace, the Infanta Don *Isabella* was to be given in hostage to *Portugal*, and the Infant Don *Alonso* to *Castile*. 9. Lastly, All prisoners were to be released on both sides (8). The principal apparent cause of this treaty, on the part of *Portugal*, was the great concern the Infant Don *Juan* was under to see the blood and treasure of his country exhausted in favour of a title liable to so many objections; but the real and secret cause was said to have been his desire to see his son Don *Alonso* married to the Infanta *Isabella*, which he flattered himself would one day raise him to the throne of *Castile* (9). Whatever his views were of this kind, such a notion prevailed universally in *Portugal*; and the king Don *Alonso* himself was so affected with the usage that the Infanta Donna *Joanna* met with, that he had determined to resign the crown, and retire into a convent, if he had not been prevented by death (1), at the very time when he was on the point of putting this design in execution.

(8) *Hernando del Pulgar, Mariana, Ferreras.*

del Pulgar, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras & al.

(9) *Nunz, Faria y Sousa, Le Ciede, &c.*

(1) *Hern.*

both

- a both restored to their majesties favour. But the queen shewed a laudable firmness in the case of a gentleman of *Galicia*, who was condemned to die for the murder of a public notary, who was the only person that could have proved upon him the forgery of a bond for a large sum. To save this man's life, an offer was made of forty thousand pistoles in gold, which, though at that time an object of attention even to a crowned head, was refused*. Ambassadors were dispatched to *Portugal*, in order to adjust some disputes that were arisen about the terms of the peace, and to be present when the unfortunate Infanta of *Castile* took the veil¹; notwithstanding which, things were not entirely adjusted till the next year. The *Turks* having taken *Tarentum*, and threatening the island of *Sicily*, the king Don *Ferdinand* was obliged to make a considerable naval armament for the defence of his hereditary dominions. About this time
- b also the formidable tribunal of the inquisition was first introduced into *Spain*^m (C).

ALL things were adjusted with the crown of *Portugal* in the beginning of the year, which gave their majesties an opportunity of putting the new plan for the distribution of justice in execution; and they chose to begin with *Galicia*, which, of all the provinces in *Spain*, was in the worst condition. In order to this, Don *Hernando de Acensa* was named governor, and Don *Garcia Lopez de Chintilla* chief justice. On their arrival at the city of *St. James*, the officers of the crown dissuaded them from opening their commissions, assuring them, that the whole country was full of little fortresses, the lords of which acted despotically, each in his little district; and that, if these united their forces, the army of the crown would not be in a condition to make any resistance. Don *Hernando* and Don *Garcia* answered, that the crown might be weak, but that God was omnipotent. They ordered open proclamation to be made, that they were there ready to do justice to all who demanded it, and against any who had done wrong; and they proceeded in this so briskly, and with so little respect to persons, that fifteen hundred gentlemen, who were conscious of having deserved death, quitted their country and estates to avoid it; upon which the governor and chief justice quickly changed the face of affairs; for the people in general, perceiving what benefits accrued to them from this commission, chearfully contributed their assistance; so that when two persons of great distinction were arrested, brought to a trial, and convicted of several atrocious crimes, they were executed without any commotion, and notwithstanding they offered prodigious sums to save their livesⁿ. The success that attended their endeavours in *Galicia* induced their majesties to take the same care of other provinces; so that, in much less time than could have been imagined, the peace of the kingdom was restored, and the people in many places chearfully returned to their labours, who, from the injuries and ill usage they met with, had retired into *Portugal*, or taken shelter even amongst the *Moors*^o. In the midst of the summer their majesties made a tour to *Saragossa*, *Barcelona*, and *Valentia*, where they procured the Infant Don *Juan* to be received and acknowledged as their legal successor; and in this tour they regulated many things, and

Noble firmness in the restoring justice after such an interruption.

* BERNALD. CARVAJAL, EMAN. FARIA Y SOUSA.
 # HERN. DEL PULGAR, GARIBAY, FER.

¹ MARIAN.

^m GARIB. MAYERN. TURQ.

^o LUC. MARIN. SIC. MARIAN.

(C) The *Spanish* historians are not perfectly agreed as to the time and manner in which the formidable tribunal of the inquisition came to be introduced in *Spain*. *Mariana* fixes it to the year 1478, and ascribes the origin of it to the cardinal of *Spain* (6). Other writers, whom we have reason to believe more correct, assure us it was not introduced till 1480, and give a very different account of the share that cardinal *Mendoza* had in this matter; for though they agree that he acquainted their majesties with the great danger they were in from the numerous apostasies both to *Judaism* and *Mohammedism*, more especially at *Seville*, and from that freedom of conversation there was between persons of all religions, by which Christianity suffered much, chiefly from a kind of indolence and indifference which gradually corrupted men's sentiments, and brought them at length to have little or no sense of any religion at all; their majesties desired that he would think of some method for correcting this evil; and accordingly, with some other ecclesiastics, he did take some steps for this purpose (7). But his method was judged to be too slow and mild; and therefore their majesties, by the advice of other persons, ordered their ambassador at the court of *Rome* to demand of pope *Sixtus* the fourth a bull for the establishment of the inquisition. At first there were only three inquisitors named, and they had their residence in the convent of the friars preachers at *Seville*; but the number of per-

sons they arrested quickly made it necessary to provide them another kind of establishment, in consequence of which they were removed to the fortress of *Triana*, where, in their first *Auto de Fe*, which was the next year, they actually burnt seven apostates, and punished in a less severe degree several others (8). *Mariana* carries things much farther; he makes cardinal *Turquemada* the first inquisitor, and talks of putting to death two thousand, for the offences of which they were convicted before him, which there is good reason to look upon as an exaggeration. But it is however very certain, that the secrecy and severity with which they proceeded affrighted the *Jews* at *Seville* to such a degree, that great numbers of them retired into *Portugal*, and many into *Barbary*. He is right in saying *Turquemada* was the first inquisitor general; but he was not appointed so till the year 1483, upon the extension of the powers of this tribunal into many of the great cities of their majesties dominions; and very possibly it is to this time that terrible execution, of which *Mariana* speaks, is to be referred (9). Himself, and other modern writers, speak with great respect and deference of that tribunal; but it is out of all doubt, that, at the time it was first introduced, the *Spaniards* considered it, as all other nations where it is not established now do, as the most horrid invention that ever disgraced Christianity, and capable of producing as great mischiefs as those it was established to prevent.

(6) *Historia general de Espana*, lib. xxiv. *Annales de Seville*.

(7) *Zuniga, Annales de Sevilla*, Paramo, Bernaldez.

(8) *Zuniga*,

(9) *Bernaldez*, *Hernand. del Pulgar*, *Zuniga*, &c.

composed numberless feuds that had disturbed the public tranquility for many years^p. At *a* *Barcelona*, particularly, the states represented to him, that the country was very much distressed by a misfortune, for which their prudence could suggest no remedy. The deceased king *Don Juan* had made very large grants to several persons, some of them of great quality, upon a surmise that those who formerly held those lands had been guilty of treason; which those who were thus dispossessed maintained to be absolutely false, and upon this presumption disturbed the possession of such as had the king's grants, and kept the country thereby in a continual state of war. *Don Ferdinand*, having inquired into this matter, found that his father was in the wrong, and declared his willingness to restore the old families to their lands, if it was practicable. The inhabitants of the city made it so, for, by a large free gift, they enabled the king to satisfy both parties, by restoring estates, or giving such equivalents as to *b* the parties were most acceptable^q. This year, by a secret impulse, says a *Spanish* historian^r (a very strange phrase for a flagrant breach of faith!) the marquis of *Cadiz* gave beginning to the war of *Granada*, by making an irruption into the territories of the *Moors*, and carrying off a great booty, in a time of full peace (*D*); which induced the *Moors*, on the other hand, to surprize the town of *Zabara*, on the twenty-seventh of *December*, where, after putting the inhabitants in chains, they left a strong garrison.

The beginning of the war of Granada, and the incidents that rendered it general.

THERE happened a dispute between their majesties and the pope, in regard to the bishoprick of *Cuenca*, which was of great advantage to the monarchy of *Spain*. The pope had a favourite nephew, upon whom he bestowed this bishoprick, though their majesties had recommended another person; a practice contrary to the laws of *Spain*, but which, in times of *c* confusion, the popes had ventured upon with tolerable success. In the present case, the king ordered all his subjects to quit *Rome*, refused to admit a legate from the pope, and carried things so very high, that *Sixtus* the fourth was not only obliged to abandon his nephew, and to bestow the bishoprick as the king desired; but also to grant, to himself and his successors, by a bull, the right of nominating to all the archbishopricks and bishopricks in *Spain*, obliging himself and his successors to confirm them^s. A common soldier, or, as some say, a subaltern officer, whose name was *Juan de Ortega*, undertook an exploit that immediately opened the war with the *Moors*; for, going as a spy into their territories, he perceived that *Malaga* and *Albama* were without garrisons, and might be easily surprized. He reported this to the marquis of *Cadiz*, who made it his choice to attack *Albama*, a very pleasant town, seated in the *d* midst of the mountains, at the distance of somewhat more than twenty miles from *Granada*, on the banks of the *Rio Frio*; where, notwithstanding, are the finest warm baths in all *Spain*. This scheme was executed upon *Thursday* the twenty-seventh of *February*, and the fortress surprized, all who were found therein being put to the sword. The *Moors* in the town, which was one of the richest as well as pleasantest in their possession, made a very brave and obstinate defence, but at length they were forced to submit, and the place was abandoned to the pillage

^p ZURIT. & al.
BALUZ, FER.

^q GARIBAY, ZURIT. MARIAN. FER.

^r HERNANDO DEL PULGAR.

^s RAINALD,

(*D*) There was nothing the queen *Donna Isabella* had so much at heart as the expulsion of the *Moors* out of *Spain*, from the mixed principles of ambition and zeal for religion; but there was besides a personal and particular resentment towards the *Moorish* monarch who then governed *Granada*, whom the *Spanish* writers stile *Abobacen*, or *Abenbazan*, but whom the *Moorish* writers stile *Abul Hosssein* (1). In his youth he had been an able officer and a very gallant man, and during the civil wars in *Castile* had made some irruptions with success. At the time he last renewed his truce with their majesties in the year 1478, the marshal *Ferdinand Sabavedra*, being in disgrace with *Don Ferdinand* and *Donna Isabella*, had retired for his own security to *Ronda*, in the king of *Granada's* dominions, who thereupon invited him to his capital, and in his presence reviewed seven thousand horse (2). Whether this was the effects of vanity, or whether he was desirous of learning any thing from the marshal, is not very clear; but it is certain this interview was fatal to them both. The *Moorish* monarch entertained so unjust an opinion of the power of their majesties, that, upon their demanding the usual tribute paid to their predecessors at the time of his renewing the truce, which was probably a matter of form, and in-

tended only to keep alive their pretensions, he sent them word, that, in the same place where they coined money at *Granada*, they forged arms likewise to prevent its being taken from them. That inability which hindered their expressing their resentment at that time, made it pierce the deeper. As for the marshal *Sabavedra*, he no sooner returned into *Spain*, than they demanded the strong fortresses of *Tarifa*, which was in his hands, and which his relations advised him to deliver up, which was the fruit of his journey to *Granada* (3). We have no distinct lights whether the truce was expired, or not, at the time the marquis of *Cadiz* made his incursion; in resentment of which, the king of *Granada* surprized *Zabara*, instead of complaining to their majesties, or desiring to renew the truce, by which he gave them an opportunity of executing the great design they had formed of subverting that monarchy, and driving the *Moors* out of *Spain*, which they afterwards accomplished, and of which he was the first victim, being deposed by his own subjects, as the author of their misfortunes; and dying in such poverty and distress, that his body had remained unburied, if it had not been for the charity of some Christian captives, who carried it to be interred upon an ass (4).

(1) *Anton. Nebriſſ. Alonſo de Palencia, Zurita. Ferreras.*

(4) *Bernaldez, Hernando del Pulgar.*

(2) *Hernando del Pulgar.*

(3) *Anton. Nebriſſ.*

a of the Christian soldiers, who, not satisfied with an immense quantity of gold and jewels, actually proceeded to make slaves of above three thousand inhabitants^t.

THIS, as it might well, alarmed *Abul Hossain*, king of *Granada*, who immediately assembled a body of three thousand horse and forty thousand foot, with which he invested the place in the beginning of *March*, and at the same time his subjects infested the Christian territories on every side, so that the war immediately became general^u. Don *Ferdinand*, who was just returned from *Arragon*, took a resolution of relieving this new conquest; and, having ordered his forces to assemble at *Antequera* with a superior army, *Abul Hossain*, upon his approach, raised the siege^w. Don *Ferdinand*, after this, retired into his own dominions, and went to meet the queen at *Cordova*, when the king of *Granada*, with a better army than before, invested the place a second time, and was very near taking it. When the news of this came to be canvassed in their majesties councils, the queen *Donna Isabella* cut the debate short, by declaring, that *Albama* must be relieved; that she considered it as the first-fruits of their conquests, and that the time was come when the *Mohammedans* should be driven out of *Spain*. The king, agreeable to this oracle, marched with eight thousand horse and ten thousand foot, and raised the siege a second time in the month of *May*. The queen pursued her design with invincible firmness; she raised forces, she filled magazines, she equipped squadrons, that every thing might be in readiness when the operations of the war might require it. In the mean time the king, with the principal nobility, marched to besiege *Laja*, a beautiful and rich town at the bottom of the mountains, about eighteen miles from *Granada*. Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, duke of *Villa Hermosa*, assured the king, and the rest of the nobility, that this enterprize was not so easy as they imagined, and that their forces were not numerous enough to invest the place; but this advice was slighted, till, by a series of losses in a few days, they were obliged to raise the siege, and that with circumstances of dishonour as well as loss. The queen affected a deep concern for this, though, as it agreed perfectly with her design, and kept the spirit of the war in full vigour, it may be her grief was not so great as it appeared^v. The *Moors*, encouraged by this gleam of success, besieged *Albama* the third time, under the command of prince *Muley Abul Abdali*, and were again very near taking the place, when Don *Ferdinand*, with a royal army, arrived on the fourteenth of *August* in its neighbourhood, and, the *Moors* being retired, changed the garrison, and supplied all the magazines^z. This year was fatal to Don *Alonso de Carillo*, archbishop of *Toledo*, who had so much obliged and so much offended their majesties; to which see, in virtue of the bull before-mentioned, they appointed cardinal *Mendoza*. And this year likewise they discovered that *Lewis* the eleventh was endeavouring to marry his nephew the king of *Navarre* to the Infanta of *Castile*, their competitor, whom the new king of *Portugal* Don *Juan* had brought out of her convent, and had given her a palace to live in, where she was treated in a manner suitable to her birth^a. But, notwithstanding this, nothing more was done in favour of that most unfortunate princefs.

THE king Don *Ferdinand*, having sent a minister into *Italy*, to solicit the princes and states of that country to live upon good terms with each other, and to unite all their forces against the *Turk*, it was attended with so good effects, that the general tranquility was in a short time restored; upon which the pope sent to compliment their majesties, and, of his motion, granted them very large ecclesiastical supplies for their war against the *Moors*, that is, powers to levy money upon the clergy^b. The campaign in the spring was by no means favourable to the Christians. They endeavoured to penetrate through a country full of woods and rocks, with which they were little acquainted, where they suffered prodigiously during their march; and being continually exposed to the insults of their enemies, they were at length compelled to retreat with great loss^c. The young king of *Granada*, *Muly Abul Abdali* (for at this time there was a schism in that country, his father *Abul Hossain* reigning at *Malaga*, and himself in the proper capital) elevated with this success, and willing to signalize himself at the beginning of his reign by some great action, took the field with a large body of troops, and advanced without any considerable resistance as far as *Lucena*, on the frontiers of *Andalusia*: having, in this excursion, acquired a prodigious booty, he began to take measures for his retreat; which he had scarce begun, before the count de *Cabra* with a small corps of choice forces, passed *Lucena* in pursuit of them. It happened very fortunately that the day was misty, so that when they came up with the *Moors*, and charged them, their strength could not be discerned: some of the *Moors* crying out that the whole forces of *Andalusia* were falling upon them, a sudden panic seized them, and the route began almost as soon as the battle, those in the rear abandoning their booty, and shifting for themselves, without striking a stroke^d. The young

^t GARIBAY, ZURIT. FER.

MARIN. SICUL. ^u HERN. DEL PULGAR, MARIAN. MAYERN. TURQ.

NALDEZ, DAMIAN DE GOES, ED. NUÑEZ.

FER. ^v GARIBAY, MARIAN. FER.

^w LUC.

^z HERN. DEL PULGAR, ZURIT..

^a BER-

^b RAINALD, & al.

^c GARIBAY, LUC. MARIN. SICUL.

^d HERN. DEL PULGAR, &c.

king did all he could to encourage his troops, both by his words and his example, but to little a purpose, till at length, his horse being killed, he endeavoured to make his retreat on foot; but two soldiers following him, and attacking him with pikes, he was quickly overcome and taken. They were on the point of killing him for his rich arms, when some of the officers came up and rescued him out of their hands; and the nephew of the count Don *Diego de Cordova*, without knowing his quality, sent him prisoner to *Lucena*^c. As soon as the king Don *Ferdinand* arrived at the city of *Cordova*, he sent to the count of *Cabra* to bring his royal prisoner thither, which he immediately obeyed; and the *Moorish* prince made an entry into that city very magnificent, and with all the circumstances of respect that he could desire; after which, the king sent him to the fortress of *Porcuna*, where he was likewise treated with all possible lenity. The king Don *Ferdinand* made an autumn campaign with a great army, with little effect, b except burning all the flat country about *Granada*, and taking and destroying the town of *Taxara*. Upon his return to *Cordova*, a treaty was set on foot for procuring the liberty of the captive monarch; upon which the council of *Castile* were much divided, some, for various reasons, which they alleged, were for rejecting all proposals of that sort. The marquis of *Cadiz* and the count *de Cabra* were of the contrary opinion. They said, if the king was detained, the *Moors* would restore his father, and act with unanimity and vigour; whereas, if he was released, there would be a divided title, and the division of the *Moors* was the advantage of the Christians. The king referred both opinions to Donna *Isabella*, who thereupon decided in favour of the latter. By the treaty with the king's mother, the Christian princes in *Granada* were to be released, the king was to become vassal to the crown of *Castile*, to pay an annual c tribute of twelve thousand crowns, and give hostages for the due performance of them. When the terms were settled, the king of *Granada* had an audience of Don *Ferdinand*; he bent his knee as he entered the room, and a second time about the middle of it, with which the king of *Castile* was displeased. He would have knelt to him when he came up, and have kissed his hand, which is the manner of doing homage; but Don *Ferdinand* prevented it, and told him, that he had treated with him as with a king, and that he was free from every thing but the engagements he had entered into in that character. He embraced, complimented him, and, after making him magnificent presents, sent him home^e. The war, however, continued with *Abul Hosssein*, who soon after drove out his son, and obliged him to retire to *Almeria*. The marquis of *Cadiz*, by a well-conducted enterprize, recovered the town and fortress of d *Zabara*, upon which the king created him duke of *Cadiz* and marquis of that place^h, tho' the *Spanish* historians seldom stile him duke.

A great alteration in the manner of making war against the *Moors*.

THEIR majesties sent their ambassadors into *France*, to demand the restitution of the county of *Roussillon*; and that not being granted, they were to renew their alliance with *Charles* the eighth, who was just come to that crown. The new king assured them that matter should be settled by ambassadors he had sent into *Spain*, and would have persuaded them to renew the treaty; which they declined, and insisted strongly that the late monarch *Lewis* the eleventh, being convinced of their majesties right to the county in question, had actually dispatched orders for its restitution, which the regents had stopped upon his demise; and, as they refused to renew these orders, they desired leave to return home. Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Isabella* e were then in *Arragon*, where they held an assembly of the three estates at *Tarragona*, and demanded supplies for the recovery of *Roussillon*, as well as for the war of *Granada*. The king Don *Ferdinand* remaining there longer than he expected, the queen set out for *Toledo*, and the campaign of the spring was made without any event of importance. But Donna *Isabella* took care to provide every thing necessary for continuing the operations against *Granada* with effect; and laboured more especially to provide artillery, with such provisions and beasts of carriage as would enable the troops to keep the field till winter; she took care also to have a good fleet at sea, to prevent any succours that might arrive from *Barbary*; and from hence it plainly appeared, that she had in view an absolute conquest. These preparations demanded a very large expence; but she managed things with such frugality, that there was a very f considerable saving out of what had been granted for these services, which she caused to be refunded, that the people might be sensible, though she desired the crown might be supported, she was very far from intending that the people should be impoverishedⁱ. In June Don *Ferdinand* arrived at *Cordova*, attended by the cardinal of *Spain*, his brother Don *Alonso*, the marquis of *Villena*, and the flower of the *Spanish* nobility; and, having entered the enemies country, took *Alora*, *Aloyzana*, *Sentenil*, destroying all things up to the gates of *Granada*; after which, the winter drawing on, he retired to *Cordova*^k. The war was now carried on in a manner very different from what it was formerly. The operations of the campaign were

^c ZURIT. & al. ^e LUC. MARIN. SICUL. GARIBAY, ZURIT. FER. MARIAN. PULGAR, PET. MART. Hist. Angl. MAYERN. TURQ. DEL PULGAR, MAR.

^h HERN. DEL ^k HERN.

a settled by a general council of war, and the like councils were held frequently in the field; so that every step was taken with some design, the ultimate view of their operations being to facilitate the siege of *Granada*. *Abul Hosssein* was sensible of this, and sent to desire peace almost upon any terms; to which *Don Ferdinand* returned such answers, as shewed plainly enough that he would grant none¹. A. D. 1484.

THE queen *Donna Isabella* applied herself all the winter with her accustomed diligence to provide every thing that was necessary for continuing the war, and the fruits of her precaution quickly appeared. The monarch of *Fez* found himself so incommoded by the *Spanish* fleets that were cruising upon his coasts, as to judge it necessary to try whether, by an embassy, he might not procure some ease to his subjects: accordingly he sent ambassadors with rich presents and their majesties readily consented to a peace, upon his obliging himself not to give any succours to the king of *Granada*. The first enterprizes in the spring were not attended with much success; but the grand army, which assembled at *Cordova*, made a very different appearance from what it had done formerly. It consisted of twelve thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, but these were all choice troops, and a numerous train of artillery, with tents, carriages, and all other necessaries requisite for a long campaign; and their majesties saw with pleasure almost all the nobility of *Spain* ready to attend their monarch. The king's equipage was remarkably plain, and consisted but of a few persons: the king and queen took notice of this to some of the most sensible of the grandees, who immediately reduced their own. This had the desired effect, and, without the formality of the law, frugality became the fashion; and about the middle of *April* this army, the least pompous and the most formidable that had been seen in *Spain*, took the field. The true design was the siege of *Malaga*; but, before this could be made, the king found it necessary to reduce *Coin*, *Cartama*, *Ronda*, and a multitude of other places, which cost a great deal of time, treasure, and blood. The *Moors* saw their destruction was coming on, and defended themselves like brave men who were become desperate. *Don Ferdinand*, with his usual prudence, granted favourable capitulations, and executed them with great punctuality, insomuch that multitudes of the *Moors* desired leave to settle in the heart of his dominions. He caused them to be sent thither at his own expence, and gave them houses, land, and money in their pockets. There were many more who desired to be transported to *Barbary*; which was also granted, and many ships were employed in this service. Some of their captains threw the poor wretches overboard, to get possession of their effects. Their majesties, informed of this, caused a strict enquiry to be made, executed the criminals, confiscated their estates, and transmitted the produce of them to the relations of those they had murdered, in *Barbary*. At the close of the campaign the king took the castles of *Cambil* and *Albabar*, besides many more that were demolished; and tho' it was found impracticable to besiege *Malaga*, yet the reduction of seventy good towns, and a vast extent of country, rendered this campaign very glorious². The *Moors*, tired of their old king *Abul Hosssein*, deposed him, and seated his brother *Mohammed Al Zagel* upon the throne, who had before forced his nephew *Muly Abul Abdali* to fly into *Murcia*, after murdering most of his family³. There was this year an insurrection at *Saragossa* against the inquisition, and, in the tumult, the principal inquisitor was murdered, who on that account was considered as a martyr and a saint, and the people persuaded that miracles were wrought through his intercession. 1485.

THE war with *Granada* was now so famous throughout *Europe*, that several persons of high quality, and of martial disposition, repaired thither from foreign countries, to have a share in so memorable an enterprize; and amongst these was an *English* lord, to whom they give the title of earl of (E) *Elscalas*, who brought with him one hundred esquires, and a number of private men in proportion⁴. The army assembled at *Cordova* in the month of *April*, and consisted of twelve thousand horse, forty thousand foot, six thousand pioneers, two thousand carriages and waggons for the service of the artillery, and fifty thousand horses and mules for the baggage, and other services. As soon as they took the field they marched directly towards *Loja*, which was now become the seat of *Abul Abdali's* sovereignty, who, out of zeal for his religion, had concluded an agreement with *Mohammed Al Zagel*, and renounced his alliance with their majesties of *Castile*⁵. He behaved himself very bravely upon this occasion, gave the Christians great disturbance by perpetual sallies, till he was confined to his bed by his wounds, and at length capitulated upon very honourable terms, except that he became once more a vassal to *Don Ferdinand*⁶. The Christians proceeded next to besiege *Yllora*, and to block up *Mochin*, places that were requisite towards forming the new frontier; by which

¹ ZURIT. & al.MARIN. SIC. ZURIT.
DEL PULGAR.² GARIBAY, HERN. DEL PULGAR, MAR. MAYERN. TURQ. FER.³ GARIBAY, ZURIT. FER.⁴ LUC. MARIN. SICUL. MAR.⁵ LUC.
⁶ HERN.

A. D. 1486.

He, by the assistance furnished by the Christians, gains possession of Granada.

the *Moors* were to be shut up within a very small district; and, when these places were reduced, fortified, and sufficient garrisons left in them, the army proceeded once more into the plain of *Granada*, in order to burn and destroy the harvest; which in a great measure they performed, notwithstanding they met with a vigorous opposition, and that the operations of the whole campaign cost a great deal of blood. We may add to this, that the expence of the war was by this time risen so high, that it must have terminated here, at least for some years, if the queen had not found resources in the reputation she had acquired by her prudent management of the finances, which enabled her to raise the necessary supplies for the next campaign by loans from her own subjects¹.

As the war against the *Moors* became every campaign more and more serious, the nobility were very careful in recruiting their respective corps in the winter, that they might be in a condition to attend the king early in the spring; and the great diligence of their majesties in procuring and providing all things effectually, prevented their losing any time when they were once assembled. The heavy rains that had fallen prevented any excursions in the winter season; but by the five-and-twentieth of *March*, which was the time appointed, their majesties, who were at *Cordova*, assembled their army of twenty thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, with a corps of eight thousand pioneers, and other persons belonging to the artillery, and on the seventh of *April* they opened the campaign². But before we speak of the military operations of the Christian army, it will be proper to observe, that *Abul Abdali*, after the loss of *Loja*, had been obliged to retire to the frontiers of *Murcia*, where he lived under their majesties protection. At first he had a great number of adherents, who followed his fortune; but, as his funds grew low, the number of his subjects lessened, till at length he saw himself in danger of being totally abandoned; and this made him so desperate, that he resolved to hazard himself, and the few that he had left, in an attempt upon *Granada*, in which city he knew he had a strong party. As desperate as this scheme seemed to be, it was nevertheless successful; he found entrance into the city, seized a part of it, and, being supported by a strong body of horse from *Murcia*, obliged his uncle to retire³. In this situation things were, when the king *Don Ferdinand* invested *Velez*, or *Velez Malaga*, a well-built, pleasant, and strong town, seated in a plain surrounded by mountains, within little more than a mile of the *Mediterranean*. The *Moors* of *Mohammed Al Zagel's* party advised him by all means to attempt the relief of this place; the reputation of which, if he was so happy as to achieve it, would not fail to restore to him the possession of *Granada* without a blow. He assembled, with this view, a good corps of horse, and about twenty thousand foot, with which he entered the adjacent mountains, and from thence continually harassed and disturbed the Christian army; and once made a bold attempt to seize their artillery, but without effect; so that at length the place capitulated, and the greatest part of the inhabitants submitted to their Catholic majesties. It was next resolved to besiege *Malaga*, one of the strongest and best peopled places still remaining to the *Moors*; but an attempt was first made to corrupt *Hamet Zegri*, who commanded a large body of *Barbary Moors*, in the strong castle of *Gibralfaro*, which commanded the town; but *Hamet* answered, that he was hired to defend the place, and he would never betray it; and that he hoped this answer would procure him favourable treatment, in case he should be compelled to surrender, after the best defence he should be able to make⁴.

The siege and surrender of Malaga, with the wonderful consequences which attend it.

THIS city was invested completely both by land and sea on the seventh of *May*, not without very considerable loss on both sides. The Christians continued the siege with vigour for a long time, and the *Moors* defended themselves with great spirit and patience. In the mean time *Mohammed Al Zagel* collected all the troops he could, in order to afford them succours; but he had scarce marched them out of *Guadix* before they were attacked by *Muly Abul Abdali*, by whom the best part of them were cut in pieces⁵. Upon this he sent a present of several horses with rich furniture, with some pieces of cloth of gold and silk, to their Catholic majesties, advising them to be very careful in preventing any sort of provisions from being carried into the place, where famine would soon force them to yield; and assured them, that when they were masters, as some say, of *Almeria*, *Baza*, and *Guadix*, they might depend upon his putting *Granada* into their hands⁶. A desperate *Moor*, however, was very near snatching this conquest out of their hands. He came out of *Malaga* in the night, and going to the first guard of the Christian army, demanded to be carried to the marquis of *Cadiz*. When he was brought to him, he pressed to see their majesties, to whom he said he would discover the means of entering the town. The marquis did not regard him much; but those who were about him carried him to the king's quarter, and brought him to the tent of

¹ MAYERN. TURQ. & al.

MAR.
MAR.

² HERN. DEL PULGAR, GARIBAY, FER.

³ LUC. MARIN. SIC.

⁴ HERN. DEL PULGAR. GARIBAY, FER.

⁵ LUC. MARIN. SICUL, MAYERN. TURQ.

⁶ LUC. MARIN. SICUL.

- a** Donna *Beatriz de Bobadilla*, who was playing at draughts with Don *Alvaro* of *Portugal*. The *Moor*, seeing Donna *Beatriz* very richly dressed, made no doubt but she was the queen, and that the person playing with her was the king; upon which, drawing his scymitar, he discharged a blow with all his force on Don *Alvaro's* head: Donna *Beatriz* fainting and falling down, another blow, that he aimed at her, reached no farther than her sleeve; and, before he had time to strike a third, he was dispatched by those who were in the place^c. The king was asleep; but the queen, being in the next apartment, hearing the noise, came out, and was an eye-witness of this shocking scene. At length *Malaga* would have capitulated; but the king refused any other terms than surrendering at discretion, to which they were at last forced to submit, and the town was accordingly surrendered on the eighteenth of *August*^d.
- b** By this means many thousands were made slaves, some of the nobility having an hundred, others fifty, for their share, besides those that were sent as presents to the kings of *Portugal* and *Naples*^e. About the close of *September* their majesties returned to *Cordova*, and went A. D. 1487. afterwards to spend their winter at *Saragossa*.

- AFTER obtaining from the states of *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, and *Valentia*, considerable supplies, *A new scheme of making war, by creating another frontier, by conquests of several places.* their majesties went into the kingdom of *Murcia*, where the army was to assemble, and which was far from being so considerable as it had been two years before, but numerous enough for the intended operations of the campaign^f. The king began by investing *Vera*, to the inhabitants of which he offered very fair terms: the terror they were under of being treated with the same severity that the inhabitants of *Malaga* had met with, induced them to submit, and their example was followed by many of the adjacent places. *Mohammed Al Zagel*, apprehending that Don *Ferdinand* meant to besiege *Almeria*, shut himself up in it with a thousand horse and two thousand foot; which saved that place indeed, but left the rest of the country open, so that Don *Ferdinand* reduced *Huescar*, *Galera*, *Orie*, *Tijola*, *Cuellar*, *Benaumarel*, and many other places of less consequence; into which having put proper garrisons, the army marched into the plains of *Baza*, where the scene was changed; the *Moors*, instead of submitting, making a most vigorous resistance; insomuch that the army suffered great loss, and, amongst other persons of distinction, Don *Philip* of *Navarre*, natural son to Don *Carlos*, prince of *Viana*, was killed upon the spot. The king Don *Ferdinand*, judging it proper to retire, after giving the necessary directions for the security of the frontiers, returned to *Valladolid*. 1488.
- d** After his departure, *Mohammed Al Zagel* recovered several places, and laboured all that was in his power to revive the spirits of his nation, and to prevail upon them to unite firmly in defence of their religion, their country, themselves, and their posterity, though to little effect.

- It was the great prudence of the queen to observe an exact proportion between the means she employed, and the ends which she proposed from them. This appeared very conspicuously in the difference between the army assembled in this and the preceding year; the former was full seventy, the latter did not exceed twenty thousand men. The king joined them as soon as they were formed, and directed his march towards *Baza*, which, though not the greatest, was by far the strongest and best situated place in the possession of *Mohammed Al Zagel*. *The siege and reduction of Baza, and the submission of the Moor of Al Zagel.*
- e** That prince, being very sensible of this, threw into it two of the best officers he had, with three thousand horse and five thousand foot; besides, the fortifications were in perfect good order, and their magazines of all sorts well supplied. As the alcaide knew the importance of the place, and had an army rather than a garrison under his command, he defended the suburbs and the posts beyond them as long as it was possible, so that a great many men were lost before the place could be invested, or the siege formed. When these difficulties were overcome, the ground was found so uneven, and the lines of so great extent, that they could not avoid several unlucky impressions made by the vigorous sallies of the besieged, notwithstanding that the king, by posting an ambuscade, cut off five hundred *Moors* at once. The summer advancing, and the heat being very intense, the men were much dispirited, and diseases prevailed in the camp; however, a large supply arriving from the queen revived them for the present, and her majesty having caused a track to be cut through the mountains, for the mules that were laden on one side, and another for those that returned empty on the opposite side, the convoys arrived regularly¹. The grand sultan of *Egypt* having sent ambassadors to the pope, to threaten retaliation on the Christians settled in his dominions, if their majesties continued the war against *Granada*, the pope sent them to the king; upon which a great party in his council advised him to raise the siege. This he deferred till he had the queen's opinion; which being directly contrary to that advice, the ambassadors were dismissed with presents^m. But, after all, it would have been certainly
- f**

^c ANTON. NEB. & al.^d HERNANDO DEL PULG. FERRERAS.^e BERNADEZ, GARIBAY.^f ZURITA, LUC. MARIN. SICUL. MARIANA.¹ ZURITA, MARIANA, M. TURQUET, FERRERAS.¹ LUC. MARIN. SICUL. ANTON. NEBRIS.^m HERNANDO DEL PULG. PET. MARTYR ANGL.

raised, from the obstinate resistance of the *Moors*, if the queen had not gone to the camp in person with a great reinforcement. This had a double effect; it raised the spirits of the army, which were sunk to a great degree; and it made such an impression on the besieged, that the alcaide offered to capitulate^a. The king gave him as good terms for his garrison as he could desire, and still better for himself; so that he entered into his service, and undertook to negotiate with *Mohammed Al Zagel* the surrender of *Guadix* and *Almeria* without the fatigue of sieges, in which, to the great astonishment of *Moors* and Christians, he prevailed^b. In this transaction the *Moorish* prince behaved with great prudence and magnanimity. He had consented to the surrender of *Baza*, upon a representation that it was impossible to defend it longer: he knew that *Guadix* and *Almeria* were not near so tenable; and he knew also that he had no succours or assistance to expect. He made, therefore, the best terms possible for his people, but he refused to make any for himself; all the favour he desired was, that he might have the honour of presenting the keys of *Almeria* to Don *Ferdinand* in person, which was very readily granted. The king, having appointed his uncle Don *Henry Henriquez* governor of *Baza*, marched from thence with part of the army over the mountains; while the queen, with the other part, took another route. When they drew near *Almeria*, *Mohammed Al Zagel* marched out to meet them at the head of a corps of cavalry. Some of the nobility in the Christian army advanced officiously to receive him, and persuaded him, when the king was in sight, to dismount, and to present the keys on foot; for which Don *Ferdinand* reprimanded them severely, called them a parcel of ill-bred clowns, desired the *Moorish* monarch to remount his horse, and, having placed him by his side, rode with him into the city, and treated him with all possible kindness and respect. He granted the inhabitants the same terms that had been given to those at *Baza*, kept his *Christmas* there with great solemnity, and, reviewing his army on the last day of the year, found that he had lost twenty thousand men in a campaign of seven months^c. But of these the *Spanish* historians would have us believe the far greater part died of diseases.

A.D. 1489.

Another campaign against Granada, in which the whole country adjacent is destroyed.

In the beginning of the succeeding year, *Mohammed Al Zagel* put the king in possession of *Guadix*, and prevailed upon a multitude of other places to submit, particularly the country of *Alpujarros*, which otherwise from its situation it would have been very difficult, if not impracticable to reduce. The king, in return, made him a present of the best town and one of the finest districts in that country, with a promise, that if the two thousand peasants, who occupied his villages, did not pay him four millions of marvadies annually, the sum should be made up out of the royal treasury; and he farther added, that if at any time he desired to retire into *Barbary*, he should have free licence, with all his family, and have the full value of his estate given him in ready money^d. The alcaide of *Baza*, and other *Moors*, who had deserved well upon this occasion, were rewarded with like generosity^e. The next great affair that came upon the carpet was summoning *Muly Abul Abdali* to surrender *Granada*, according to his promise. His answer was, that their majesties had put it out of his power; that the number of the inhabitants were swelled to three times what they were at the time of his making that promise, by their reducing all the places round about, and they would destroy him upon the least suspicion of such a design^f. Their majesties then returned to *Seville*, where they consented to the marriage of Donna *Isabella* to the Infant Don *Juan* of *Portugal*; and, as soon as their domestic affairs would permit, Don *Ferdinand* took the field with a considerable army, with which he ravaged the plain of *Granada*, where the *Moors* gave him great opposition, and behaved very gallantly^g.

Mohammed Al Zagel desires leave to retire into Barbary, and receives it.

AMONGST those who distinguished themselves in this expedition were *Mohammed Al Zagel* and the marquis *de Villena*; the former by a stratagem surprised a very strong castle; the latter, seeing his servant attacked by six *Moorish* cavaliers, advanced alone to his assistance, killed two of them, put the other four to flight, and brought off his wounded servant, though he was himself disabled in his right arm^h. The king was recalled from this campaign by the total revolt of the *Alpujarros*, and by commotions in almost all his new conquests; so that he was forced to turn the *Moors* out of *Baza* and *Guadix*, and, with great difficulty, pacified the people in the *Alpujarros*ⁱ. Towards the close of the year, *Mohammed Al Zagel* came to him, and, having kissed his majesty's hand, desired his permission to retire to *Barbary* with such as were content to follow his fortunes. The king complied with his request, gave him a ship with a passport, and though it was very inconvenient to him, since he borrowed the money, paid him the full value of his estate^j. After his departure, he gave the government of *Alpujarros* to the marquis of *Villena*^k. Before the expiration of the year, their majesties received two mortifications; one was the recovery of several places out of their hands by *Muly Abul Abdali*, king of *Granada*; the other, that the republic of *Genoa* having

1490.

^a GARIBAY, FERRERAS, MARIANA, M. TURQUET.^b HERNANDO DEL PULG.^c LUC MARIN.

SIC. ANT. NEBRIS.

^d ZUR TA.^e LUC. MARIN. Sicul.^f FERRERAS.^g M. TURQUET.^h GARIBAY.ⁱ MARIANA.^j ZURITA.^k LUC. MARIN. Sicul.

offered

a offered to submit to them, the situation of their affairs would not allow them to receive that state under their protection².

THE queen having taken the necessary care for an ample supply of every thing the ensuing campaign might demand, the king Don *Ferdinand* took the field before the end of the month of *April* with an army of upwards of 70,000 men; and finding, that, in spite of their late chastisement, the inhabitants of the *Alpujarros* had supplied the city of *Granada* with vast quantities of provisions, he transferred the war thither, and punished them indeed very severely, but not without great loss, the king of *Granada* sending into that mountainous country a numerous corps of troops³. He next sacked all the plain of *Granada*, and completely invested the place, in which there were not fewer at this time than one hundred thousand souls. The queen Donna *Isabella* repaired to the camp, with the rest of the royal family, and were very conveniently lodged in the tent of the marquis of *Cadiz*, which stood next to the king's^b. One night the queen complaining to one of her maids, that the candle offended her eyes, and hindered her from sleeping, she removed it into a corner, and both of them falling asleep, the tent took fire, by which the lives of the whole royal family were endangered, and the camp thrown into the utmost confusion. The king, half-naked, mounted on horseback, and having collected a great body of cavalry, posted them in the avenues leading from the city, and so covered the camp till the fire could be extinguished^c. The queen reflecting upon this accident, and resolving to prevent the like for the future, formed a very extraordinary project. She caused, in a convenient place, two long and broad streets to be drawn in the form of a cross, and as there were great quarries in the neighbourhood, the pioneers quickly constructed low but very convenient houses of stone. As soon as the army comprehended the queen's design, they assisted in it so cheerfully, that there quickly appeared a regular and very considerable town, to which they would have given the name of *Isabella*; but the queen expressly commanded it should be called *Santa Fé*, that is, *Holy Faith*; and it has been since honoured with the name of a city^d.

THE construction of this place, if it did not occasion, at least it accelerated, the reduction of *Granada*; for the court and the principal nobility being perfectly well lodged, provisions of all sorts were brought in great abundance to the new town, while famine raged in the city^e. One must be void of humanity not to feel for these unhappy people, who perceiving plainly, by this disposition of things, that they had nothing to hope, abandoned themselves to all the frantic expressions of despair, sometimes crowding their mosques, and, with loud exclamations, imploring the assistance of their prophet; at others running in troops to the burial-places of their ancestors, weeping and lamenting over their tombs, and regretting that a fate worse than death was appointed for themselves. Sometimes flocking about the *Alhambra*, or palace, they loaded their king with execrations, and imputed to him a calamity of which none had so deep a sense as himself; at others rushing out upon the Christians with a fury that took from them the sense of danger, and the capacity of avoiding it. At last, like wild beasts in the toil, they sunk, through very weariness, into a kind of calm, of which their chiefs taking advantage, proposed, and obtained their consent, to make the best capitulation they could; which, after some time spent in negotiation, was at length signed by the plenipotentiaries on both sides, on the 25th of *November*^f (F). It was no sooner signed, and the hostages given, than the people repented, and mutinied. Their king, who suspected this, had fortified him-

At length the capital of Granada is invested and besieged by their majesties.

After a tedious siege and gallant defence, the king and people capitulate.

² ZURITA. ³ FERRERAS. ^b ANTON. NEBRISS. ^c HERNANDO DEL PULG. ^d Les Delices d'Espagne, p. 512. ^e HERNANDO DEL PULG. ^f ZURITA.

(F) The kingdom of *Granada* was already shrunk within the walls of that city, which had formerly occupied a large proportion of the south of *Spain*, and was for a time the most flourishing of all its numerous principalities, as having under its jurisdiction thirty-two cities and ninety-seven walled towns, exclusive of innumerable villages, the inhabitants of which paid an annual tribute of 700,000 crowns in gold. In its most flourishing state, the city itself contained upwards of 60,000 houses, and 400,000 inhabitants (1). In the low condition to which it was then fallen, it was still formidable; and therefore their majesties very prudently granted easy and moderate terms, that they might once gain possession of this last fortress of the *Moors*, knowing well that time and accident, the passage once opened, would accomplish all their purposes (2). The substance then of the capitulation was (3), that the king and commons of *Granada* should deliver that city, with all its gates, fortresses, towers, and other dependencies, with the arms and captives then in their possession, on

the 6th of *January*; the inhabitants to continue in possession of their houses, goods, and inheritances, and to preserve the free exercise of their religion, with permission to live under their own laws, and to have their differences decided by their own judges; those who were desirous of retiring to *Barbary*, were to have passports for that purpose, with free licence to dispose of their effects, or, if they made it their choice, to carry them with them. As to the king, he was to have an ample seignory in the *Alpujarros*, and a certain number of vassals; but if this should not prove satisfactory, he might also demand leave to pass into *Africa*, and likewise receive the value of the territory which he left behind him. The *Jews* were absolutely excluded from this capitulation, because their majesties were determined to have the houses they occupied for Christian inhabitants, and the *Moors* had no such affection for them as to insist upon their being comprehended; tho', as the reader will see in the text, it would have been of little consequence if they had.

(1) *Mariana, Bermudez, Colmenares, Delices de l'Espagne.*

(2) *Hernando del Pulgar, Anton. Nebriſſ. Luc-*

Marin, Sicul. (3) *Antigüedad y Excelencias de Granada, por Franc. Bermudez de Pedraza,*

self so strongly in the *Alhambra*, or palace, that he could not be forced; and having given a notice to Don *Ferdinand* of his situation, his majesty immediately sent a letter, directed to the people, in which he told them, that if they did not disperse, and behave themselves quietly, the four hundred hostages they had given should be instantly put to the sword, the provisions they received daily with-held, and themselves sold for slaves, as the people had been at *Malaga*; and upon this, and the persuasions of their king, they retired dejectedly to those which they still called their houses^b. However, to prevent any thing of the like nature, the king gave their majesties notice, that, instead of the 6th of *January*, fixed by the capitulation, he would deliver up the place on the second^a. This year the Infanta Donna *Isabella* returned a widow from *Portugal*, her husband the prince Don *Juan* dying of a fall from his horse in the sports celebrated on occasion of their wedding, to the inexpressible sorrow of both courts^c. Their majesties also concluded an alliance with the emperor *Maximilian*, and a treaty of marriage for their daughter *Joanna* with the archduke *Philip*, and another alliance with king *Henry VII.* of *England*, and a like treaty of marriage between *Arthur* prince of *Wales* and the Infanta Donna *Catalina*, or *Catharine*; both which important transactions passed in the new town of *Santa Fé*, to the inexpressible satisfaction of their catholic majesties, who, about this time, understanding that the president and counsellors of the chancery at *Valladolid* had admitted an appeal in a temporal cause to the court of *Rome*, dismissed them all from their employments^d.

The king Don Ferdinand in great danger of being assassinated.

ON the second of *January*, pursuant to his own proposition, the king of *Granada* disposed all things for delivering up that capital to their catholic majesties, who, on their parts, gave the necessary orders for taking possession of it, with all the precautions, as well as all the solemnity possible. For this purpose, the count *de Tendilla*, with cardinal *Mendoza* and Don *Gutierrez de Cardenas*, were sent with a strong body of troops into the city, to take possession of the *Alhambra*, where they first elevated the banner of the cross upon the principal tower, and then the standard of the king and *St. James* on the other two; after which their majesties entered the place, and received the submission of the inhabitants^e. Thus *Granada* returned into the possession of the Christians, after it had been held by the *Moors* 779 years, two months, and nine days. As for the unfortunate monarch of the *Moors*, he retired to *Pulchena* in the *Alpujarros*, where the king gave him a very considerable estate^f. While their majesties resided at *Granada*, they published an edict, requiring all the *Jews*, who were not disposed to embrace the Christian faith, to quit their dominions in six months; and notwithstanding all possible methods were used by that unfortunate nation to prevent the execution of this law, they were obliged to quit *Spain* at the time^g. *Mariana* has carried the calculation of those who retired into foreign countries to 800,000 souls^h. Those who speak with greater moderation fix them at thirty thousand familiesⁱ; and it is said, that they carried with them immense riches, of a great part of which they were plundered in the countries to which they retired. Politicians are much divided in their sentiments upon this measure. At this juncture, *Christopher Columbus*, after many difficulties and unwearied applications, signed the contract with the queen Donna *Isabella*, in the city of *Santa Fé*, on the 17th of *April*, for the discovery of new countries, which he accomplished with so much glory to himself, and with such advantages to the crown^j of *Castile*, the whole expence of his armament amounting to no more than 17,000 ducats; for obtaining which sum the queen would have pledged her jewels, if the comptroller of her household had not advanced it without taking any such security. On the death of pope *Innocent VIII.* who had solemnized with great magnificence at *Rome* the reduction of *Granada*, the famous Don *Rodrigo Borgia*, who was a native of *Valentia*, ascended the pontifical throne, and assumed the name of *Alexander* the Sixth^k. In the autumn their majesties made a tour into *Arragon*, and from thence into *Catalonia*, where, in the city of *Barcelona*, Don *Ferdinand* ran an unexpected and imminent danger of losing his life; for having, according to his custom, given a long audience to all who desired it, on Friday the seventh of *December*, as he was passing down the stairs from his apartment, an idiot, whose name was *Juan de Canamares*, attempted to stab him with a knife over the shoulder, but luckily cut only his ear, and penetrated a little way into his chest. Those who were about the king would have dispatched him; but he prevented it; and understanding the truth, that the poor creature fancied he should succeed him in the throne, he added to the sentence passed upon him, importing that his body should be torn to pieces with pincers and then burnt to ashes, that he should first be strangled^l.

Charles VIII. of France obliged to restore

CHARLES VIII. of *France*, having in view the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*, where the people were excessively discontented, was inclined to cut short the negotiation that had been for some time depending with the crown of *Spain*, and to promise at least the restitution

^a LUC. MARIN. Sicul. of Henry VII.

^b HERNANDO DEL PULGAR.

^c MARIANA.

^d Lord BACON's History

^e Id. ibid.

^f MARIANA.

^g ZURITA.

^h GARIBAY.

ⁱ Historia General de Espana.

^j ZURITA.

^k MARIANA.

^l ZURITA.

- a of the counties of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne*; and upon this a treaty was signed and sworn to on the 19th of *January*^c. The monarch, however, had no real intention to restore these territories, but endeavoured all he could to frustrate and elude the engagements he had taken; but when *Don Ferdinand* began to assemble troops on the frontiers, and shewed a resolution to attempt the recovery of them by force, *Charles* thought fit to deliver them up; so that their majesties had the satisfaction of entering *Perpignan* in splendor, which had been withheld from them many years^d. The duke of *Cadiz* having breathed his last in the preceding year, their majesties thought it more expedient to give the title of duke of *Arcos* to his son *Don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon*, together with a certain number of vassals, and an annual pension, than to suffer the port and island of *Cadiz* to remain in the hands of that or any other family^e.
- b From the same principle the king *Don Ferdinand* prevailed upon the pope to fortify his title to the new discovered countries as far as was in his power, and, in virtue of his own, united to the crown the grand masterships of several military orders, which was a seasonable and important acquisition^f. The nobility and commons of the kingdom of *Naples* sent over deputies to propose to the king the uniting that to his other crowns; and they were very desirous of remaining under the dominion of the house of *Arragon*; declaring, that they were quite tired of their present monarch, and had no hopes at all of his son; but the king, having heard patiently all they had to say, told them, that the ties of blood restrained him from attempting any thing to the prejudice of their sovereign, even supposing it might be done with justice; and that wherever they applied, they might possibly find a change of masters, without any alteration of circumstances^g. *Muly Abul Abdali*, unable to remain a private man, and as unable to attempt any thing with success against their catholic majesties, resolved to retire into *Barbary*; and the king not only permitted him freely to transport himself and his family, but paid him also the full value of his estate in ready money^h. A. D. 1493.

THE king *Don Alonso* of *Naples*, who had lately succeeded his father *Don Ferdinand*, demanded and received assurances of succour from the king *Don Ferdinand*, in case he was attacked. The last-mentioned monarch having received ambassadors from the king of *France*, to desire that he would grant some ports in the island of *Sicily*, for the war he intended to make against the *Turks*, and for asserting his right to the crown of *Naples*, *Don Ferdinand* promised to send an answer by ministers of his own. He did so, and suggested to him, that the war against *Naples* was very unjust, as being grounded on a very indifferent title bequeathed to him, and not to punish any insult against himself, or to assert any claim either of his own or from his ancestors; and that he would find, whatever it might be in the beginning, this war would prove fatal in its progress, and ruinous in its consequences. But notwithstanding these remonstrances were supported by some of the ablest ministers in *France*, *Charles* would not desist from his expedition; upon which *Don Ferdinand* made the necessary dispositions for assisting his alliesⁱ. About this time, perceiving that, from a spirit of ease and luxury, the nobility began to leave off the use of horses, and ride mostly upon mules, he forbid the use of those creatures for the saddle by any, except ecclesiastics and women, under very severe penalties; otherwise the valuable breed of horses in *Spain* had been very near lost^j. 1494.

THE king of *France* having made a public entry into *Rome*, and obliged the pope to submit to him, *Don Antonio de Fonseca*, ambassador from their catholic majesties, presented to him their letter; upon which he promised to give him an audience at *Veletri*^k. There, in a very full assembly of the princes and nobility, *Fonseca* declared to him, in the name of *Don Ferdinand*, that having reserved to himself, in the peace of *Roussillon*, the right of taking up arms, in case the dominions of the church were attacked, and knowing nothing at that time of any claim pretended by him to the crown of *Naples*, he looked upon himself as absolved from all engagements, and would not fail to repel his unjust pretensions by force of arms; and, to convince the *French* king that his master was in earnest, he pulled that treaty out of his bosom, and tore it before his face; for which some of the *French* lords would have killed him, but the king prevented it^l. *Don Alonso* of *Naples*, perceiving that a strong spirit of disaffection prevailed amongst his subjects, who, at the same time, pretended to have a high esteem for his son the duke of *Calabria*, resigned the crown to him, and retired into *Sicily*^m. This did not prevent the reduction of the best part of the kingdom by the *French*; but, while they pushed their conquests, *Don Ferdinand* negotiated a league, and formed such an army behind them, under the command of the marquis of *Mantua*, as obliged them to a precipitate and hazardous retreatⁿ. He likewise sent over to *Naples* the famous *Don Gonzales de Cordova*, with a good fleet and a strong

^c M. TURQUET.^d MARIANA.^e LUC. MARIN. Sicul.^f RAINALD.^g ZURITA.^h MARIANA.ⁱ ZURITA.^j MARIANA.^k HERN. DEL PULGAR.^l ZURITA.^m Idem.ⁿ ANT. NEBRISS.

body of forces, with which, though unable to meet the *French* army in the field, yet, being bred in the *Moorish* way of fighting, he made use of so many stratagems, and laid so many ambuscades, that the *French* were afraid to stir out of their garrisons². The king went in person into *Arragon*, in order to obtain the necessary supplies for attacking *France* through *Biscay* and *Roussillon*³. This year proved fatal to cardinal *Mendoza* archbishop of *Toledo*, who was succeeded by father *Francis Ximenes*, who will make a great figure in the future part of this history; and, towards the close of the year, died Don *Alonso* king of *Naples*⁴.

A. D. 1495.

The double marriages between the archduke Philip and the Infanta Donna Joanna, and the Infant Don Juan and the princess Margaret.

THE war with *France* on the side of *Roussillon* continued, though the operations of it were not very remarkable. However, Don *Gonzales de Cordova* having expelled the *French* out of the kingdom of *Naples*, and thereby acquired the glorious title of *The Great Captain*, induced *Charles VIII.* to propose a suspension of arms to Don *Ferdinand*, which was readily accepted⁵. The reciprocal marriages, which had been some years before proposed to their catholic majesties, now took place; and the Infanta Donna *Joanna* was sent on board a strong squadron into *Flanders*, to espouse the archduke *Philip*; which squadron was to return with the archduchess *Margaret*, who was to espouse Don *Juan* prince of *Asturias*⁶; and the other marriage was also perfected between *Arthur* prince of *Wales* and the princess *Catharine*; but it was agreed that the consummation of the marriage should be put off till his royal highness had attained the age of fourteen⁷. On the seventh of *October* died Don *Ferdinand II.* king of *Naples*, who was succeeded in the throne by his uncle Don *Frederic*; and that prince immediately demanded the assistance of Don *Ferdinand*, assuring him that his dominions and his person should be always at his devotion; with which the king was extremely pleased⁸. About two months before Don *Ferdinand* died, Donna *Joanna*, the widow of Don *Juan* the second, king of *Castile*, and the mother of queen *Isabella*, likewise departed this life, in a very advanced age, after having been subject for many years to great infirmities⁹. At this time, as *Zurita* assures us, pope *Alexander VI.* bestowed the title of *Catholic* upon Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Isabella*, though the *Spanish* writers make no scruple of bestowing on them this appellation throughout their whole reign¹⁰. The king Don *Ferdinand*, notwithstanding the *French* had taken some advantages upon the expiration of the last truce, which he found himself in a condition to have made them repent, yet, at their motion, the king thought it more convenient for his affairs to suffer a new suspension of arms to take place, which might afford him an opportunity of taking the proper measures to bring the great designs he had formed in his own mind to bear; yet he was not so much taken up with these political meditations as not to have his eyes open to all that happened in the countries adjacent, or not to improve any event that might be turned to his advantage. An instance of this appeared in *Africa*, where the kings of *Fez* and *Tremecen*, after a long war for the acquisition of the city of *Melilla*, which had extremely weakened both their forces, at length agreed that it should be, with all its district, left uninhabited, and serve in that respect as a common boundary to both their territories. The king Don *Ferdinand* had no sooner intelligence of this, than he sent orders to the duke of *Medina Sidonia* to use the utmost secrecy and dispatch in surprising that place; which commission, notwithstanding the difficulties that attended it, he executed with so much spirit and address, that, landing 5000 men, he took possession of the place, and, having put it in a state of defence, took such effectual measures for repeopling it, that it was in a very little time out of all danger of being recovered by the *Infidels*¹¹.

1496.

Death of the Infant Don Juan, and marriage of the Infanta Donna Isabella.

THE pleasure which the king received from hence was in some measure, however, qualified, by the news of a dispute that had happened between the garrison and the inhabitants of *Perpignan*, in composing of which the governor Don *Henry Henriquez* received a blow upon the temples, of which he immediately died upon the spot¹². As to the family-affairs of their catholic majesties, they suffered, in the compass of this year, very considerable alterations, and such as might have affected them alternately with the warmest sensations of pleasure, and with the deepest anxiety and regret. The return of their fleet from *Flanders* brought the princess *Margaret* of *Austria* into *Spain*, who was conducted in great ceremony to *Burgos*, where their catholic majesties then were, in order to her marriage with the prince of *Asturias*, and where, on the 4th of *April*, they received the nuptial benediction from the hands of the archbishop of *Toledo*, which filled the court with joy¹³. The king of *Portugal* not long after discovered the reason of his declining to accept the Infanta Donna *Maria*, with which their majesties were somewhat offended, by demanding the Infanta Donna *Isabella*, who, during her widowhood, had passed her time in acts of piety and devotion. Their majesties readily yielded to his request; but it was with some difficulty that the Infanta could be brought to hear of a second marriage. At length, however, the treaty was concluded, and the king and queen conducted

² LUC. MARIN. Sicul.³ FERRERAS.⁴ Hist. du Cardinal Ximenes, par M. ESPRIT FLECHIER.

Eveque de Nismes.

⁵ GARIBAY.⁶ ZURITA.⁷ Lord BACON's History of Henry VII.⁸ MARIANA.⁹ ZURITA.¹⁰ Annal. Arragon.¹¹ HERN. DEL PULGAR.¹² ZURITA.¹³ PET. MART. Angl.

her

a her towards the frontiers^a; but, before the marriage was concluded, they received advice that the prince Don Juan was fallen ill at *Salamanca*, to which city the king his father returned, in whose arms that hopeful prince expired on the 4th of *October*^w. His death being concealed from Donna *Isabella*, the marriage was celebrated between the king of *Portugal* and the Infanta. Those who pretend to penetrate the decrees of Providence have suggested, that Don *Ferdinand* received this severe stroke at the very time that he had formed that unjust project of dividing the dominions of the king of *Naples* with the king of *France*. Whatever truth there may be in this conjecture, certain it is, that the princess dowager of *Asturias*, being left big with child, miscarried soon after of a daughter, by which all the remaining hopes they had of that marriage were totally extinguished^x. A. D. 1497.

b In the succeeding year the king and queen of *Portugal* made a visit to their parents at *Toledo*, where they were entertained with equal affection and magnificence, and received the homage of the states of *Castile*; after which they proceeded to *Saragossa*, and were in like manner acknowledged by the states of *Arragon*^y. If this, in some measure, consoled their catholic majesties for the death of their only son, their satisfaction lasted not long; for, on the 23d of *August*, the young queen, being brought to bed of a son at *Saragossa*, expired an hour after^z. This year the king concluded a peace with *Lewis XII.* soon after his accession to the throne of *France*². He likewise sent, in conjunction with his son-in-law the king of *Portugal*, ambassadors to *Rome*, to admonish the pope of his duty, to require him to mind his family less and his pontifical dignity more; but the motives to, and the consequences of, this extraordinary proceeding, will appear in their proper place, when we come to speak of that pontif, and his scandalous administration^b. The death of that princess, then queen of Portugal, on a visit to her parents. 1498.

The first care of their catholic majesties was to cause the young prince Don *Michael* to be acknowledged heir of *Castile*; and the like care was taken in *Portugal*^c. About this time it was that king *Ferdinand* concluded with *Lewis XII.* a secret treaty for the division of the kingdom of *Naples* between them; the motives to which are not clearly expressed by any of the *Spanish* historians. What they deliver upon this subject, may be reduced to this; that Don *Frederic* had refused to marry his son to the princess *Joanna*, his catholic majesty's niece; and that having made overtures of an alliance to the king of *France*, he had transmitted to him Don *Ferdinand's* letters, which the latter could not forgive. The former conjecture seems to be in some measure confirmed by the return of the queen-dowager Donna *Joanna* of *Naples*, with her daughter, into *Spain*, where the king appointed them the city of *Valentia* for their residence, with an establishment suitable to their rank and near relation to him^d. Their majesties being informed, during their residence in the kingdom of *Granada*, that the greatest part of the inhabitants held secret intelligence with their countrymen in *Barbary*, invited them to make descents upon the coast, favoured them in these predatory expeditions, and shared with them in the booty; upon which it was thought a necessary resolution to oblige these people to embrace the Christian religion, or to embark for *Africa*. The archbishops of *Toledo* and *Granada* were charged with the execution of this project, in which they both laboured with equal diligence, though by very different methods. The primate had a high and hasty spirit, though with very great abilities; the other prelate, not at all inferior to him in the last-mentioned quality, was remarkably mild and gentle, applying himself chiefly to the conversion of the more learned among the *Mohammedans*, upon whom he made great impressions by the strength of his arguments and the smoothness of his conduct. Between both, and by the assistance of the civil arm, the people in general were converted, or said to be converted; insomuch that on the 18th of *December* the principal mosque was consecrated, and turned into a Christian cathedral^e. General conversion of the Moors in the new conquests by the archbishops of Toledo and Granada. 1499.

f THE next year it plainly appeared, that these sentiments were not so general or sincere as they had been represented; for the greatest part of the inhabitants of the *Alpujarros* threw off the *Spanish* yoke, and sent agents into *Barbary* to demand the assistance of their countrymen, in support of a war grounded solely upon religion; but, before they had time to bring their affairs into any tolerable order, the king Don *Ferdinand* arrived at *Granada*, and, marching from thence with a formidable army, quickly reduced these unhappy people, notwithstanding the natural strength of that country which they inhabited; so that, on the 8th of *March*, they made a solemn submission, consented to pay the sum of 50,000 ducats, by way of fine, for their late insurrection, and to give thirty-two hostages for their future obedience^f. The king Don *Frederic* of *Naples*, having some intelligence of the storm that was ready to burst upon himself and his dominions, addressed himself with great humility to Don *Ferdinand*, offered to conclude the marriage which he had before refused, and to put his dominions under his protection; This appears to be but insincere, from a general insurrection. 1499.

^a BERNALDEZ. ^w PET. MART. Angl. Angl. ^x ZURITA. ^b MARIANA. Mart. Angl. ^y FERRERAS.

^z ZURITA. ^c GARIBAY.

² PET. MART. ^d HERN. DEL PULGAR. ^e PET.

tection; to which the king, for reasons that will hereafter appear, returned only general answers^a. In the month of *May*, the *Great Captain*, with a strong fleet, failed to *Sicily*, under pretence of defending that island from the *Turks*, but in reality to execute the treaty of partition concluded with the crown of *France*; towards which, even in the compass of this year, he made no inconsiderable progress^b. The archduchess *Donna Joanna* being delivered on the 24th of *February* of a son, who was baptized by the name of *Charles*, in respect to the memory of the duke of *Burgundy*, his grandfather, the news was received with great joy in *Spain*^c, where, on the 20th of *July*, the young prince *Don Michael* breathed his last; which did not hinder the conclusion of the marriage of *Don Manuel* king of *Portugal* with the Infanta *Donna Maria*, who was offered him, the sister of his former wife, and aunt to the young prince whose death we have just mentioned^d.

Another revolt in those parts much more dangerous and troublesome than the former.

THE disturbances that had hitherto happened in the new conquests were of little consequence in comparison of those that broke out this year, either from the chagrin and obstinacy of the *Moors*, or from the avarice and severity of those appointed to govern them. The places that revolted were chiefly castles in the mountains, where the people depended partly on the advantages arising from their situation, and partly on the strength of those forts. As to the latter, they were quickly convinced of their error, by their being almost as quickly reduced as they were invested. However, they began to entertain strong prejudices in favour of the former, from several advantages they gained over the Christian troops, and particularly one in which *Don Alonso de Aguilar* was cut to pieces, and with him almost all the detachment he commanded^e. To repair these mischiefs, the king *Don Ferdinand* gave orders for disposing his troops in such a manner, that all intercourse with the people in the *Alpujarros* was rendered impracticable. He then marched against them in person with a formidable army, and opened the passages as he went, so as to render the entrance of troops into it much more easy than before. This took from the *Moors* all courage; and therefore they offered to submit, if the king would permit them to retire into *Barbary*. A great part of the council thought this dishonourable, considering them as just objects of the king's resentment; but those, upon whom the king chiefly relied, insisted that the true point of honour was to accomplish his design, and to do it in the speediest and safest manner. The king, therefore, consented to their demand, provided they paid him ten pistoles a family; and, by this expedient, he raised 60,000 pistoles, which was a great sum in those days, and got quit of at least as many people, who never would have been quiet^f. This year the pope gave his consent to the treaty of partition, by which *Lewis XII.* of *France* was to have *Naples* and *Abruzzo*, with the title of king, and *Don Ferdinand* the two *Calabrias*, with the country of *Apulia*^g. The *Great Captain* soon put him in possession of his share, and the unfortunate *Don Frederic* king of *Naples* made it his choice to retire into *France*, there to expect a subsistence from the generosity of that prince who had despoiled him of the other half of his dominions^h. On the 21st of *August*, the princess *Catharine* embarked for *England*; but, meeting with a violent storm, was forced to put back, and did not sail again till the 21st of *September*ⁱ. *Donna Isabella*, by the advice of *Ximenes* archbishop of *Toledo*, engaged, or rather obliged, *Don Ferdinand* to concur with her in a solemn invitation of the archduke *Philip* and the princess *Joanna* to come into *Spain*, in order to be acknowledged the legal successors of their dominions; a thing she had just reason to desire; but the king, who was sixteen years younger, had other notions in his head, which rendered this expedient not very acceptable; but as those objections could not be avowed, he complied with her request, and prudently concealed them^j.

1501.

Archduke Philip and Donna Joanna acknowledged successors by the states of Castile.

AMONGST other things, their catholic majesties were extremely careful in recovering to the crown those places which, through the easiness of their predecessors, had been granted from it, and which it was not either honourable or safe to leave in the hands of subjects. The important fortress and port of *Gibraltar* was very justly esteemed of this number; and therefore their majesties, by giving, no doubt, a proper equivalent, obtained it from the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, by whose ancestor it was retaken, and annexed it to the crown^k. The archduke *Philip*, and the princess *Joanna*, his consort, arrived in *Spain*, having travelled through *France* pretty early in the year; but as many precautions were necessary in an affair of so delicate a nature, it was the 21st of *May* before they received the oaths of the states of *Castile* in the cathedral church of *Toledo*; and it was the latter end of *September* before the like ceremony was performed at *Saragossa*, where the states of *Aragon* swore to them conditionally, in case the king *Don Ferdinand* left no heirs male^l. Affairs in *Italy* were still in a critical situation: the *French* monarch sent an ambassador to complain of the ill usage his subjects had received from the *Grand Captain*. *Don Ferdinand* answered, like a great politician, that he was very desirous, if possible, of being upon good terms with his brother of *France*;

^a HERN. DEL PULG. ^b FERRERAS. ^c PET. MART. ANGL. ^d BERNALDEZ. ^e ZURITA. ^f FERRERAS. ^g LUC. MARIN. SICUL. ^h ZURITA. ⁱ MARIANA. ^j GARIBAY. ^k PULGAR. ^l Idem.

a and therefore, if he thought the treaty of partition unequal, he would accept his share, or he would leave the points in dispute to arbitrators, or even to the decision of a certain number of learned persons, who should be appointed judges to hear and determine all disputes; but, notwithstanding this seemingly pacific disposition, the war continued in *Italy*, where the *Spaniards* under the *Grand Captain* encroached daily upon the *French*.

THE war breaking out also between the emperor and *France*, put the archduke *Philip* upon returning into his own dominions, for the safety of which he was very apprehensive. It was in vain that *Don Ferdinand* hinted to him, that this sudden return was what he did not expect, after the pains that had been taken to secure to him the succession of so many kingdoms; in vain the queen, who was but just recovered from a dangerous illness, represented that his quitting *Spain* would have bad effects upon a nation by no means inclined to submit to foreigners; in vain the Infanta *Donna Joanna* put him in mind that she was big with child, and that the depth of winter was a very improper season for travelling. The archduke persisted in his first resolution, nor would he be diverted from going through *France*; and accordingly set out from *Madrid* the 19th of *December*, leaving the people displeased, their majesties amazed, and his consort inconsolable^u. This year also the princess *Catharine*, who had espoused *Arthur* prince of *Wales*, became a widow, and, by consent of their majesties, was afterwards married to his younger brother *Henry*, and became afterwards queen of *England*, and mother of another queen^w. This year also died at *Rome* *Andrew Paleologus*, despot of the *Morca*, and the nephew of the last emperor of *Constantinople*, who, by his last will and testament, dated the sixth of *April*, transferred all his claims to their majesties, and their successors^x.

As soon as the archduke *Philip* could procure a passport for that purpose, he went to *Lyons*, in order to have an interview with the *French* king, with whom he entered into a negotiation; of which *Don Ferdinand* having intelligence, he sent father *Bernard Boyle* to admonish him not to depart from the instructions which he had given him; notwithstanding which, he signed such an accommodation as he judged expedient; of which his father-in-law being apprehensive, he dispatched an order to the *Grand Captain* in *Italy* to pay no obedience to any commands he received but from himself; and, as soon as he was informed of it, disavowed the treaty; which so irritated king *Lewis*, that he not only invaded *Roussillon*, but attempted to penetrate into *Arragon*, though with no great success; whereas *Don Ferdinand*, having obliged him to raise the siege of *Salces*, carried the horrors of war into *France*, and compelled *Lewis* to demand a truce for a few months; to which he consented^y. The war still continued in *Italy* with various success; but, upon the whole, was favourable to the *Spaniards*, the king taking care to send, from time to time, great supplies and strong reinforcements by sea. On the 10th of *March*, the princess *Donna Joanna* was delivered at *Alcala* of a son, whom the archbishop of *Toledo* baptized by the name of *Ferdinand*^z; and, in this lying in, it is believed that the Infanta, by some accident, had her understanding impaired; at least soon after she gave very visible marks of an alienation of mind, from which she could never be recovered.

IN the beginning of the succeeding year, it was found absolutely necessary to send the Infanta *Donna Joanna* to her husband in *Flanders*, as her malady chiefly arose from her excessive passion for the archduke^a. A truce was likewise concluded in the spring with his most Christian majesty. On *Good Friday*, the 5th of *April*, there was a terrible earthquake, which was felt through the greatest part of *Spain*, and which the common people esteemed ominous, more especially as both their majesties fell dangerously ill^b. However, the king recovered; but the profound melancholy of the queen strengthened her disease. The loss of her son *Don Juan* first seized her spirits; the misfortunes of the Infanta *Donna Isabella* increased her affliction; and her sense of the Infanta *Donna Joanna*'s incapacity, and the apprehension she was under as to its consequences, rendered the load of her cares too heavy for her to support. By her testament she called her daughter to the succession, and, after her, the prince *Don Carlos*; but appointed her husband *Don Ferdinand* regent of the kingdom till her grandson should attain the age of twenty; directing her body to be interred at *Granada*, and forbidding any public mourning upon her demise. In this disposition of mind, universally bewailed and regretted, died this great queen, on the 26th of *November* 1504^c, about half an hour before noon; and as soon as a scaffold could be erected in the square of *Medina del Campo*, where she died, the king caused the archduchess *Joanna* to be proclaimed with the usual solemnities^d. The *Great Captain* was now in a manner the peaceable possessor of the kingdom of *Naples*; and as, in the achieving and maintaining that conquest, he had been obliged to take some extraordinary steps, there wanted not those who

^a ANTON. NEBRISS.^u PET. MART. ANG.^w LORD BACON'S History of Henry VII.^x PET.

MART. ANGL.

^y PULGAR.^z ZURITA.^a MARIANA.^b M. TURQUET.^c FERRERAS.^d ZURITA.

did him ill offices with the king Don *Ferdinand*, which induced that monarch to restrain his authority; and as, upon the death of the queen, he might have found means to have retorted this ill usage, the king was not altogether free from apprehension; but Don *Gonzales* quickly convinced him, by his steady attachment, that all which had been reported to his prejudice was but calumny ^c.

Jealousies and uneasinesses arise between Ferdinand and the archduke.

THE affairs of both courts, and the councils of both kings, were in a short time equally embarrassed. Don *Ferdinand* found that the greatest part of the nobility were by no means satisfied with his regency, but were rather desirous of having their young king *Philip*, who, they flattered themselves, would be more tractable, and who, they were sure, would be less capable of managing public affairs. The duke of *Najara*, and the famous Don *Diego de Pacheco*, marquis of *Villena*, were at the head of the malecontents, and they sent Don *Juan Manuel* into *Flanders*, to fill the mind of their new master with such notions as might best answer their purpose ^f. On the side of his catholic majesty were the constable and the admiral of *Castile*, Don *Bernard Mendoza*, and, above all, the archbishop of *Toledo* and the duke of *Alva*, who adhered to him steadily, when visibly abandoned by all others, and seemingly by his good-fortune ^g. The archduke, king of *Castile*, had conceived very high prejudices against his father-in-law, and affected to treat the queen's testament as a supposititious piece, and as invalid, if it was not so; neither did he make any scruple of declaring that no throne could admit of two kings; and that he meant to maintain his right to govern without an associate, to those who had sworn to his succession ^h. An accident happened, which provoked him to carry things still farther: one of his catholic majesty's ambassadors had prevailed upon queen *Joanna* to corroborate her mother's act, by sending Don *Ferdinand* full power to govern *Castile*, and its dependencies; upon the discovery of which, the archduke dismissed all the queen's servants, forbid any *Spaniard* to speak to her, and threw the ambassador into a dungeon ⁱ. In *Spain*, whatever passed in his mind, Don *Ferdinand* behaved with all the temper and condescension of a prince absolutely at his ease. He held an assembly of the states at *Toro*, and brought thither an excellent code of laws, that had been digested with great deliberation before the queen's death; and the desire of having these enacted, made such an impression, that the king and queen were proclaimed, and Don *Ferdinand* acknowledged as administrator, almost without any opposition ^k. His jealousy of the power of the *Great Captain* in *Naples* had induced him to recal part of his army from thence, which might have proved a dangerous measure, if the archbishop of *Toledo* had not immediately suggested employing them in a war against the *Moors*, of which he bore the whole expence; and the army being transported to *Africa*, reduced the port and town of *Mazalquivir* ^l. Having exact intelligence of all that passed in *Flanders*, and knowing that his son-in-law was on the point of engaging with *Lewis XII.* to support him in his pretensions, Don *Ferdinand* broke all his measures, by proposing a marriage with the niece of that monarch, and entailing upon the heirs of it, male or female, the kingdom of *Naples*. The name of this young and beautiful princess was *German de Foix*, and the marriage was very speedily concluded ^m. Upon this the *French* monarch declared for Don *Ferdinand*, which obliged the archduke to conclude a kind of treaty of pacification by his ministers at *Salamanca*, in which it was stipulated, that the queen and the two kings should govern with equal authority, with various other articles, which it is unnecessary to mention, since this pacification never took effect, and was concluded only to gain the archduke a peaceable admission into *Spain*, where his intention was that his faction should set it aside, which they did very effectually ⁿ. In the mean time the queen was delivered of the Infanta Donna *Maria*; on which Don *Ferdinand* sent a person of distinction to compliment the king and queen, who was received with respect, though *Philip* persisted in his first resolution, and was taking at that very time such measures as he thought most expedient for its execution ^o, and for undermining the authority of his father-in-law.

The archduke Philip goes to Spain, and dispossesses his father-in-law of the regency.

ON the tenth of *January* the archduke, with the queen his consort, embarked at *Middleburgh* for *Spain*; but being forced by a tempest to take shelter in an *English* port, *Henry* the seventh would not suffer him to depart till they had an interview at *Windsor*, where himself and his queen were received with all possible magnificence and respect, the two kings entering into a close alliance, and the queen being extremely delighted with the conversation of her sister the princess of *Wales*; but, however, his stay of six weeks is reported not to have been altogether voluntary, and what seems to give some colour to this suggestion is, that the *English* monarch engaged him, before his departure, to deliver up *Edmund de la Pole*, duke of *Suffolk*, who had been kept prisoner in the citadel of *Namur* from the time that *Arthur*, prince of *Wales*, had espoused the Infanta; with a promise, however, that his life should be

^c FERRERAS. ^f GARIBAY, Compendio Historial de las Cronicas y universal Historia de todos los Reynos de Espana, fol. Barcelona, 1628. ^g BERNALDEZ. ^h ZURITA. ⁱ MARIN. Sic. ^k MARIANA. ^l FERRERAS. ^m MEZERAY. ⁿ GARIBAY. ^o ZURITA, Annal. Arragon.

- a safe^p, as it was during that reign, though he was beheaded in the next^q. This affair settled, which did no great honour to either of the kings, the archduke continued his voyage, and landed safely at *Corunna*. The first step he took was, to declare he would not be bound by the treaty of *Salamanca*, and that he expected his father-in-law should abdicate the regency, and retire into his own dominions. Don *Ferdinand*, finding himself abandoned by every-body except the primate of *Toledo* and the duke of *Alva*, resolved to yield to the torrent, and sent the archbishop to his son, to prevail upon him to consent to an interview, which was obtained with great difficulty, and upon the strangest terms imaginable. The young king advanced to it with six thousand men, in order of battle. Don *Ferdinand* had his ordinary retinue of about two hundred men, mounted upon mules with cloaks, but without swords, accompanied by
- b the duke of *Alva*, in whose single person was comprised his whole court. *Philip* looked very grave, and put on an air of state and majesty; Don *Ferdinand*, on the contrary, appeared very open and gay, and, while his son presented one by one the nobility who had deserted him, he received them smiling, and rallied every one of them; so that the scheme of mortifying him was totally defeated.

- THEY conferred in a hermitage, to which they were attended by *Ximenes* and Don *Juan* Philip dies unexpectedly, and thereby throws Castile into great confusion. *Manuel*. The presence of the latter disconcerted the old king; but the primate of *Toledo* delivered him from his perplexity, by desiring Don *Juan* to leave the kings alone; and, he going out first, the archbishop shut the door, and returned to the two princes^r. The conference produced nothing; but a treaty was afterwards concluded, by which Don *Ferdinand*
- c consented to retire into his own dominions; and the archduke, with some difficulty, allowed him to keep the three grand masterships, and assigned him the profits of a silk farm in the kingdom of *Granada*, amounting to fifty thousand crowns. They had, before Don *Ferdinand* retired, another interview, in which Don *Ferdinand* gave his son a great deal of good advice, and particularly recommended to him the archbishop *Ximenes*, as one of the best men and the ablest minister that *Spain* had ever bred^s. When the old king returned with his young wife to *Saragossa*, the duke of *Alva* would have accompanied him, but he absolutely forbade it. In the month of *July* Don *Philip* held an assembly of the states at *Valladolid*, where they swore to the queen Donna *Joanna* in her own right, to the king as her husband, and to the prince Don *Carlos* as the heir apparent, and gave him a subsidy for the war against
- d the *Moors*^t. It was not long before the new government became universally odious; for, not content with treating his wife harshly, and with contempt, he laboured to persuade the nobility to deprive her of the government, and to shut her up as a mad woman, which was prevented by the firmness of the admiral and the duke of *Benavente*. He quarrelled with the inquisition, changed all the governors and magistrates throughout *Spain*, and suffered his *Flemish* favourites to sell every thing^u. Upon this, great troubles were like to ensue; some of the nobility entered into a league for setting the queen at liberty; and the people universally exclaimed, that they knew not the value of Don *Ferdinand*'s administration till they were deprived of it; but the consequences of this universal discontent were averted by the king's sudden death, occasioned by violent exercise after a full meal, and then drinking cool liquor,
- e which produced a fever that carried him off in six days, on the 25th of *September*, in the twenty-eighth year of his age^v. He left the queen big with child, having had by her the prince Don *Carlos*, his successor; the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, afterwards emperor; the Infantas Donna *Eleonora*, Donna *Isabella*, and Donna *Maria*, who, with his posthumous daughter Donna *Catalina*, were all queens, the first of *Portugal* and afterwards of *France*, the second of *Denmark*, the third of *Hungary*, and the last of *Portugal*^w. A.D. 1506.

- THE affairs of *Castile*, by the unfortunate and unexpected death of the king, were thrown into the utmost confusion; the great lords, to preserve some form of government, appointed a committee of seven, with the archbishop of *Toledo* at their head. That prelate went to the queen, and desired her to sign the necessary instruments for calling an assembly of the states; which she absolutely refused, repeating continually, "The king my father will come, and settle all things"^x. His catholic majesty was at that time in *Italy*; and, though he received the news of his son-in-law's death, in the *Genoese* territories, yet he persisted in his resolution of going to *Naples*. This increased the confusion in *Castile*, where there were two parties formed, at the head of one of which was the archbishop of *Toledo*, in favour of Don *Ferdinand*; and into the other, the duke of *Najara*, the marquis of *Villena*, and others, entered, who were for calling in the emperor *Maximilian*. The committee of regency assembled the states, and, by the great address of the archbishop of *Toledo*, the party of the catholic king prevailed^y. The queen in the mean time took away her husband's corpse, under pre-

^p Lord BACON's History of Henry VII.^q Lord HERBERT's History of Henry VIII.^r GARIBAY.^s ALV. GOMEZ, de reb. gest. Ximen.^t ZURITA, Annal. Arragon.^u PER. MART. Angl. epist.^v GARIBAY.^w GOES OSORIO.^x HERN. DE PULGAR, vid. del Card. Ximen.^y ALV. GOMEZ,

de reb. gest. Ximen.

tence of carrying it to *Granada*, and wandered with it through the country, travelling by night only, and giving frequent signs of outrageous distraction; but withal had some lucid intervals, in which she expressed a great jealousy for her authority; and in one of these she forbade the deputies of the states from going to invite her father, notwithstanding she desired nothing so much as his return^a. In the mean time some of the grandees were for marrying her again. The marquis of *Villena* proposed Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, son to the Infant Don *Henry*, the last heir male of the royal family; others were for Don *Ferdinand*, duke of *Calabria*, some say with her father's consent; *Gaston de Foix*, his brother-in-law, was named; and some mention there was of *Henry* the seventh of *England*^b. All these projects, however, were vain and fruitless, for the queen would never suffer even the most distant proposal of another marriage. The king Don *Ferdinand* settled every thing in *Naples* to his satisfaction; and, in pursuance of his treaty with the king of *France*, he restored such of the nobility to their estates as had been in the *French* interest; but it was observed, that, in holding the general assembly of the states, he took care that the queen should be absent, that the succession might be open for his grandson Don *Carlos*^c. This year died the famous admiral *Columbus*, one of the ablest men in every respect of that or indeed of any other age, whose capacity was only equalled by his virtues and by his good fortune^d.

He returns from Italy into Spain, and resumes the regency of Castile.

A. D. 1507.

THE malecontents in *Spain*, who were numerous and potent, but who thought themselves more so than they were, invited the emperor *Maximilian* to assume the government of *Spain*, as tutor to his grandson Don *Carlos*. They caballed likewise with the king of *Navarre*, to grant him a passage through his dominions with an army; to which he willingly assented, and for which he afterwards paid dear; and with the king of *Portugal*, to support the measure; to which he listened, till he saw it was a chimera^e. *Maximilian*, however, sent ambassadors to Don *Ferdinand* at *Naples*, to demand the regency of *Castile*; but the king answered, there was no regency: that his daughter queen *Joanna* governed in her own right; and that it might prejudice, but could never turn to the benefit of the emperor's affairs, to intermeddle with those of *Castile*. *Maximilian* made another attempt, and offered Don *Ferdinand* the title of emperor of *Italy*, which he refused; and, upon this, the ambassadors protested against his returning to *Spain* till the dispute about the regency was determined. The king told them, there was no such dispute, and set out for *Savona*, where he had a conference with *Lewis* the twelfth, at whose request the *Grand Captain* made the third at their table^f. In the mean time the queen was delivered at *Turquemada* of the Infanta Donna *Catalina*, on the 14th of *June*; and the plague raging in the town, and the queen not being to be persuaded to leave it, the archbishop of *Toledo* permitted all who would to depart, but remained with her himself, and at length prevailed on her to go to the village of *Hornillos*^g. The catholic king landed in the kingdom of *Valentia* on the twentieth of *July*, went from thence into *Castile*, and conferred with the queen his daughter, who had always some degree of sense in his presence, and who immediately gave him full powers to govern the dominions of *Castile* in her name; and two years afterwards, at his request, retired to the castle of *Tordesillas*, a very pleasant place, six leagues from *Valladolid*, where she spent the remainder of her days^h. The kingdom was in great confusion, and the greatest part of the nobility discontented; but the king having procured the dignity of a cardinal for the archbishop of *Toledo*, and, of his own motive, adding the office of inquisitor general, vacant by the death of the archbishop of *Seville*, secured by his means the clergy, and, by his own equity and moderation, the lesser nobility and the people, governed with his usual firmness, and was, generally speaking, well obeyedⁱ. The emperor *Maximilian* could not be persuaded that he had no title to the regency of *Castile*, the revenues of which were so considerable, and to which the *Indies* were a valuable appendix; but as he was unable to give the catholic king much disturbance himself, he proposed the marriage of the queen *Joanna* to the king of *England*; and spread a report, that he had lately concluded a treaty with that prince, in consequence of which he was fitting out a fleet to invade *Spain*. Don *Ferdinand* knew this to be a fable; but, pretending to believe it, raised forces, fitted out a fleet, and secured the coasts so effectually, that the malecontents in the emperor's interest were caught in a net of their own weaving, since, without this colour, *Ferdinand* could not have procured the means to put his kingdom in a state of defence^k. The king proceeded next to arrest the bishop of *Badajoz*, who had entered into some treasonable practices against his person; and upon the emperor's sending *Andreas del Burgo*, whom he had banished as a disturber of the public peace, with the title of his ambassador, he ordered him to depart his dominions. In this situation of things the malecontent lords

^a FERRERAS.

^b ZURITA, Annal. Arragon.

^c GARIBAY.

^d MARIANA.

^e GOES.

^f ANT. DE HERRERA, Comentarios de Hechos de los Espanoles en Italier, fol. Madrid, 1624.

^g HERN.

DE PULG. Vide del Card. Ximen.

^h GARIBAY.

ⁱ ALV. GOMEZ, de reb. gest. Ximen.

^k PET.

MART. Angl. epist.

a laboured to revive the old factions in great towns, which by degrees would have raised a flame through all the territories of *Castile*.

THE first insurrection happened at *Cordova*, where a great deal of mischief was done. The king sent the provost of his household to inquire into the tumult, and to punish the authors of it. Upon his arrival, the marquis *de Priego* sent him an order in writing to quit the place, as a disturber of the public peace. The provost copied his own order, subscribed it, and directed it to the marquis; who was so incensed at this insult to a man of his quality, that he seized and sent him prisoner to one of his fortresses. The catholic king, as soon as he was informed of it, marched with an army towards *Cordova*, notwithstanding the constable, the duke of *Alva*, and almost all the *Spanish* nobility, interceded for the marquis. The Grand Captain, who was that lord's uncle, advised him to surrender himself, and all that he had, into the king's hands; which he did, but without obtaining pardon. The king, however, would not restrain his person, but assigned him a pleasant village for his prison; after which, he sent a commission to *Cordova*, where the first authors of the revolt were hanged, some others banished, the marquis of *Priego* forbid to enter the city of *Cordova*, or the country of *Andaluzia*, without the king's leave, all his fortresses taken from him, and that of *Montilla*, in which he had imprisoned the king's provost, razed to the ground¹. This increased the discontent of the nobility, but it kept them very quiet. The emperor sent Don *Pedro* *Guevara* and *Alonso Romero*, who was servant to the marquis of *Villena*, with secret instructions to his partisans, who entered the kingdom in disguise, and, being apprehended, were put to the torture; the former disclosed all he knew, but the latter would not speak a word^m. The *Moors* having taken from the *Portuguese* the town of *Arzile*, count *Pedro Navarro* and *Ramiro de Guzman*, by order of his catholic majesty, assisted them to recover it; which gave the king Don *Emanuel* such satisfaction, that he sent each of them a present of six thousand crusadoes, which they refused, as having only executed their master's order. Don *Emanuel*, upon this, sent a person of rank to thank his catholic majesty, but at the same time to complain, that *Pedro* and *Ramiro* had taken the island and fortress of *Pegnon de Velez*, which depended upon the kingdom of *Fez*, a part of *Africa* the *Portuguese* had a right to conquer. Don *Ferdinand* answered, that from this island the *Moors* made descents upon the kingdom of *Granada*; that the taking it had cost some blood, and the keeping it would be attended with a great expence, which, if Don *Emanuel* was inclined to defray, it was at his serviceⁿ.

AT the time the king had inflamed the malecontent lords to the highest degree, cardinal *Ximenes* undertook to mediate for them, and, by a dexterous application to their passions, drew from each the secret cause of their dislike to the king, which, as he acted by his direction, he communicated to him; and Don *Ferdinand*, sending for them singly, and as it were by accident, gratified each in his demand, or gave him an equivalent, upon which the emperor quickly found that in *Spain* there were no malecontents^o. The league of *Cambray*, which had been concluded the year before against the *Venetians*, by the pope, the emperor, the king of *France*, and the catholic king, for himself and his daughter, was in the beginning of this proclaimed in *Spain*; and the king having referred the dispute between himself and the emperor to the cardinal of *Roban*, he pronounced that the catholic king should govern *Spain* till Don *Carlos* was of the age of five-and-twenty; that the latter should not take the title of king while his mother lived; and that the catholic king should give them each a pension of fifty thousand ducats, and assist the emperor against the *Venetians*; which decree he accepted and ratified^p. On the third of *March* was born the infant Don *Juan* of *Arragon*, who died within a few days^q. About this time *Ximenes* procured the king's leave to undertake the conquest of *Oran*, from whence it was evident that great advantages would arise to the nation. The troops to be employed were ten thousand foot and four thousand horse; the cardinal was to name his own officers, and command in person; the king was to furnish nothing except a fleet to transport them; and *Oran*, which was at that time a very flourishing place, and a kind of republic under the protection of the king of *Tremecen*, was to remain, if conquered, to the cardinal, and his successors in the see of *Toledo*, till the king should repay the charges of this expedition^r.

THE cardinal employed under him count *Pedro Navarro*, and signor *Vidnelli*, his intimate acquaintance, who both proved false and ungrateful, and, by their emissaries, excited a mutiny amongst the troops before they embarked, which the cardinal quieted by his presence. They differed again before they debarked; *Navarro* and *Vianelli*, with most of the officers, were for deferring it till the morning, esteeming it dangerous to enter the port of *Mazalquivir* in the night. However, the cardinal would be obeyed, and entered the port without the loss of a shallop. Upon the landing there was a third dispute; for they insisted, that,

¹ EST. DE GARIBAY. Vid. del Card. Ximen.

^m PET. MART. Epist. ^p EST. DE GARIBAY.

ⁿ FARIA Y SOUSA. ^o HERNANDO DE PULGAR, ^q MAR.

^r ALV. GOMEZ, de reb. gest. Ximen.

considering the nature of the ground, cavalry would be useless; but two thousand horse were landed, and the vessels with the other two thousand on board, were ordered by the cardinal to proceed directly for *Oran*. In the morning the cardinal, having harangued his army, and given them his blessing, retired at their earnest request to the fortress of *Mazalquivir*. The *Moors* were surprized to find the Christians in order of battle at break of day, and much more so when they found themselves terribly cannonaded from the fleet. However, from the advantage of ground, and superiority of numbers, they defended themselves gallantly till they saw the Christian colours flying upon the towers of *Oran*; for the cardinal, had secret intelligence in the place, which he never discovered, by whom a thousand of the horse dismounted were let in at one of the gates; and another body of horse, in conjunction with those first landed, dissipated and destroyed the *Moorish* army, when it once began to break. The cardinal, having completed his design before one half of the provisions and ammunition which he had provided were expended, made a present of the whole to the army, and left the command to Don *Pedro Navarro*, who assumed the title of general of his catholic majesty's forces, and, with that character, conquered the city and kingdom of *Bugia*, forced the kings of *Tunis* and *Tremecen* to become tributaries, as also the city of *Algiers*, and performed other great exploits, till, pushing his conquests too far, he suffered a defeat, and lost the best part of his troops. As for the cardinal, he retired as privately after his return as he could to *Alcala*, where he was then founding a university; and not only refused applause, but declined appearing in public, in order to avoid it. It was this year that the king prevailed upon his daughter to remove to *Tordesillas*, himself residing for the most part at *Valladolid*, from whence making her frequent visits, and carrying persons of the highest quality with him, he obliged her to quit the indecent habit she wore, and, having placed several ladies of great rank about her, brought her to live in quite another manner than she had done.

A; D. 1509.

King Ferdinand daunts the spirit of the malecontents, and governs peaceably.

THE king Don *Ferdinand* went the next year into *Aragon*, to hold the states of that kingdom at *Moncon*, and in the mean time left the administration in *Castile* to cardinal *Ximenes*. Upon his return in the autumn, several of the grandees of *Castile*, who had disputes with each other, which they durst not decide after the old method, by arms, and which they thought it beneath them to leave to the law, went of themselves to the king, and desired that he would decide them, which he did, not as regent, but as an umpire, voluntarily chosen by the parties; and, which is very singular, generally contented both sides; and by this expedient many feuds were extinguished which had lasted through several generations. On the sixth of *October* he opened an assembly of the states at *Madrid*; and there, in pursuance of his composition with the emperor, swore well and faithfully to administer the government; and likewise obtained a considerable subsidy for defraying the expence of the war against the *Moors*. In *Italy*, the king and the pope, having received satisfaction from the *Venetians*, detached themselves in effect from the league of *Cambray*; and, tho', by this measure, they deserted their allies, yet they certainly preserved that republic, which must otherwise have been destroyed. As the pope durst not have taken this step but in concert with the king, so, to fix him absolutely to his party, he declared the *French* monarch had forfeited all title to the kingdom of *Naples*; and, upon the twenty-third of *July*, granted the investiture to Don *Ferdinand*, with the tribute reserved from king *Charles* of 8000 ounces of gold, to be paid annually into the apostolic chamber; but, on the seventh of *August*, this was changed into a present of a white horse decently equipped, which is all the tribute that has been paid ever since. Count *Pedro Navarro* was this year routed before *Tripoli*, with the loss of several thousand men; and Don *Garcia de Toledo*, eldest son of the duke of *Alva*, through the rashness, or rather rapaciousness, of the count; and this year also *Vianelli* was killed; but the king, notwithstanding, persisted in his resolution of carrying on the war.

1510.

By making a great armament obtains many advantages without a blow.

THE catholic king went in the month of *January* to *Seville*, in order to hasten the vast military preparations that he had caused to be made on the coasts throughout his whole dominions; and declared publicly, that the war he intended was against the *Moors*, and that he meant to go himself into *Africa*. His subjects in general, and more especially the nobility and people of *Castile*, were very much alarmed at this project, and applied themselves to him in the most dutiful manner to divert him from that design. In *France*, however, they had other notions; and *Lewis* the twelfth said publicly, "I am the *Moor* and *Saracen* against whom they arm in *Spain*." He acquired the reputation of a great politician by the event; but this armament, notwithstanding, had all the effect which Don *Ferdinand* intended; it brought the *Moors* to submission, obliged them to restore all the Christian slaves in their hands, to become his vassals, and to pay him large sums annually by way of tribute;

* HERNANDO DE PULGAR. Vid. del. Card. Ximen.

† HERNANDO DE PULGAR, Vid. del Card. Ximen.

‡ HER.

§ MAR. FER.

¶ EST. DE GARIBAY.

* ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.

† MAYERN. TURQ.

‡ EST. DE GARIBAY.

a it had also a good effect in *Italy*, into which country, when the king condescended to lay aside his expedition into *Africa*, he sent many thousands of his old troops, and at length declared his resolution to support pope *Julius* the second against all who should adhere to the council of *Pisa*, whom he treated as heretics. He entered into a league with king *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1511. of *England* against *France*; and sent to admonish the king of *Navarre* not to have any thing to do with schismatics; and to be very careful that the *French* did not make an irruption through his territories into those of *Aragon*. To which he received a civil return; tho' it is scarce to be doubted that all the parties, even at this time, had taken their measures, and were determined how to act^b.

THE king of *France* had great ambition, if not to be the master, yet at least to be the Conqueror; Na-
 b arbiter, of *Italy*. *Maximilian*, who saw no great advantages that could redound to him from varre, in con-
 the war, was willing enough to get out of it. As for the pope, he was so provoked with sequence of a
Lewis the twelfth for procuring and protecting the council of *Pisa*, that he first called in the league benefi-
Swiss to drive his subjects out of *Italy*, and took a resolution next of excommunicating that cial only to
 king. To bring so great a design to bear, he entered into a league with his catholic majesty himself.
 and the *Venetians*, and the former laboured to bring the king of *England* to declare himself
 also for the league^c. The army of the allies opened the campaign with the siege of *Bologna*,
 which they were obliged to raise. A battle ensued not long after, in which they were beat,
 but in which, notwithstanding, the *Spanish* infantry acquired great honour, and killed the *French*
 general *Gaston de Foix*, brother to queen *Germana*^d. This success of the *French* increased the
 c confused state of things in *Italy*, and was the true cause of a new revolution in that country
 before the close of the year; for the allies in general, knowing that it is the genius of the
French to push their victories, used so much diligence, and acted with so much diffidence of each
 other, that, with the assistance of the *Swiss*, they carried their point almost every-where.
 In the mean time the catholic king, who had brought over the *English* monarch *Henry* the
 eighth, with a great army, into *France*, and procured potent succours from thence, under
 colour of recovering *Guienne*, judged it a fit opportunity to let his neighbours see what were
 his true designs, and who in reality were the *Moors* and *Saracens* he intended to humble^e.
John de Albret, who, in right of his wife, was at that time king of *Navarre*, was supposed
 to have an attachment to the crown of *France*. Upon this foundation the duke of *Alva* was
 d sent with a small army of choice troops, to demand a passage through that kingdom into
France; and that the prince of *Viana*, and three of the best fortresses in the kingdom, should
 be put into his hands by way of security, that the king did nothing against the interests of
Ferdinand. These terms being rejected, *Pampeluna* was besieged and taken, and the better
 part of the kingdom reduced. The *French* made some efforts to recover it, but without
 success; and, after they were repulsed, the duke of *Alva* completed his conquest^f. Thus
 while other great powers were wasting their blood and treasure about they knew not well
 what, and wearied each other into peace with little or no advantage, Don *Ferdinand* acquired,
 or, as many authors say, usurped, a kingdom that lay very convenient for him, and so became
 a greater gainer by the war than any, or indeed than all the other powers together. At this
 e juncture the catholic king was in the zenith of his glory; and though, without question, he
 was one of the most potent princes in *Europe*, yet his superior reach in politics made him
 more respected than the terror of his arms; so that the penetrating his mysterious measures
 was the constant aim of the ablest statesmen in most of the courts of *Europe*^g.

THE *French* monarch, by the advice of cardinal *Carvajal*, demanded a truce of *Ferdinand* Falls into a
 for a year in *Spain*, while the affairs of *Italy* were left to the chance of war. The catholic low and lan-
 king gave so much countenance to this, as brought a *French* ambassador to his court; which guishing con-
 so much alarmed his allies, that they were very silent on several topics upon which they had dition, with
 been troublesomely solicitous before. The king's subjects also reaped all the benefits of the little hopes of
 f truce during the continuance of the treaty; and the king was at liberty to act as he thought recovery.
 proper, if he had seen a favourable occasion; but, except repulsing *John Albret*, king of
Navarre, who endeavoured to recover his kingdom, and an expedition or two of no great
 importance against the *Moors* in *Africa*, there passed nothing remarkable this year, at least
 on this side; for as to the war in *Italy*, it belongs to another place^h. As to civil concerns,
 the king proceeded in deciding, or rather compromising, disputes among the nobility; and
 acted with some rigour against Don *Pedro Gironne*, who seized the best part of the duchy of
Medina Sidonia, under pretence that he was heir to the duke, as having married his sister of
 the whole blood, notwithstanding he left a brother Don *Alonso*, to whom the king decreed
 itⁱ. A little before *Easter* the king went from *Valladolid* to *Medina del Campo*, and from thence
 to *Carrioncillo*, an exceeding pleasant place, where a *French* cook belonging to queen *Ger-*

^b Lord HERBERT's History of Henry VIII.

History of Henry VIII.

^c EST. DE GARIBAY.

^e RAINALD.

^f ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.

^g GUICCIARDINI.

^h MAR.

ⁱ Lord HERBERT's

^j PET. MART. Angl. Epist.

mana made him a strengthening soup, which he flattered him (for what monarch is there so wise as not to be flattered?) would enable him to beget an heir to his hereditary dominions, of which he was very desirous. But it had a quite different effect; for, upon retiring, as his custom was, into a convent, during *Passion-Week*, he fell into a languishing condition, and was thenceforward afflicted with a deep melancholy, so that he took no other diversion than hunting, which afforded him an opportunity of riding by himself in forests and deep vallies, which served only to nourish that humour, which, while it preyed upon his spirits, reduced his body to a skeleton, and wasted him with a slow disease, from which he could obtain no relief by physic^k. This revived the hopes of those who, though they had been long forced to dissemble it, were enemies to his person and government, and excited a spirit of intrigue in others, who laboured to recommend his grandson Don *Ferdinand*, to the prejudice of the archduke *Charles*; which created such a prospect of future troubles, as gave all, who had a just concern for the public welfare and tranquility, infinite anxiety and terror.

His indisposition, however, has no bad effect on his administration of affairs.

His declining state of health did not hinder Don *Ferdinand* from attending to affairs of state; neither did it impair, at least in any discernable degree, his faculties for business. The death of the queen of *France* gave occasion to his consort to send the bishop of *Tripoli* with compliments of condolance to her uncle, as well as to put him in mind of her right to the inheritance of her brother the duke of *Nemours*. The king charged this prelate with a commission of much greater importance, which was, to get the truce lately renewed for another year converted into a solid peace; to facilitate which, he offered that the infant Don *Ferdinand* should espouse the second daughter of the most Christian king, and proposed a marriage between that king and the infanta Donna *Leonora* his daughter^l. This, however, came to nothing; for *Henry* the eighth of *England*, being equally offended at his renewing the truce with *France*, and at the delay of the archduke *Charles*'s marriage with his sister the princess *Mary*, resolved to make both him and the emperor sensible of his displeasure, by concluding a peace with the *French*, and giving his sister to their king; both which measures were quickly carried into execution, notwithstanding all the pains his catholic majesty's daughter, queen *Catherine*, could take to prevent them^m. The war continued hot in *Italy*, where the king could not depend so much on pope *Leo* the tenth as he had done on his predecessor. However, he laboured, and with success, to free the *Genoese* intirely from the *French* yoke; but his endeavours to procure a peace among the *Italians* were ineffectual, notwithstanding *Selim*, emperor of the *Turks*, threatened *Italy* with an invasion, which gave Don *Ferdinand*, who never let such opportunities slip, a pretext for arming by land and sea, in *Catalonia*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, as well as in *Castile*, under colour of providing for the defence of Christendom against the infidels, but with an intention, as it was generally believed, to make use of them where-ever his interest might require. This armament, however, had a great effect; it awed the *Turks*, kept all his neighbours in suspense, preserved his conquests in *Africa*, and procured fresh submissions, and presents to a very great value, from the *Moorish* princes in that countryⁿ.

A. D. 1514.

Is extremely offended with the behaviour of the states of Arragon.

On the accession of *Francis* the first to the *French* throne, the catholic king began to apprehend that he would go in person into *Italy*; and upon his sending an ambassador, with high professions of esteem and friendship, and strong assurances that he would observe the peace concluded by his predecessor, the king answered, that he would observe it punctually, provided it was extended to *Italy*^o. He knew that this was not what the *French* king intended, and consequently the war would break out afresh; he summoned the states of *Castile*, *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, and *Valentia*, in order to raise money for the execution of his great designs. In the assembly of the states of *Castile* at *Burgos*, he carried his point to the full extent of his wishes, by annexing *Navarre* to the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon* for ever^p. He had not, however, the like success in his hereditary dominions; the queen, whom he sent to hold in his name the states of *Arragon*, meeting with a very warm and obstinate opposition^q. On the twenty-seventh of *July*, while he was at *Burgos*, he was taken with such a violent fit of vomiting in the night, that he was very near dying without assistance. This induced him to make his will, his physicians assuring him that he had not long to live, by which he left the regency of *Spain*, and the grand mastership of all the orders, to the infant Don *Ferdinand*. He recovered, however, and gave audience to the deputies from the states of *Arragon*, who came to offer him whatever supplies he judged requisite, provided he would repeal the law which gave vassals a right to sue for redress in the king's courts. To this Don *Ferdinand* answered roundly, that he would not purchase a supply at the expence of the liberties of his subjects: that, before his reign, the vassals of the nobility were their slaves: that he had made them free, and would keep them so; and, having said this, he ordered them to quit his presence^r. He sent for cardinal *Ximenes* to

^k ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.
ⁿ HER. ^o MEZERAY.

^l ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.
^p EST. DE GARIBAY.

^m Lord HERBERT's History of Henry VIII.
^q ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. ^r ABARC.

- a preside in the royal council of *Segovia*, and then went in person to the states of *Arragon*. He found them in a very ill temper; and though he had the clergy and the deputies from cities on his side, yet the greater and lesser nobility persisted firmly in their first opinions; which threw the king into such a rage, that he reproached them bitterly with want of duty to their sovereign, and of affection for their fellow subjects¹. He then ordered his son, the archbishop of *Saragossa*, to go to that city (for the states were held at *Calatayud*), and to demand in his name a free gift from the inhabitants, which they very cheerfully and readily granted, and most of the great towns followed their example, to the no small regret of the nobility. He next undertook to restore a perfect understanding with the court of *London*, to which he sent his agent *Gilibert*, with very rich presents for the king, and with as valuable, though perhaps not quite so magnificent, to cardinal *Wolsey*, by which that monarch was induced to renew his treaties. The cardinal acquainted him with all the intrigues of the archduke, who was just declared of age in *Flanders*, and of his design to send the dean of *Louvain* with a formal compliment to his majesty, but with secret instructions to pry into every thing, and send him an exact account of his measures; which piece of secret intelligence Don *Ferdinand* received with secret satisfaction².

- THIS year the *Turks* had a considerable fleet at sea, or rather a *Moorish* fleet in their service, under the command of the famous pirate *Barbarossa*. The places, however, that were held by the catholic king upon the coast of *Barbary*, were so well fortified and provided, that they were not able to give them much disturbance, except besieging *Bugia*, which they would certainly have taken, if it had not been relieved by a fleet from *Majorca*, which the viceroy fitted out without waiting for the king's orders³. The king Don *Ferdinand* removed from *Valladolid*, with an intent to pass the winter in *Andalusia*, in hopes that air and exercise would do him good, and, in his way thither, stopped at *Placentia*. There he received the dean of *Louvain*, who came from the archduke; and, treating him with great civility and kindness, drew from him many things. He engaged him to use his interest with his master, that *Chievres*, his first minister, might have nothing to do with *Spain*; and, when he had made what use of him he could, he ordered him to go to *Guadalupe*, there to wait his return⁴. The war in *Italy* this year was very warm, *Francis* the first being there in person, who gained a great victory over the *Swiss* in the neighbourhood of *Milan*, and soon after became master of that city. In the progress of the war, he derived great advantages from the military skill of count *Pedro* of *Navarro*, whose ransom he paid, and whom he engaged in his service, by affording him various instances of his generosity⁵. Towards the close of the year died Don *Ferdinand* *Gonçales de Cordova*, surnamed the Great Captain, who had rendered such eminent services to the catholic king, and whose intrigues with the emperor, the king of *France*, the archduke, and other potentates, had given him inexpressible inquietude to the very last, so that he considered his death rather with satisfaction than regret⁶.

- THE king having advanced in his journey as far as *Truxillo*, and having ordered his son the infant Don *Ferdinand*, with his governor Don *Pedro de Guzman*, to *Guadalupe*, he set out for the same place, and, hunting by the way, came to the village of *Madrigalejo*, so poor and inconsiderable, that finding himself extremely ill, he was obliged to take up his lodgings at an inn, as it was the only tolerable house in the place. He called immediately for his confessor father *Matienzo*, and received the sacraments of church. He then sent for the counsellors *Zapata* and *Carvajal*, of whom he demanded what they thought of his disposition of the regency of *Castile* in favour of the infant Don *Ferdinand*. They told him honestly, that it would prove very prejudicial to *Spain*, as it was impossible that he should discharge that trust himself; and therefore, as it must pass into other hands, his majesty was the best judge to whom it ought to be confided. The king then declared, by his last will and testament, the queen *Donna Joanna* his daughter the sole heiress of all his dominions; and, after her, his grandson Don *Carlos*. He left the queen *Germana* a pension of thirty thousand florins *per annum*, and the infant Don *Ferdinand* a revenue of fifty thousand ducats, charged on the revenue of the kingdom of *Naples*⁷. He declared cardinal *Ximenes*, archbishop of *Toledo*, regent of *Castile*⁸, and his natural son the archbishop of *Saragossa* regent of *Arragon*, and also of the several kingdoms dependant upon that crown⁹. He signed his will on the twenty-second of *January*¹⁰, the queen arriving from *Lerida* the same day; and the next morning, *Mariana* says between twelve and one, *Zurita* between one and two, *Ferreras* between two and three, he expired, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and in the forty-second year of his reign over *Castile*, and in the thirty-seventh over *Arragon*, that is, at the very entrance of the year, his father dying on the nineteenth, as he did on the twenty-

¹ HERNANDO DEL PULG. Vid. del. Card. Ximen.
DE GARIBAY. ² ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.
DE GARIBAY: ubi supra.

³ I ord HERBERT's History of Henry VIII.
⁴ HER. ⁵ ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.

⁶ EST.
⁷ EST.
⁸ ZURIT.

⁹ BERNALDEZ.

third, of *January*. Besides his legitimate children by his two queens, who have been already mentioned, he had by Donna *Aldonca Iborra*, before his marriage with queen *Isabella*, Don *Alonso* of *Arragon*, archbishop of *Arragon* and *Valentia*, and Donna *Joanna* of *Arragon*, whom he married to Don *Bernard de Velasco*, constable of *Castile*; and by two other women, one a native of *Biscay*, and the other of *Portugal*, he had two daughters, who were nuns^c. Besides his hereditary kingdoms, which he bequeathed to the heiress of *Castile*, he added, by conquest, those of *Granada*, *Naples*, and *Navarre*. He directed his body to be interred in the capital of the first-mentioned, near that of Donna *Isabella*^f. In its passage thither, under the care of the marquis of *Denia*, master of his household, it was received with great marks of respect by the nobility, but with much warmer tokens of affection from the people, who lamented their loss with great sincerity, and called him with great justice their father and their deliverer^g. His panegyrists would have us believe him a perfect prince^h; his enemies allege, that he was not heroically brave, and by no means a slave to his wordⁱ. He had his virtues, he had his imperfections; but, take him all together, he was, properly speaking, the founder of the *Spanish* monarchy, and one of the greatest and wisest princes that ever sat upon a throne.

S E C T. XIV.

The reign of Charles I. king of Spain, commonly stiled (by his superior title) the emperor Charles V. from his assuming, to his abdication, of the regal titles.

Accession of the archduke Charles, who immediately assumes the regal title.

THE royal council, of which the archbishop of *Granada* was president, gave immediate notice to the cardinal archbishop of *Toledo* of his being declared regent, and then removed to *Guadalupe*, where the infant Don *Ferdinand* was with the dean of *Louvain*, who, upon the cardinal's arrival, disputed with him the regency, as having himself received full powers, in case of the king's death, from Don *Carlos*. To this the cardinal answered roundly, that the archduke had no power to vest that authority in any, since, by the will of queen *Isabella*, he was not called to the succession till of full age: he added, that, if he had any such power, he could not constitute the dean regent, because he was a foreigner, and, as such, excluded by the laws. Upon this, the dean offered to act subservient to the cardinal, which he readily accepted, and the council removed to *Madrid*^a. Things were carried somewhat higher in the kingdom of *Arragon*, where the chief justice refused to acknowledge the archbishop of *Saragossa* in quality of regent^b. As soon as *Charles* received the news of his grandfather's death at *Brussels*, he dispatched a commission, confirming *Ximenes* in the regency, and at the same time acquainted him with the reasons that had induced him to assume the title of king, which were, that pope *Leo* and the emperor *Maximilian*, in their letters, had given him that title, which therefore he desired might be confirmed in *Spain*^c. The cardinal, for this purpose, called an assembly of the principal nobility of *Castile*, where the point was warmly debated; and in which it is highly probable the nobles would have put a negative upon the king's request, if the cardinal had not suddenly cut the thing short, by saying, the king did not stand in need of their authority to confirm his title, but had asked their assent from a spirit of decency and complaisance; at the same time he ordered the officers to display the royal standard for Don *Carlos* the first^d. This proclamation was made on the thirteenth of *April*, and, while he was proclaiming, the council unanimously confirmed the measure. They saw opposition was in vain, and concurred with a good grace in what they could not help. Some of the most considerable would have had recourse to their old method of a confederacy; and applied themselves, with this design, to the duke of *Infantado*, who assured them, that he thought himself as ill used as any by the cardinal, but advised them first to send a deputation, to demand of him a sight of the powers in virtue of which he acted. The cardinal received the deputation very obligingly, and promised him satisfaction the next day; and, when they came again for that purpose, shewed them a corps of two thousand old troops, and a train of artillery, that were drawn out before his palace, adding, "These are the powers by which I mean to govern *Spain* till the king shall arrive^e." This was so much the cardinal's opinion, and he had so little notion of authority being respected without force, that, observing the govern-

^c EST DE GARIBAY. SOUSA, &c.

^f ZURIT. Annal. Arragon.

^g MARIAN.

^h FER.

ⁱ FARIA Y

^a HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, Vid. del Card. Ximen. GENSOLA, Primera Parte de los Annales de Arragon.

^b BARTHOL LEONARDO DE AR-

^c ALVAR. GOMEZ. de reb. gest. Ximen. ^d AL-

^e SANDOVAL.

a ment of king *Ferdinand* had thrown a great weight of property into the hands of the citizens and commons throughout *Spain*, he granted commissions of array, that, whenever it should be necessary, they might be in a condition to defend themselves; and, by this stroke of policy, created a standing army of thirty thousand men in a short time, well disciplined, who were content to serve, without putting the crown to the expence either of pay or quarters^f. *John de Albret*, the dethroned king of *Navarre*, with a considerable army which he had raised in *France*, endeavoured the recovery of his dominions, in which he was prevented by the vigour and vigilance of cardinal *Ximenes*, who sent a small body of old troops, under the command of *Don Ferdinand Villalva*, an old officer, to secure the passes into that country, by whom the king's forces were defeated, and the marshal of *Navarre* taken prisoner; which so afflicted the king and queen, that neither of them survived long after^g. The cardinal then ordered all the numerous fortresses in *Navarre* to be demolished, leaving the fortifications only of *Pampeluna*; which raised a great clamour, as the title to that kingdom was none of the clearest; but the cardinal thought *Don Ferdinand* was to answer for the acquisition; and that, in quality of regent, it was his business to keep it^h. A. D. 1516. In *Naples*, queen *Joanna* and her son *Don Carlos* were proclaimed with little opposition; but in *Sicily*, the people revolted, not against the king, but the viceroyⁱ. The corsair *Barbarossa* beat the *Spaniards* before *Algiers*, and made himself master of that place, and strangled the *Moorish* prince who had called him to his assistance^k.

c THE *Flemish* ministers who were about king *Charles*, perceiving how great a capacity the cardinal had, with what superior abilities he governed the dominions of *Castile*, while the archbishop of *Saragossa*, though the son of king *Ferdinand*, and a native of *Aragon*, could not persuade the states to proclaim their master king, or to acknowledge him for regent, advised him to send the cardinal orders to regulate the debts of the crown, to resume what had been unjustly usurped from its domains, and to call those to an account who had been intrusted with the revenue; that these necessary but difficult parts of government might be regulated before his majesty's arrival, and the blame of any severity that might appear in it be rather charged on that minister than on themselves. The cardinal, on receiving the king's orders, demanded letters patent in full form, and with an augmentation of power, and on that condition undertook to execute what was enjoined^l. At first this created some uneasiness at *Brussels*; but at length they advised the king to gratify the cardinal, and to intrust him with the power of bestowing governments, places of judicature, and offices of the revenue; but at the same time they increased the number of his colleagues, which gave him the less uneasiness, as he suffered none to share in his authority. The cardinal went through this difficult work with great dexterity, recovered several considerable lordships to the crown, but without requiring any account of the profits; and, as often as there was any pretence for doing it, gave those from whom they were taken money, or some other equivalent. Such as had been guilty of fraud or oppression in collecting or managing the public revenue, he punished severely, and, out of their fines and confiscations, discharged the debts of the crown. The great governments he bestowed upon the principal nobility; the less upon such as had raised themselves by their merit; in which he had a particular regard to old officers who had served long in the army, and, above all things, he was circumspect in the choice of those whom he raised to judicial offices. By this method he so qualified the rigour of his administration, and made his disinterested zeal for the public so apparent, that it began to rise above that envy which his grandeur had excited^m.

YET all he did was not equally pleasing to all men; for his removing the governor of *Tordesillas*, and a great part of the queen's household, was ill taken by many, though he did it because they soothed the queen in her melancholy; and those whom he placed near her did all they could to amuse and divert her, and even to awake her ambition; which they did so far, as to engage her to dress in a manner suitable to her quality, and even to go out of the castle to hear mass, when people were placed in the street to cry, Long live the queen! and to give other testimonies of joy, with which she was extremely pleased; and this the king approved so much, that he writ him a letter of thanks for it with his own handⁿ. He prevented likewise the *Jews* from obtaining an exemption from the penal laws, for which they offered a large sum of money; and, upon the pope's demanding a great sum of money from the clergy, under colour of a war with the *Turks*, he prevented that likewise, being persuaded, that, if such a precedent was once made, it would be frequently followed^o. But there were some other mischiefs which he could not prevent, such as the quarrels amongst the nobility, the tumults in *Valladolid*, and other great cities, and the great sums of money that

^f HERNANDO DEL PULGAR, Epitome de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V. por D. Juan Anto. de Vera y Figueroa a Conde de la Roca.

^g P. MORET.

^h ALVAR. GOMEZ de reb. gest. Ximen.

ⁱ AL-

PHONSO ULLOA.

^k PET. MART. Angl. Epist.

^l SANDOVAL.

^m HERNANDO DEL PULGAR.

ⁿ ALVAR. GOMEZ, de reb. gest. Ximen.

^o HERNANDO DEL PULGAR.

were sent out of the kingdom to purchase the favour of the *Flemish* ministers^a. In the month of *August* the king landed at *St. Andero*, and immediately sent a courier to acquaint the cardinal and council with his arrival, who thereupon set out from *Madrid* to meet him, and to execute some orders he had before received by an express dispatched from the king when he embarked^a. On the road, he was poisoned in a trout upon which he dined, though the effects did not presently discover themselves^a. When he arrived at *Aranda*, where he found the infant Don *Ferdinand*, he suddenly posted guards about his palace, shut the city gates, and then signified to Don *Pedro de Guzman* his governor, and the bishop of *Astorga* his preceptor, the king's orders to withdraw, which afflicted the infant extremely^a. Advancing as far as *Roja*, to meet the king, his distemper began to shew itself with such violence, that he found he had not long to live; and therefore, laying aside all concern for worldly affairs, b he applied his thoughts to the means of making such an end as might be suitable to his life, and so expired on the eighth of *November*^a (G). Some say his death was hastened by his disgrace;

^a ALPHONSO ULLOA.
de reb. gest. Ximen.

^a PET. MART. Angl. Epist.
^a GOMEZ.

^a MAYERN. TURQ.

^a ALV. GOMEZ,

(G) The reputation of cardinal *Ximenes* is so great, and we find him so frequently mentioned in other histories, as well as of *Spain*, that we shall probably do the reader a pleasure in taking notice of a few particulars relating chiefly to his private life. The greatest part of the *Spanish* writers agree, that though his father was in low circumstances, yet the family of *Cisneros* was of antient nobility (1): if so, the cardinal took care not to discredit them by the addition of any modern titles, of which he bestowed some upon men of merit, but left his relations nearly in the same state in which he found them. In all probability this proceeded from a settled persuasion that it was the best for them. In the midst of his greatness, he went one summer to the village where he was born, visited his kindred, and entertained them with all the marks of kindness and affection possible. Amongst the rest, there was an old man who lived very decently upon a narrow income, and took great pains in breeding up his children. He was baking his bread in little cakes when the cardinal came, on which he ran up stairs to change his cloaths; but he made him come down immediately: "Your dress, and your business, said he, very well become your station; take care that your bread don't burn, we can discourse together while you are turning it." He inquired afterwards into the number and circumstances of his family, and, when he took his leave, gave him wherewithal to provide for them (2). His humility was very unaffected, and broke out sometimes very unexpectedly; he was present once when doctor *Nicholas de Pax* was explaining the philosophy of *Raymund Lully*; and, in speaking to the question, whether that famous man had the philosophers stone, or not, he took notice of a passage in the *Psalms*, which has been thought to look that way: "He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the needy out of the dunghill, that he may set him with the princes, even with the princes of his people." That portion of Scripture, said the cardinal may be much more naturally interpreted; for instance, in my own case; and then ran out into a long detail of his own meanness, and the wonderful manner in which he had been exalted, and this in so pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from all who were present. Those who lived in and near his time believed that he had the gift of prophecy, which arose chiefly from the two brothers, *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, saying frequently, on the great events of their life, "This was foretold me by cardinal *Cisneros*." It is very certain, that he advised *Charles* to send his brother out of *Spain*, and to divide his dominions with him. "This, said he, will constitute two great houses, and in your turns you may be both

"emperors;" which, as he took his advice, actually came to pass (3). But what came nearer to this point was, the agreement he framed between *Ferdinand* the Catholic and his son-in-law *Philip*. He took the oaths of each of them, and, at the time he took them, he said, "Remember what I tell you, if you break this oath, you will not long survive it;" which was actually the case with respect to *Philip*, who broke it, and died soon after (4). He had a great contempt for what were stiled the arts of a court, and would never use them. Don *Pedro Portocarrero*, who was with king *Charles* in *Flanders*, wrote to him, that he had many enemies there, and advised him to make use of a cypher. He thanked him for his intelligence and his friendship, but rejected the expedient. "I have nothing, said he, that I desire to conceal; and, if I write any thing that is amiss, I will not deprive my enemies of their evidence." He behaved sternly himself to the nobility, but he advised both *Ferdinand* and *Charles* not to treat them with rigour. "Ambition, said he, is their common crime, and you will do well to make submission their only punishment (5)." His coadjutor *Adrian* was miserably disturbed at the libels that flew about; but *Ximenes*, who was as little spared, bore them with great temper. "We act, said he, and we must give others leave, to speak; if what they say is false, we may laugh; if true, we ought to mend." However, he sometimes searched the printers and booksellers; but, as he gave previous notice, it may be presumed he did not often meet with things that could give offence (6). The great object of his care was the revenue of his archbishoprick; with which, however great, he did such things as could scarce have been expected from it, more especially as one half of it was constantly distributed in alms, about which he was so circumspect, that no fraud could be committed. He was very plain in his habit and in his furniture; but he knew the value of fine things, and would sometimes admire them. He once looked upon a rich jewel, and asked its price; the merchant told him: "It is a very fine thing, said he, and worth the money, but the army is just disbanded; there are many poor soldiers, and with the value of it I can send a couple of hundred of them home with each a piece of gold in his pocket." All his foundations, and others acts of generosity, were out of the other moiety. His university of *Alcala* was a most stupendous foundation, begun and finished in eight years; he endowed there forty-six professorships, and at his death left it a settled revenue of fourteen thousand ducats *per annum*. His regulations must have cost him at least as much thought as his buildings and endowments. He saw

(1) *Ferreras, Alvar. Gomez, de rebus gestis Ximen. lib. i. Eugenio de Robles, Vida del Ximenes.* (2) *Pulgar, Vida del Card. Ximen.* (3) *Vida y prodigios del Card. Francisco de Cisneros, por el P. Pedro de Quintinilla.* (4) *Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.* (5) *Hern. Pulgar.* (6) *Sandoval, Hist. del Emp. Carol V. lib. ii. sect. 40. Epist. Ximen. ad Carol. apud Alv. Gomez, de reb. gest. Ximen. lib. vii.*

- a disgrace; the bishop of *Badajos*, who had many obligations to him, and whom he intended to have made his coadjutor, having, to please the king's minister *Chievres*, induced that prince to write him a letter of dismissal, which others say he did not receive till in his last agony, so that he never knew its contents^u. The king went with his sister *Donna Leonora* to *Tordesillas*, to pay his duty to his mother, and thither came the archbishop of *Saragossa*, to make a report of the affairs of *Arragon*; but *Chievres*, being apprehensive that he might demand the archbishoprick of *Toledo*, which he intended for his nephew, prevailed upon the king not to see him, and to refuse him an audience of the queen *Donna Joanna* for the same reason^v. This was the first disgust given to the *Spaniards* by the king; and perhaps would never have happened if cardinal *Ximenes* had once seen him, and had given him the lessons he intended;
- b to prevent which, those who dreaded their effects had recourse to that detestable expedient which has been before-mentioned. There were some commotions this year in *Sicily*, though the king had changed the viceroy, and the *Moors* also began to infest the coasts of *Granada* and *Andalusia*^x.

In the month of *January* the *Cortes*, or assembly of the states, met at *Valladolid*, in which it was proposed, that the king should promise to observe the laws made at *Burgos* seven years before, that no foreigners should be capable of any dignity or employment either in church or state, in *Castile*, and that no money should be sent out of the kingdom; but the bishop of *Badajos* having represented to them, that they ought not to suspect their monarch, and assured them he would grant all they desired, they took the usual oaths, and granted him a free gift of six hundred thousand ducats, payable in three years; after which, he promised to observe the laws, and more especially those on which they most insisted^y. The king caused his sister *Donna Catalina* to be privately taken from her mother; but, the queen refusing to eat or drink for two days, there was a necessity for sending her back^z. After this, the king having appointed a council of regency, went to hold the states of *Arragon*, and, in his passage, had an interview with his brother, whom he persuaded to go to *Flanders*, being jealous of his remaining in *Spain*, where he was infinitely beloved. About this time he named *William de Croy*, *Chievres*'s nephew, to the archbishoprick of *Toledo*, which was highly disagreeable to the people of *Castile*^a. He arrived at *Saragossa* in the beginning of *May*, where, though he confirmed all their privileges, yet they made a difficulty of owning him for their king while the queen his mother lived; but at last they were prevailed upon by the archbishop of *Saragossa* not only to proclaim, but also to grant him a free gift of two hundred thousand crowns^b. His kind usage and respect so wrought on queen *Germana*, that she made a voluntary cession of her rights to the kingdom of *Navarre*, not, as *Ferreras*, tho' otherwise an exact historian, says, as the heiress of the house of *Albret*, but of the house of *Foix*^c; and here also he consented, for reasons of state, to the marriage of his sister *Donna Leonora* to the king of *Portugal*.

^u HERN. DEL PULGAR.

^v ARGENS.

^x SANDOV.

^y CARVAJ.

^z VERA Y FIGUEROA.

^a FER.

^b PET. MART. Angl. Hist.

^c Histoire de Languedoc.

clearly that ignorance was the bane of religion, and the only thing that made the inquisition necessary; for, if men understood the Christian religion, there could be no need to fear either *Judaism* or *Mohammedism*. Cardinal *Granvelle*, when he came into *Spain*, and had attentively considered this foundation, delivered his opinion in these words: "Time delights in hiding the origin of things; though we know it not, this man must have been of royal race, or at least the soul of a prince lodged in his private bosom." His granaries were likewise so amazing, so well built, that they are not yet in decay; so well contrived, that they are always full: those at *Toledo* hold twenty thousand measures of corn, those at *Alcala* ten thousand, those at *Tordelaguna*, where he was born, five thousand, those at *Cisneros*, where his family was settled, the same quantity. His hospitals and his nunneries, in conjunction with these granaries, have banished want from his diocese. It was supposed that he would have left the direction of all these to his own order, and it was intimated to him. "By no means," said the cardinal: out of the revenue of the see of *Toledo* have I done all this, God forbid I should deprive the prelates my successors of their right, or their reward for seeing them duly applied." He was, however, no flatterer of prelates; for, upon visiting his diocese, and finding in the church of the *Franciscans* at *Toledo* a marble tomb near the altar, for *Don Troilo Carillo*, the son of his predecessor, he ordered the inscription to

be effaced, and the tomb to be removed. "It is better," said he, that the remains of this child of sin should lie in some obscure place, than this mark of a bishop's incontinency should stare here mankind in the face." He was very learned himself, and the great patron and protector of learning; he wrote several pieces of divinity, that were never printed, as also the life of king *Wamba*, and some notes upon the scripture, which are yet preserved. He caused the works of *Tostatus* to be printed, at a vast expence, at *Venice*. The *Complutensian* edition of the holy Scriptures, which was the first polyglot ever printed, cost him a prodigious sum, besides the maintenance of all the learned persons employed in it, the manuscripts he purchased at immense rates, and the pains he took himself in revising and correcting. He was also at great charge in publishing the *Mezarabic* liturgy, for which he had so high a veneration, that he established a chapel with twelve canons for reviving this office; and, with regard to other foundations, we have no room to enumerate them. Upon the whole, we have great reason to believe that he spoke truth when he said, upon his death-bed, that, to the best of his knowledge, he had not misapplied a single crown of his revenue. *Philip* the fourth was at great pains to have procured his canonization with the popes *Innocent* the tenth and *Alexander* the seventh; but we have never been let into the reasons why they did not succeed.

tugal, who had married her two aunts before, which was a new subject of distaste ^d. Towards ^a
 A. D. 1518. the close of the year the great cities in *Castile* began to form a confederacy for the redress of
 grievances, and sent an agent into *Arragon*, to make remonstrances to the king. In *Africa*
 the *Spaniards* restored the *Moorish* king of *Tremecen*, and killed the famous corsair *Barbarossa*,
 who was succeeded by his brother; but a fleet that was fitted out for the recovery of *Algiers*
 was dispersed by a tempest, and most of the vessels of which it was composed lost ^e. This
 year also the king was elected, in the dyet at *Augsburg*, king of the *Romans*, though his
 grandfather was more inclined to his brother *Don Ferdinand*, and the *French* king *Francis* the
 first had also a party who favoured his election ^f.

*Is elected em-
 peror on the
 demise of his
 grandfather
 Maximilian.*

In the beginning of the ensuing year the king went into *Catalonia*, where he met with the
 like difficulties as in *Arragon*, but at length they were got over. He was at *Barcelona* when ^b
 he received the news of the death of his grandfather *Maximilian*, and remained there till he
 had advice of his own election, which was made on the 28th of *June* ^g, and accepted by his
 ambassadors. Pope *Leo* having granted him the tenths of all ecclesiastical revenues for the
 support of his war against the *Turks*, he ordered an assembly of the clergy to be held at
Barcelona, in which *Adrian*, formerly dean of *Louvain*, now cardinal bishop of *Tortosa*,
 presided; but, notwithstanding all he could say, the clergy refused to gratify the king, or to
 obey the pope; which so irritated *Leo* the tenth, that he put *Castile* under an interdict; but
 this being their own case, the clergy found out, that, when the pope's censures were without
 any just cause, they ought to have no effect; and the king thereupon interceding with the
 pope, it was recalled ^h. In the month of *November* the duke of *Bavaria* arrived in character ^c
 of ambassador from the empire; and, at his first audience, did homage to *Don Carlos*, who
 now first assumed the title of majesty, in which he was imitated by other kings ⁱ. We shall
 conform to the common usage, and stile him hereafter emperor, though the *Spanish* writers
 never gave him any other title than that of king ^k. Towards the close of the year there was a
 dangerous insurrection in *Valentia*, in which the emperor acted a strange part. The commons,
 that is, the several incorporated companies of tradesmen in that city, entered into a solemn
 confederacy, under pretence of redressing the grievances they laboured under from the
 nobility; and the emperor being informed that the nobles and clergy were determined to
 oppose his demands in the assembly of the states, encouraged them, and actually put the
 government of the city into their hands ^l. This year the famous *Ferdinand Magellan* received ^d
 the emperor's commission to sail in quest of a new passage to the *Moluccas*, and departed from
 the port of *Seville*, with a squadron of five vessels, on the 8th of *August*; but the history of
 this expedition belongs to another place.

*The commons
 of Castile re-
 volt against
 the govern-
 ment under
 various chiefs.*

At the time the troubles broke out in *Valentia*, the city was so much afflicted with the
 plague, that most of the nobility were absent; but, as it ceased in the winter, they began to
 return to their houses in the beginning of the year, but met with a very bad reception from the
 populace, who gave their confederacy the title of *Germania*, implying the confederacy of
 patriots, or true friends to their country. The nobles sent a deputation to the emperor, to
 represent to him the inconveniencies that attended his concessions. The emperor promised
 them fair, and, having sworn to observe the laws and privileges of the kingdom, sent cardinal ^e
Adrian to open the states; but upon their refusing to consent to any thing, unless his majesty
 was present, he confirmed all that he had formerly done in favour of the *Germanats*, which
 augmented the troubles ^m. As he was resolved to return into *Flanders*, and from thence to
 proceed into the empire, he appointed an assembly of the states of *Castile* at *Compostella* in
Galicia; a step never taken by any of his predecessors, and which increased the discontent
 that reigned throughout that kingdom. He went from *Barcelona* to *Saragossa*, and from
 thence to *Valladolid*, where the deputies of *Toledo* and *Salamanca* met him, and desired an
 audience, which he put off, on pretence that he was in a hurry to set off for *Compostella*. The
 next day, going to visit his mother at *Tordesillas*, a rumour prevailed that he was going
 directly to embark, and would take the queen with him; upon which a general insurrection ^f
 was raised at *Valladolid*, in which his person was in some danger, and the court extremely
 alarmed. This provoked him exceedingly; but when he came to know the truth, he was
 appeased, and only a few of the seditious were punished ⁿ. At *Compostella* the states fell into
 such confusion, that, after banishing the deputies of *Toledo*, the king adjourned them to
Corunna, where, partly by threats, partly by promises, he obtained a subsidy of two hundred
 millions of marvadies, notwithstanding the cities of *Toledo*, *Salamanca*, *Toro*, *Murcia*, *Madrid*,
Cordova, and others, protested against it ^o. He then appointed cardinal *Adrian* regent of
Castile and *Leon*, and the governors of other parts of his dominions; after which he embarked,
 on the 21st of *May*, with a few *Spanish* lords and all his *Flemish* ministers, who carried away

^d FARIA Y SOUSA.
^h VERA Y FIGUEROA.
 Reyno de Valencia.

^c SANDOV.
ⁱ FER.
^m PET. MART. Epist.

^f ALPHONSO ULLOA.
^k MAR.

^g PET. MART. Angl. Epist.
^l GASP. ESCOLANO Historia de la Ciudad y
ⁿ SANDOV. ^o FER.

a an immense sum of money, and in six days arrived in the port of *Sandwich*, where he was received by cardinal *Wolsey*, to whom he promised the bishopric of *Badajoz*; but, instead of it, gave him a pension of two thousand five hundred ducats, and who was much more in his secrets than his master. However, king *Henry* met him, and conducted him to *Canterbury*, A. D. 1520. where he passed the *Whitsun* holidays, and where, if we may believe a certain historian^p, he fell in love with the king's sister, the queen dowager of *France*; and, after remitting the disputes between him and the *French* monarch to the decision of king *Henry*, he embarked on the 30th of *May* for *Flanders*, and landed safely at *Flushing*^q.

THE city of *Toledo* had revolted before his departure, and soon after most of the great cities in *Castile* followed its example; and those who entered into this league stiled themselves *Los Comuneros*, or the commons^r. Don *Juan Padilla*, excited chiefly by his wife Donna *Maria Pacheco*, daughter to the count of *Tendilla*, was at the head of those malecontents, and quickly assembled a great army, in which they carried a black standard. On the 2d of September they seized *Tordesillas*, where Don *Juan* had an audience of the queen, and told her, that her son Don *Carlos* having quitted his dominions precipitately, and a civil war being likely to arise, they had brought her the forces of *Toledo*, *Segovia*, and *Madrid*, for her security. The queen said, if she had known her father was dead, she would have provided for the government of the kingdom, and the due administration of justice, and desired them to transfer their assembly thither, which they did, and displaced the marquis of *Denia*, who was governor of the castle, and several others of her attendants, with whom the queen was displeased^s. The president and royal council dispersed, and fled in disguise, and the cardinal regent retired with some difficulty from *Valladolid*. In the mean time dispatches arrived from *Flanders*, by which the constable and admiral of *Castile* were associated with the cardinal in the regency, who, in the month of *November*, established the council at *Burgos*, notwithstanding the assembly of the commons at *Tordesillas* forbid them to assume the government^t. The regents raised an army, and appointed the count de *Haro* to command it; and, on the other hand, Don *Antonio de Acunha*, bishop of *Zamora*, who had joined the commons, engaged them to give the command of their forces to Don *Pedro Gironne*, which disgusted Don *Juan Padilla*, and their former chiefs; and it soon appeared that Don *Pedro* was not thoroughly in their interest, for he suffered the count de *Haro* to surprise *Tordesillas*, and, fearing their resentment, retired; upon which they appointed Don *Juan Padilla* to command their forces^u. In the mean time, the *Germanats* committed as great disorders in *Valentia*; and the like disturbances would have infallibly happened in *Arragon*, if it had not been for the prudence of the archbishop of *Saragossa*^w.

THE coronation and other proceedings of his imperial majesty in *Germany*, where, at this time, the dawning of the reformation gave him full employment, as they belong properly to another part of this work, shall not interrupt us here. We shall content ourselves with observing, that, pretty early in the spring, *William de Croy*, archbishop of *Toledo*, was killed by a fall from his horse; and that, a short time after his death, followed that of his uncle *Chievres*, who, though a minister of consummate abilities, yet was himself so avaricious, and had a wife who so much exceeded him in that vice, as not only to draw great odium upon themselves, but to create many inconveniencies to the emperor^x. The civil war in *Castile* was continued with great violence on both sides; that of the commons deriving great advantages from the intrigues of Donna *Maria de Padilla*, and no less from a long letter written by the cardinal regent to the emperor, which they intercepted and published. In this letter he told him, that the commons did not act so much from a spirit of rebellion, as from a desire of being governed with justice and moderation, as in the days of his grandfather; and that it was not from a sense of loyalty that he was supported by the nobles, but from a regard to the interest they had in breaking the power of the commons, and making themselves so much the more necessary to the crown; that while he had corrupt and rapacious ministers about him, no effectual remedy could ever be applied; and therefore, if he would act prudently, he should immediately remove all such from about his person, and restore the public tranquility, by giving just satisfaction to his subjects^y. The nobility, having thoroughly quieted the city of *Burgos*, strongly reinforced their army with old troops; and having prevailed upon such of their brethren as had countenanced the commons, to withdraw from them, sent express orders to the count de *Haro* to fight. The army of the commons were also inclined to put all upon the issue of a battle; but their general Don *Juan de Padilla*, a young man, and of no great experience, though personally brave, endeavoured to avoid it, being very sensible of the enemies superiority in all respects; but not being general enough to manage that design with success, the count de *Haro* charged his army in its retreat, broke and routed it without diffi-

1521.

^p POLYDOR VIRGIL.
^w GASPAR ESCOL.

^q ULLOA.
^x FER.

^r FER.
^y SANDOV.

^s FER.

^t VERA Y FIGUEROA.

^u SANDOV.

culty, and made the three principal officers who commanded it prisoners ^a. The battle was fought on the 23d of *April*, near *Villabar*; and as the victory was gained with courage, it was improved with conduct; for the very next day, *Don Juan de Padilla*, *Don Juan de Bravo*, and *Don Francisco Maldonado*, were beheaded; but *Don Pedro Maldonado* was spared, out of respect to the count *de Benavente* ^a. Upon this almost all the cities submitted, except *Toledo*, where the bishop of *Zamora* took upon him to be primate by the choice of the people, and *Donna Maria de Padilla* kept up their spirits with great address, and would have been truly worthy of the character of a heroine, if she had not also been guilty of some inexcusable acts of violence. The forces commanded by the bishop of *Zamora* being beaten in the field by the prior of *St. John's*, who commanded the army of the nobles, was at length forced to capitulate, except the alcazar, where *Donna Maria*, with her adherents, had intrenched, and defended themselves with great intrepidity ^b. The troubles of *Castile*, great as they were, fell short of those in *Valentia*, where the *Germanats* made open war upon the nobility, who at length were obliged to arm and defend themselves. Several sieges were made on both sides, several battles fought, but in the end, chiefly through their want of moderation and conduct, the *Germanats* were subdued ^c. The same humour also prevailed in *Majorca*, where the viceroy was forced to take shelter in the island of *Yvica* ^d. The *French*, during these disturbances, had twice attacked, and once conquered, the kingdom of *Navarre*; but, as all the strong places had been demolished by cardinal *Ximenes*, they were very speedily driven out again; yet they made themselves masters of *Fontarabia* in the bay of *Biscay* ^e. In *Italy* also the war was hot between the emperor and *Francis I.* the pope siding with the former, and the *Venetians* with the latter. By the emperor's intrigues with cardinal *Wolsey*, *Henry VIII.* concluded a treaty on the twenty-fourth of *November*, by which he engaged to assist the pope and the emperor, and promised the latter his daughter princess *Mary*, whom he had before betrothed to the dauphin; but the views of this alliance were broken by the death of *Leo* the tenth, which happened on the second of *December* ^f.

The emperor, in his return to Spain, comes into England, and concludes a treaty with Henry VIII.

THE cardinal bishop of *Tortosa* being chosen pope in the beginning of the year, after receiving the compliments of all the *Spanish* nobility, set out for *Arragon*, and afterwards embarked at *Tarragona* for *Italy*. Being seated on the pontifical throne, he retained his own name, and was stiled *Adrian VI.*; and, before his departure from *Spain*, had the pleasure of hearing that the alcazar of *Toledo* had been forced, upon which *Donna Maria de Padilla* had made her escape. She fled in disguise into *Portugal*, where it is said she lived but meanly upon a small pension granted her by the archbishop of *Braga* ^g. The emperor, resolving to return into *Spain*, appointed his brother *Don Ferdinand* vicar of the empire, and *Donna Margaretta*, his aunt, governess of *Flanders*. He then proceeded by land to *Calais*, and so passed to *Dover* ^h. He was received in *England*, where he landed about the end of *May*, with all possible marks of esteem and kindness. He was installed knight of the garter at *Windfor* ⁱ, and, which was the principal intent of his visit, he pacified *Wolsey*, who had taken some offence. He granted him a pension of 9000 gold crowns, and promised him an equivalent for his former pension, which pope *Adrian* had revoked: he renewed his promise of marriage to the princess *Mary*, and, having taken leave of the king, and of the queen, his aunt, passed over to *Calais*, and embarked on board his fleet, consisting of 150 sail, on the sixth of *July*, and landed safely at *Port St. Andero* on the 16th of the same month ^k. The admiral and constable went thither to pay their respects, and to give an account of their regency. They were extremely well received, as were all the rest of the *Spanish* nobility, who had distinguished themselves during the troubles ^l. Four thousand *Germans*, and two thousand *Flemish* foot, which he brought on board his fleet, were sent into *Biscay*, to serve against the *French*. He went from *St. Andero* to *Valentia*, and from thence to *Valladolid*. After he had reposed himself there a few days, he went to *Tordesillas*, to see his mother, and found her, notwithstanding the reports to the contrary, not at all wiser than when he left her ^m. On the 28th of *October*, a magnificent theatre was erected in the square of *Valladolid*, with a throne for his imperial majesty, and benches for the nobility, in whose presence the general pardon was read, which was as full as possible; but about fourscore persons, many of whom were ecclesiastics, were excepted by name; of whom *Don Pedro Pimentel de Talavera* was executed at *Palentia*, and ten or twelve more in other places. The council told him that few examples had been made; to which the emperor answered, there are enough. A person, who expected a reward, informed him where one of the most considerable persons lay hid, and, believing that he had forgot it, put him in mind of it again; upon which the emperor said, smiling, *You had better let him know I am here, than tell me where he is* ⁿ. The *Germanats* were

^a ALPHONSO ULLOA. MUT.

^b FER.

^c VERA Y FIGUEROA.

^d GASPAR ESCOL.

^e VINCENT

^f FER.

^g LORD HERBERT'S History of Henry VIII.

^h RAINALD.

ⁱ ULLOA.

^j ASHMOLE'S history of the most noble Order of the Garter.

^k LORD HERBERT'S History of Henry VIII.

^l SANDOV.

^m FER.

ⁿ VERA Y FIGUEROA.

a intirely dissipated and subdued in *Majorca*, as well as *Valentia*; and the queen dowager of *Portugal*, Donna *Leonora*, the emperor's sister, returned into *Spain* °.

THE *French*, who had been long blocked up in *Fontarabia*, were relieved in the beginning of the year by a small army that entered *Biscay* for that purpose; and the emperor being apprehensive of an irruption into *Catalonia*, sent thither the prior of *St. John*, with the title of vice-roy, and a considerable body of troops °. In the month of *July* he held an assembly of the states of *Castile* at *Palencia*, from whom he obtained a free gift of four hundred thousand ducats, and, in return, assented to several good laws; after which he went in person into the kingdom of *Navarre*, and sent the constable of *Castile* to the prince of *Orange*, to make an irruption into *France* ¹. There happened this year a dreadful plague in the kingdom of *Arragon* ². Pope *Adrian VI.* dying on the twenty-fourth of *September*, was succeeded in the papacy by *Julius de Medicis*, who assumed the name of *Clement VII.*; and this year count *Pedro Navarro*, who had been long prisoner in the castle of *Simencas*, having been taken in *Italy* fighting for the *French*, put an end to his captivity by stabbing himself with a knife ³.

IN the spring, *Fontarabia* was besieged and taken by the *Spaniards* ⁴. The Shah of *Persia* sent an ambassador, or at least a person charged with his letter, to invite the emperor to an alliance against the *Turks*. The disputes that had arisen between the crowns of *Castile* and *Portugal*, with respect to the *Moluccas*, were terminated, or at least suspended, in consideration of a sum of money, and the marriage of the king Don *Juan* with the Infanta Donna *Catalina*, the emperor's youngest sister, who still resided with the queen at *Tordesillas* ⁵. In *Italy*, the imperialists obliged the *French* to repass the *Alps*; and soon after, the duke of *Bourbon*, who was then in the service of the emperor, made an irruption into *Provence*, and besieged *Marseilles*; which, however, he was obliged to abandon. Before the end of the year, *Francis I.* entered *Italy* with a powerful army, recovered *Milan*, and besieged *Pavia* ⁶.

THE marquis de *Pesquaira*, who commanded the *Spanish* army in *Italy*, marching to the relief of that city, defeated the *French* army, and made the king *Francis I.* prisoner. The emperor, when he received this news, is said to have retired into his closet, to give God thanks before he divulged it ⁷. This extraordinary success once more changed the face of affairs in that country. In *Spain* they were desirous of making the most of their royal prisoner, and the emperor held a council of state how it might be best done. His confessor the bishop of *Osma* advised him to set the king at liberty without ransom, which he thought would bind him more than any treaty; but the duke of *Alva* proposed that he should restore the duchy of *Burgundy*, and all that he had taken in *Flanders*; and that he should give the county of *Provence* in sovereignty to the duke of *Bourbon*. *Adrian de Croy* was sent to him into *Italy*, to propose to him these terms, with which that king was so much enraged, that, if it had not been for the *Spanish* lords who were about him, he would have dispatched himself with his dagger. At length growing somewhat calm, he said he would perish in the vilest prison in *Spain* rather than dismember from his dominions the smallest province ⁸.

THERE were many of the *Italian* princes, who, upon this victory, began to be apprehensive of the emperor's power, and of that facility with which he might, at this juncture, make himself master of *Italy*. To prevent this, they secretly negotiated a league against him, and at the same time concerted, with the utmost privacy, how to procure the liberty of the *French* king. The first they in some measure brought to bear, but were absolutely disappointed in the latter; since, notwithstanding the immense advantages they offered to Don *Ferdinand de Alarcon*, in whose custody the king was, he absolutely refused to betray the trust that was reposed in him ⁹. Mr. *Launoy*, viceroy of *Naples*, took occasion from hence to suggest to the king, that the most secure and speedy way of obtaining his liberty would be to pass over into *Spain*, and negotiate it with the emperor himself. *Francis* was extremely pleased with this project, as believing that his eloquence might make some impression on the mind of his imperial majesty. With this view, the design being conducted with great secrecy, the king embarked for *Naples*, as it was given out, but in reality for *Spain*, and landed at *Palamas* in *Catalonia*, from whence he was conducted by *Valentia* to *Madrid*, and there lodged in the alcazar, or castle, under the care of *Alcaron* ¹⁰. He found very soon that he had deceived himself; for, notwithstanding he was received every-where with great solemnity and magnificence, and treated by all the nobility admitted to his presence with great respect, yet he was very strictly confined; and, when he pressed for an audience of the emperor, was

° GASPAR ESCOL.

P SANDOV.

⁹ MAYERN. TURQ.

¹ GASPAR ESCOL.

⁵ FER.

¹ SANDOV.

⁴ GOES.

W FER.

x ULLOA.

y VERA Y FIGUEROA.

z MARIAN.

¹ Primera Parte de la Carolea Enchiridion, che Trata de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V. hasta al ano 1585, por JUAN OCHOA DE LA SALDE, fol. 1585.

told, he was not to expect it till the terms on which he was to obtain his liberty were adjusted^b. The point chiefly insisted upon was the restitution of the duchy of *Burgundy*, which the king absolutely refused, but offered an equivalent; and, finding the treaty drawn into a great length, fell dangerously ill; of which the emperor, who diverted himself in making a tour to the principal places in *Spain*, being informed at *Toledo*, resolved to make him a visit, and set out immediately for the castle of *Madrid*^c.

Their interview at Madrid, which in the end produces nothing.

As soon as he came into the room, he uncovered, and embraced the king, who sat upon his bed; after which they were for some time silent. At length the king said, "You see your slave and prisoner." "I see," said the emperor, "a free prince, who is my dear brother and my true friend." Francis replied, "No, he is your slave." "Not so," added the emperor, "but my friend and my brother; your recovery is the thing in the world which I have most at heart: at present think of nothing but to regain your health; all the rest shall be settled afterwards just as you please." "No," said Francis, "but in the manner you prescribe." After an interview of half an hour, the emperor retired^d. The next day he made him another visit in the evening, and, while he was with him, the king's sister, madame d'*Alençon*, arrived from *France*, whom the emperor himself introduced into his presence, and treated with all imaginable respect^e. After this he returned to *Toledo*. The king grew worse after his departure, and was once in such an agony that his sister covered his face, believing him dead; he received also the sacraments of the church, but, by the care of the emperor's physicians, he at length recovered, though very slowly^f. Madame d'*Alençon*, at the king's request, followed the emperor to *Toledo*, but returned without success; and she was not happy in a scheme which she projected for his escape, and which was discovered by his valet de chambre^g. To push things to the utmost, the king sent the emperor word, that as he was determined never to part with the duchy of *Burgundy*, he had only to regulate the place and manner in which he should be confined during his life. The emperor answered, that would be soon done; but that he was sorry to find he was so unwilling to give, as a ransom, what in point of conscience he was bound to restore^h (H).

IN

^b SANDOV. ^c OCHOA. ^d FER. ^e MEZERAY. ^f SANDOV. ^g P. DANIEL.

(H) There is a necessity, in order to make this part of our history understood, to say something here of the two countries of *Burgundy*, and of the titles by which *Charles the fifth* held the one, and claimed the other. These two countries, taken together, are of a very great extent, and, by their situation, fertility, and products, of an immense value. They lie on the east side of *France*, being bounded on the north by *Champagne*, *Lorraine*, and *Alsace*, on the west by the *Nivernois* and the *Bourbonnois*, on the south by *Beaujolais*, *la Bresse*, and the county of *Geneva*, and on the east by the country of the *Swiss*, and part of *Alsace* (1). The duchy of *Burgundy* was united to the crown of *France* with great solemnity, and with an oath that it should never after be separated, by king *John*, *Anno Domini* 1361; but, notwithstanding this, he gave it to his fourth son *Philip*, September the 6th, 1363, to be held by faith and homage, and to revert to the crown upon failure of issue in lawful marriage (2). *Charles the fifth* of *France* confirmed this donation, adding only these words in the investiture, *without lawful heirs descended in the right line*. This *Philip*, surnamed the *Hardy*, was the father of *John*, who, by *Margaret of Buravia*, became so of *Philip the Good*, who instituted the order of the *Golden Fleece*, and who, by *Isabel* daughter of *John I.* king of *Portugal*, had *Charles the Bold*, who was killed in the battle of *Nancy*, January 5th, 1477 (3). As for the county, it made part of the ancient kingdom, which was called *Upper Burgundy*, and sometimes the principality beyond the *Soane*. *Rainald*, the first of that name, and the second count of

Burgundy, was compelled to do homage for it to the emperor *Henry III.*; but *Rainald III.* being summoned, refused to do homage, and held it as a free sovereignty, from whence it derived the name of *Franche Compté* (4). This noble and fruitful territory was enjoyed, in right of his marriage with *Margaret* countess of *Flanders*, by *Philip the Hardy*, the founder of the last ducal family, which ended, as we have before observed, in *Charles the Bold*, who, by *Isabel* of *Bourbon*, left only one daughter *Mary*, who espoused *Maximilian* of *Austria*, by whom she had *Philip*, the father of *Charles the fifth* (5). Upon the death of her father, *Lewis XI.* then king of *France*, annexed the duchy of *Burgundy* to the crown, pretending that, by the general word *heirs*, heirs male were only intended; and this construction was allowed and confirmed by the states of the duchy (6). This, however, was considered by *Maximilian*, who was afterwards emperor, as a flagrant act of injustice, because king *John*, who re-annexed it to the crown of *France*, and gave it afterwards to his son *Robert*, actually came to it by inheritance from his mother, and might be presumed to grant it upon the like terms to his son. However, as the reader will see in the text, *France*, whatever her title might be, still kept the duchy of *Burgundy*; tho' the county of *Charalois*, which was a fief of this duchy, was yielded by *Lewis XI.* to the archduke *Philip*, and from him descended to his son *Charles the fifth*, from whom it was taken under pretence of felony, but was again restored by the treaties of *Chateau Cambrensis* and *Vervins*, afterwards seized again by the crown of *France*, and re-

(1) *Cluv. Geog. Methode pour apprendre Geographie facilement*, par M. Robbe, vol. i. p. 132. *Geog. Mod. par Du Bois*, p. 129. (2) *Abrege Chronolog. de l'Hist. de France*, par Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 62. P. Daniel. (3) *Nouvelle Abrege Chronol. de l'Hist. de France*, par le P. Henault, p. 299. Mezeray, P. Daniel. (4) *Hist. & Geog. Mod. par M. d'Audiffret*, tom. ii. p. 480. Robbe, Du Bois. (5) Mezeray, P. Daniel, Amelot de la Houffaye. (6) *Hist. & Geog. Mod. par M. d'Audiffret*, tom. ii. p. 480. Mezeray, Dan. Henault.

- a In the mean time the duke of *Bourbon* arrived in *Spain*, and went to wait upon the emperor at *Toledo*, who, when he heard of his approach, went out to meet him, though it rained, embraced him, and shewed such high testimonies of esteem, that madame d'*Alençon* resolved to return to *France*¹. *Francis*, not long after, changed his mind, and offered to restore the duchy of *Burgundy*, provided the emperor would give him his sister the queen dowager of *Portugal* in marriage, and the duchy of *Milan* in dowry; adding, that he would give one of his sons, and twelve of the first nobility in *France*, as hostages for the performance of it. The emperor was a little embarrassed, having promised the queen, as he afterwards did the duchy, to the duke of *Bourbon*; but that princess disengaged him, by declaring she would marry the king, and not the duke^k. The *Italian* states, before the end of the year, had brought their scheme to bear; the pope, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines*, entering into an alliance, which, out of respect to the first of these potentates, was stiled the *Holy League*; to the support of which it was understood that both *England* and *France* would concur; for the emperor having disoblinded cardinal *Wolsey*, by no longer writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing, as he was wont to do, *Your son and cousin*, *CHARLES*, he had prevailed with his master *Henry VIII.* to change sides, and to promise his daughter *Mary* to the dauphin; which induced his imperial majesty to conclude his own marriage with the infanta *Donna Isabella* of *Portugal*, though they were both grandchildren to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*^l. This was afterwards, notwithstanding, thrust into the reasons of the war, and urged against the emperor as a notorious breach of faith.
- b His confinement growing more and more uneasy, the *French* king, finding that his solicitations had little or no effect, resolved to indemnify himself, when at liberty, for the concessions he was obliged to make in order to obtain it. The conditions of this famous peace, which, from the place where it was made, is stiled, *the treaty of Madrid*, were the restitution of the duchy of *Burgundy*, the renunciation of all rights pretended over the kingdom of *Naples*, the duchy of *Milan*, the city of *Genoa*, and the town of *Ast*, the sovereignty claimed over certain states and towns in the *Low Countries*, the obliging *Don Henry d'Albret* to quit the title of king of *Navarre*, giving full satisfaction to *Germana* queen dowager of *Arragon*, and to the prince of *Orange*; restoring his estates and dignities to the duke of *Bourbon*, and the like favour to be reciprocally extended by the emperor, as well as the king, to all who had suffered in any degree by this quarrel^m. On the 15th of *January* the peace was published, the king set at liberty, and his marriage with the queen dowager of *Portugal* celebrated by proxy, her dowry being settled by the treaty; as also that the dauphin should marry her daughter the infanta *Donna Maria*; and that the king should not only give the dauphin but his brother, and twelve young noblemen, for hostages; all which the emperor insisted that the king should promise upon his oath, taken in the most solemn manner, which he did; but some say he made as solemn a protestation before he took it, that what he did was by absolute constraint; and that his true intention was to perform his promise no farther than it should be reasonable; of which the emperor had some information, or at least a strong suspicion; so that notwithstanding the king solemnly espoused *Donna Leonora*, yet he would not remit that princess into her husband's possession till the treaty was executed, but sent him soon after, with all exterior marks of kindness, into his own dominionsⁿ, while he went to celebrate his own marriage with the infanta *Donna Isabella* of *Portugal*. About this time the bishop of *Zamora* was executed in the castle of *Simencas*, where for some years he had been confined.
- c *CHARLES DE LANOY* and *Don Ferdinand d'Alarcon* attended king *Francis* to the frontiers, and received the hostages, whom as soon as they had delivered to the constable of *Castile's* son, they followed that prince, who very soon acquainted them that it was not in his power to restore *Burgundy*; but that he was willing to pay two millions of crowns for the ransom of his son and the rest of the hostages; and on the 22d of *May* he signed the *Holy League* at *Paris*^p.

A new alliance, stiled by the pope the Holy League, concerted against the emperor.

The French king at last finds it requisite to conclude the treaty of Madrid.

When at liberty, declares he will execute it so far only as he thinks reasonable.

¹ P. DANIEL.

^k MEZERAY.

^l Lord HERBERT's History of Henry VIII.

^m SANDOV.

ⁿ OCHOA.

^o Idem.

^p DANIEL.

stored again to that of *Spain*, as the reader will see, by the treaty of the *Pyrenees* (7). It was then bestowed by *Philip IV.* as a compensation for his losses, upon the great *Conde*, and has remained ever since in his family, and gives at this day the title of a count to one of the princes his descendants (8). As to the *Franche Comte*, it belonged, without dispute, to *Maximilian* of *Austria*, in right of his marriage, and from him descended to *Charles V.* who annexed it, together with all the pro-

vinces of the *Low Countries*, to the empire, under the title of the *Circle of Burgundy* (9). Thus the reader sees the true source of that bitter animosity which reigned between these two great princes, and descended, together with their dominions, to their posterity, and proved the cause of so many wars, and so much disturbance, not only to their own dominions, but through all Christendom.

(7) *Corps Diplom de Droit. des Gens*, tom. vi. p. ii. p. 264. *Piganiol de la Force*, tom. iii. p. 213. *Geog. Mod. par du Bois*.

(8) *Nouvelle descript. de la France*, par M.

(9) *Cluv. D'Audiffret, Du Bois, &c.*

His ambassadors soon after signified as much to the emperor. The ministers of the rest of the allies demanded that he should cause the siege of the citadel of *Milan* to be raised, and put *Francis Sforza* into the possession of the city and duchy; that he should renounce the kingdom of *Naples*, should pay what was due to the king of *England*, and send no more troops into *Italy*; otherwise they would declare war against him, and compel him to perform what they demanded^a. The emperor answered, that the *French* king did very ill not to keep his word as a monarch, and his oath as a Christian; that his parliaments could not dispense with either, since, before they were given, they approved both; that, with respect to the queen *Donna Leonora*, he ought to behave to her as his lawful wife; that the hostages were in his power, and he would do with them what he pleased; that the duke of *Milan* was his feudatory, and he meant to punish him as a rebel; that the *Spanish* troops in *Lombardy* acted by his orders, and should be recalled when he thought fit; that the kingdom of *Naples* was his inheritance; that he would come or go, or send into *Italy*, when he thought proper; and that he meant to pay the king of *England* out of the ransom due from the king of *France*; neither was he at all in doubt, that, with the assistance of God, he should defend his own rights, and protect his subjects, when attacked^b. A severe edict was published this year against the *Morescoes* in the kingdom of *Granada*, and an insurrection made by them in the kingdom of *Valentia* was suppressed, and very rigorously punished. In *Italy*, the imperialists made themselves masters of *Milan*, and took possession of the city of *Rome*, which obliged pope *Clement VII.* to shut himself up in the castle of *St. Angelo*, where, by dint of prayers and intreaties, he at last procured a truce for three months^c.

Rome sacked
by the impe-
rialists, com-
manded by the
duke of Bour-
bon and the
prince of
Orange.

1527.

THE emperor held in the spring an assembly of the states at *Valladolid*, where, for the sake of conveniency, his imperial majesty ordered the deputies of the respective orders to hold their assemblies in different places; whereas hitherto the nobility, clergy, and commons, had sat together. He explained to them the motive of his calling them together, which was his want of money; but each of the orders suggested separately a plausible excuse, and agreed unanimously to grant him nothing; upon which they were dissolved about the middle of *March*^d. On the 21st of *May* the empress was delivered of the prince *Don Philip* at *Valladolid*, and, for the solemnity of his baptism, most prodigious preparations were made; but, on a sudden, the emperor suspended all rejoicings, on account of what had happened at *Rome*, where the army of the duke of *Bourbon* had sacked the city, and the prince of *Orange*, who commanded the army after his decease, kept the pope blocked up in the castle of *St. Angelo*. For the safety and preservation of his holiness, the emperor caused public prayers to be made at *Madrid*, disavowing all that his generals did, though he reaped all the advantages from the steps they took, by which they became masters of all *Italy*, till general *Lautrec* entered it with a *French* army, though paid in a great measure by *English* money, by which the face of affairs was quickly changed, and the pope, being at liberty to speak his own language, declared for the allies^e.

Strange mes-
sages between
Francis I. and
the emperor
Charles V.

1528.

THE new year opened with a very new scene: two kings at arms, one stiled *Guienne*, from the *French* king, and the other *Clarence*, from *Henry* of *England*, demanded a public audience of the emperor; which being granted, they first recapitulated the wrongs done to their respective masters, and then the insults offered to the pope, and the cruel plundering of *Rome* for two months together; in resentment of which they declared war. The emperor ordered his answers to be delivered to them in writing on the 25th of *January*. In that to the *French* king he advised him not to put any trust in the promises of *Wolsey*, whose boundless ambition and inordinate avarice put him upon sowing discord between them. He said that minister had threatened the emperor, for not using his interest to advance him to the papacy, that he would so embroil the affairs of Christendom, that they should not be effectually settled again for one hundred years to come. He also intimated, that he doubted whether his ambassador had repeated to him what he told him when he had an audience of him at *Granada*; of which *Francis* having demanded an explanation, the emperor said he told him, that he acted wickedly, and like a coward, in breaking his word, and forgetting his oath, which he would maintain to his face, with his sword in his hand^f. The king of *France* thereupon sent *Guienne* with an answer, which was read at a public audience, importing, that if the emperor ever said the king of *France* behaved otherwise than became a good knight, he lied, and lied as often as he said so; and that he would make this good in single combat. The emperor, by his king at arms, accepted the challenge, and assigned an island in the river dividing their dominions; but all this came to nothing^g. The *French* tell this story otherwise, and, in its proper place, we shall give their account of the matter. In *Spain*, the states of the several kingdoms swore to *Don Philip* as the heir apparent, and gave the emperor moderate supplies^h. In *Italy*, the fortune of war varied. In the beginning of the year the allies were successful;

^a MEZERAY.

^b FERR.

^c RAINALD

^d MARIAN.

^e FER.

^f RAINALD.

^g Lord HERBERT's History of Henry VIII.

^h P. DANIEL.

ⁱ MARIAN.

a *Philippine Doria*, then in their service, beat the imperialists at sea; and the *French*, about *Midsummer*, besieged the city of *Naples*; but, before the close of it, they were obliged to raise the siege, were beat in their retreat by the prince of *Orange*, and a great part of them, who had taken shelter in *Averso*, were obliged to capitulate there. The city of *Genoa* likewise revolted from the *French*, and declared for the imperialists, by the advice and with the assistance of the *Dorias*^a, who were from thence regarded as deliverers of their country.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the emperor resolved to make a voyage to *Italy*, leaving his empress regent in *Spain*. As he was to embark at *Barcelona*, he summoned an assembly of the states of *Catalonia* for the first of *May*. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, the inhabitants sent deputies to know whether he would make his public entry in quality of emperor, or of their count, because of the ceremonial; to which he prudently gave this answer, that he preferred the title of count of *Barcelona*, made his entry in that quality, and obtained a generous supply from the states^b. While he was there, he concluded a treaty with the pope, by which he consented to give his natural daughter *Margaret* to *Alexander Medicis*, the pope's nephew, who was to have the state of *Florence*, with the title of duke; that the places taken from the holy see should be restored; that *Francis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, should have justice done him; and that, after pacifying *Italy*, he would go into *Germany*, and, with the assistance of his brother *Ferdinand*, who was become king of *Hungary*, endeavour to reduce the *Lutherans*. On the other hand, the pope consented to acknowledge him in quality of king of *Naples*; that he should present to all archbishops and bishops; and that his holiness should grant free passage to his troops whenever he required it. The emperor swore to the due performance of this peace on the 29th of *June*, in the cathedral of *Barcelona*^c.

In the mean time madame *Louisa*, mother to the *French* king, signified to madame *Marguerite*, the emperor's aunt, and governess of the *Low Countries*, that she would be glad to confer with her about a peace; of which the emperor being informed, he sent full powers to his aunt. Madame *Louisa* having received the like from her son, set out for *Cambray*, where these two princesses, taking up their lodgings in houses that joined to each other, caused a door to be broke through the wall, that they might confer together when they pleased, without ceremony. The first conference was held on the 8th of *July*: the peace was signed, concluded, and the princesses swore to the execution thereof on the 5th of *August* following, in the cathedral church of *Cambray*; and, three days after, it was sworn to by *Francis* himself^d. By this treaty he undertook to pay by the first of *March* two millions of crowns of gold for his ransom, and to withdraw his troops out of *Italy* in six months. The king of *England* was likewise comprised in this treaty. On the 12th of *August* the emperor made his public entry into *Naples*, where he received, and swore to, the treaty of *Cambray*. He had afterwards an interview, and was twice crowned by the pope; and, before the close of the year, he concluded a peace with the *Venetians*, and a treaty of commerce^e. While his imperial majesty was at *Bologna*, *Francis Sforza* came thither, and threw himself at his feet, telling him, that he relied upon his clemency, and his own innocence; after which he began to make many protestations of his fidelity; but the emperor, perceiving that he was sick and weak, took him up, embraced him, and promised to restore him his dominions upon very moderate terms, at which all the world was surpris'd^f. This year the younger *Barbarossa*, who had succeeded his brother at *Algiers*, defeated a squadron of the emperor's galleys on the coast of *Spain*, and took or sunk six out of eight, which gave the emperor great displeasure^g.

The spring was spent in *Italy* in carrying the peace, which was proclaimed in the cathedral of *Bologna* on new-year's day, into execution, in ceremonies requisite to establish the emperor's authority, and in perfecting the concession of the islands of *Malta* and *Gosa*, together with *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, with all their castles, fortresses, and other dependencies, to the military order of the knights of *St. John* of *Jerusalem*, of which they were put in possession by *Hector* Pignatelli, viceroy of *Sicily*, on the first of *April* following^h. After these things were dispatched, the emperor, pursuant to the promise he had made the pope, set out for *Germany*, and, in his passage, was splendidly entertained by the marquis of *Mantua*. The keys were presented to him in all the cities belonging to the *Venetians*, by an express order from the senate; and his brother *Ferdinand*, king of *Hungary*, met him at *Inspruck* in *Tirol*ⁱ; but the remainder of this journey, and the consequences of it, belong to the history of the empire, where they will be found. That insult which had been offered to his arms by the corsairs under the command of *Barbarossa*, affected him to such a degree, that he sent orders to *Andrew Doria*, esteemed one of the best seamen of that age, to revenge it at all events. *Doria* had a good squadron of his own, which he not only reinforced with all the *Spanish*

Treaty concluded between the emperor and pope Clement VII. at Barcelona.

Peace of Cambray made by the French king's mother and the emperor's aunt.

A. D. 1529.

The emperor grants the city of Tripoli, with Malta and Gosa, to the knights of St. John.

^a JUSTINIANI.
History of Henry VIII.

^b SANDOVAL.
^f OCHOA.

^c FERRERAS.
^g FERRERAS.

^d P. DANIEL.
^h P. DANIEL.

^e LORD HERBERT'S
ⁱ VERA Y FIGUEROA.

gallies that were ready to put to sea, but demanded also, in the name of the emperor, assistance from *Francis I.* who sent him ten gallies, well-manned ^k. Arriving at *Majorca*, he was informed that *Barbarossa* had sixty gallies under his command, all excellently provided; that, with half of these he was sailed to *Algiers*, and the other half, under the command of *Haly*, was at *Sargel*; to which port he sailed, forced his passage in, plundered the adjacent country, forced the enemy to take shelter in a fortress on shore, and brought away two gallies and seven smaller ones; but *George Pallavicini*, with three companies of *Italians*, being sent to recover the Christian captives, after having performed that service, fell to plundering, and thereby gave the *Turks* an opportunity of surrounding and cutting him and all his people to pieces ^l. The release of the dauphin and the duke of *Orleans* was postponed from the first of *March* to the first of *July*, the *French* king not being able to raise the money before, and then they were delivered by *Don Alvaro de Lugos* at *Fontarabia*, upon the receipt of a million two hundred thousand crowns, the other eight hundred thousand being assigned to the king of *England* ^m. At the same time queen *Leonora* was received by cardinal *Tournon* and marshal *Montmorency* ⁿ. On the 30th of *November* died the princess *Margaret*, who directed that her body should be interred at *Granada*, near those of their catholic majesties *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, and was replaced in the government of the *Low Countries* by *Donna Maria*, queen-dowager of *Hungary* ^o.

He takes precautions for securing his dominions against the French king.

WHILE the emperor was embarrassed in *Germany*, as well with disputes about religion as with a war against the *Turks*, the government in *Spain* found themselves not a little embarrassed with the pope, who sent several bulls thither of different natures, which they directed to be examined as to their compatibility with the laws, before they were carried into execution; upon which some of the inferior clergy began to preach in a very seditious strain, and to infuse into the minds of the people an apprehension that the church was in danger; which, considering the emperor's absence, might have been attended with great inconveniences, but for the vigilance and activity, as well as the loyalty and steadiness, of cardinal *Tavera* archbishop of *Toledo*, president of the council of *Castile*, and the rest of the ministers ^p. The emperor received their remonstrances on this head very kindly, and promised to address himself on this subject to the pope. He directed also, that a collection should be made of the opinions given by the divines and lawyers in their catholic majesty's dominions at the time the marriage was under consideration between the Infanta *Donna Catalina* and *Henry* prince of *Wales*, brother to prince *Arthur*, her former husband ^q. He farther ordered, that levies should be made for the war against the *Turks*; and that the frontiers towards *France* should be put into a proper state of defence, being still under some apprehension of *Francis I.* The pope, to make court to his imperial majesty, created, towards the close of the year, two *Spanish* cardinals, *Don Alonso Manrique* archbishop of *Seville*, and *Don Garcia Loyaza* archbishop of *St. James* of *Compostella* ^r. This was exceedingly acceptable to that nation.

Solyman the Magnificent, afraid of the emperor's good fortune, leaves Hungary.

THE emperor, who had spent the winter in the *Low Countries*, returned in the spring to *Germany*, in order to defend it against the *Turks*, their emperor *Solyman the Magnificent* being bent upon attacking *Vienna* with the whole force of his empire; but he is said to have abandoned that enterprize by the advice of the *French* and of the *Venetians*, who represented the fortune of *Charles* as invincible; and that, if he should be victorious over the *Turks*, he would give law to all the princes in *Europe*, and compel the Christian powers to attack the *Ottoman* empire on every side ^s. In *Spain*, the empress held at *Segovia* the states of the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, in which assembly many good laws were made. *Andrew Doria* had orders to oppose the *Turkish* fleet, which consisted of ninety gallies and a prodigious number of small vessels, with which they threatened desolation to the coasts of *Italy* and *Spain*. *Doria* had a fleet of equal strength, with ten thousand *Spanish*, *Italian*, and *German* troops on board. Upon the first intelligence of which, the *Turks* retired into port, which left him at liberty to reduce *Coron*, and other fortresses in the *Morea*, after defeating in the field all the forces that could be brought to oppose them. Having left in the place first-mentioned a *Spanish* garrison, under the command of *Don Jerom Mendoza*, he returned to *Genoa*, to wait the arrival of the emperor. *Charles*, having settled every thing in *Germany*, returned into *Italy* with a numerous army; and, having adjusted also the affairs of that country with the pope at *Bologna*, he resolved to return into *Spain*, where the state of his affairs, and the natural affection of that people for their sovereign, caused him to be very impatiently expected ^t, as well as some abuses in the government, which naturally spring up in the long absence of the prince.

Andrew Doria defeats the Turkish fleet,

In his journey from *Bologna* to *Genoa*, the emperor visited the field of battle, where *Francis I.* was taken, attended by such of the principal generals that were present in that engage-

^k P. DANIEL. ^l Historia de muchas Guerres entre Christianos y Infideles desde el anno 1546, hasta el 1565, por PEDRO DE SALAZAR. ^m FERRERAS. ⁿ MEZERAY. ^o MARIANA. ^p RAINALD. ^q OCHOA. ^r SANDOVAL. ^s OCHOA, ALPHONSO ULLOA. ^t PEDRO DE SALAZAR, FERRERAS.

a ment as were yet alive, and heard with great attention all the circumstances they related concerning that glorious victory ^u. On the 10th of *March* he arrived at *Genoa*, and lodged in the palace of *Andrew Doria*; after which he embarked on board the gallies commanded by that famous admiral, and arrived safely at *Barcelona* on the twenty-second of *April*, where he found the empress, the prince *Don Philip*, and the Infanta *Donna Maria*, with the whole court, who were come thither to meet him ^w. He found likewise an envoy from *Muley Houssein* king of *Tunis*, to desire his assistance against the corsair *Barbarossa*, by whom he had been driven out of his dominions. The emperor heard him very graciously, and promised his master relief. In the month of *July* he went to *Moncon*, where he held the states of *Aragon*, *Catalonia*, and *Valentia*, his secretary having explained to them the great things that the emperor had done for restoring the peace of *Europe*, and the defence of Christendom against the Infidels, the kingdom of *Aragon* presented him with a free gift of two hundred thousand crowns, and *Catalonia* and *Valentia* gave in proportion. *Don Alvaro Bazan*, who was sent with a squadron of gallies to the coast of *Barbary*, performed great things there, took several places, and ruined a squadron of corsairs. The *Turkish* emperor *Solyman* sent a numerous army to besiege *Coron* by land, and a fleet with sixty gallies, and a considerable body of troops on board, to cover that siege; but the garrison making a brave defence, *Andrew Doria* failed to its relief, and, having beat the *Turkish* fleet, changed the garrison, and supplied the place with all kinds of provision and ammunition, which so mortified *Solyman*, that he ordered the general who commanded his army to be strangled ^x. He then caused *Coron* to be blocked up a second time, when the garrison being reduced to distress, the new governor was prevailed upon, against his own opinion, to make a sally with the best part of the troops in the place; but he conducted it with such address, and the *Spanish* troops behaved with such intrepidity, that it answered the end for which it was made. In his retreat he was furiously attacked by the *Turks*, who continued the engagement after their general was slain, and pushed it so far, that *Don Rodrigo Machicao* was likewise killed; but his lieutenant *Hermosilla*, taking the command, repulsed the *Turks* with so much spirit, that they were at length glad to permit him and his troops to enter again into the place ^y.

In the spring the emperor held an assembly of the states of *Castile* at *Madrid*, in which some beneficial laws were made, and he obtained a large supply for carrying on the war against the Infidels ^z. He considered, however, that his new conquest of *Coron* could not be maintained but at a vast expence, and was of no real advantage to him, though of great consequence to the pope and the *Venetians*, who were therefore very pressing in their solicitations for him to keep it. Upon mature consideration, he judged this inexpedient. Having, therefore, first offered it to his holiness, the *Venetians*, and to the grand master of *Malta*, with an annual subsidy towards the maintenance of the garrison, and they having refused it, he sent orders to the viceroys of *Naples* and *Sicily* to send a fleet to bring away the garrison. This they did, together with the artillery and military stores, and all the *Greek* inhabitants and their effects; upon the arrival of this fleet in *Sicily*, lands were assigned to the *Greeks* for their subsistence, and their posterity continue in possession of them to this day ^a. *Solyman* the Magnificent, burning with a desire of revenge for the enterprize of *Coron*, sent for *Barbarossa*, and, to his own amazement, and to that of all the world, declared him a basha, and general of the *Ottoman* forces by sea: that these might not appear empty titles, he equipped a squadron of fourscore gallies, and ordered him, after repairing and fortifying *Coron*, to waste and destroy the coasts of *Sicily* and *Italy*; which he punctually performed, and, after having terrified *Rome* itself, and acquired a great booty, returned in triumph to *Tunis* ^b. This was extremely grating to the emperor, who was no sooner informed of this expedition than he sent instructions to *Andrew Doria* to hold his gallies in readiness, ordered the viceroys of *Naples* and *Sicily* to prepare theirs, demanded assistance from the pope, the king of *Portugal*, and other Christian princes, and settled the general rendezvous of the whole fleet for the month of *May* in the ensuing year. In the mean time he ordered *Lewis Presendes*, a *Genoese* by birth, and one of his own domestics, to go with two ships richly laden to *Tunis*, as a merchant, in order to examine the state of that place, and its fortifications, that he might take measures for his intended enterprize with greater certainty. On his arrival, however, *Presendes* was betrayed by a *Moresco* servant; upon which *Barbarossa* caused his head to be cut off, and his body to be burnt without the city ^c. This year proved fatal to pope *Clement* the seventh, who was succeeded in the papal throne by cardinal *Alexander Farnese*, whom, some say, he nominated on his death-bed, and who, after his accession, assumed the name of *Paul* the third; and this year also was established the famous order of jesuits ^d.

and takes Coron in the Morea.

But the too great expence of this conquest induces the emperor to quit it.

A. D. 1534.

^u SANDOVAL; VERA Y FIGUEROA, FERRERAS.

^w PEDRO DE SALAZAR, VERA Y FIGUEROA, FERRERAS.

^x OCHOA.

^y SANDOVAL, ALPHONSO ULLOA.

^z MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^a SANDOVAL.

ALPHONSO ULLOA.

^b PEDRO DE SALAZAR, OCHOA.

^c RAINALD, PAULI JOVII HIST.

Adriani.

^d MARIANA, M. TURQUET, FERRERAS.

His expedition
into Africa,
and the reduc-
tion of the
fortress of
Gouletta.

THE war of *Africa* so occupied the emperor's thoughts, that he seemed to have no other view than that of restoring the king of *Tunis*, and humbling the pride of the Infidels. This coincided so exactly with the interests of his neighbours, that the succours he received very much surpassed his expectations. Don *Lewis* of *Portugal* brought a squadron of twenty-two ships of war, besides a large galleon, and two ships of a new construction, and of a size superior to any that had yet been seen. *Andrew Doria's* squadron of gallies were in every respect complete; and one of them, which was intended for the emperor's person, had four benches of rowers, and the men were all cloathed in silk. The emperor, having made a general review, embarked for *Sardinia*, where, notwithstanding he met with very bad weather in his passage, he arrived on the 11th of *June*, and there found the *Italian* forces; so that when he weighed for the coasts of *Barbary* he had one hundred and forty men of war and gallies, and two hundred and sixty vessels of smaller size^c. *Barbarossa* had fortified *Tunis* in the best manner he was able, and had assembled near one hundred thousand men for his defence. As he foresaw the Christians would make an attempt on the fortress of *Gouletta*, he posted *Sinan* basha there with six thousand *Turks*. He was not mistaken; the emperor, having debarked his army, formed the siege of that place, and took such precautions, that the corsair could not either relieve it, or oblige him to raise the siege. As soon as the artillery had made a breach that was practicable, the emperor caused it to be stormed in his presence by a body of old *Spanish* infantry, who, notwithstanding an obstinate defence made by the besieged, entered. In the mean time the *Italians*, who were to have attacked the fortress on the side of the lake, finding that impracticable, marched round with their ladders, notwithstanding they were exposed to all the fire of the enemy's artillery, and entered upon the very heels of the *Spaniards*; which so intimidated the garrison, who were drawn up in the great square in good order, that, after one general discharge, they threw down their arms, and made their escape through the lake.

Defeats the
Moorish army,
and restores
the old king of
Tunis.

THE taking this place was of prodigious consequence, for they found in the arsenal three hundred pieces of brass cannon, and a great number of gallies in the port^f. Many of the general officers advised the emperor, therefore, to be content with his good fortune, and not push things farther, at least this campaign; which extremely alarmed the poor king of *Tunis*, who was in the camp with a very small body of cavalry, composed of such of his subjects as had followed his fortune. But the Infant of *Portugal* and the duke of *Alba* insisted, that it was dishonourable for the emperor to retire without making himself master of *Tunis*, which was his own opinion likewise; and therefore, as soon as the army had taken some repose, he advanced towards that city. *Barbarossa*, who had no inclination to be shut up, and who besides had an army much superior to that of the emperor, having secured the city as well as he was able, marched to meet and give him battle; but his forces behaved so indifferently at the first attack, that he altered his sentiments, and resolved to retire again into the place, which at his return he found in a manner empty, the inhabitants of the city being fled to the mountains, and the Christian slaves having surprised the castle, so that he found it necessary to retire to *Algiers*^g. The emperor, being thus become master of *Tunis*, which he could not prevent the army from plundering, restored the king *Muly Houssein*, with whom he made a treaty, dated the sixth of *August*, by which he became his vassal, and made a cession of the fortress of *Gouletta*. He returned thither; and, having put into it a garrison of a thousand *Spaniards*, under the command of Don *Bernardin de Mendoza*, with a squadron of twelve gallies under *Antonio Doria*, he dismissed the greatest part of his auxiliaries, and embarked for *Sicily*^h. On the twelfth of *September* he made his public entry into *Palermo*, where he held an assembly of the states, and received a free gift, and then proceeded to *Naples*, where he was received with all possible magnificence. There he had the news of the death of the duke of *Milan*, who had left him his heir; and that *Antonio de Leyva*, with the *Spanish* troops under his command, had taken possession of that duchy on his behalfⁱ. To moderate, however, this good news, he received an unexpected piece of intelligence, that *Barbarossa* had attacked *Minorca*, and, having granted a fair capitulation to the city of *Mahon*, had broke it, massacred a great part of the inhabitants, and made slaves of above eight hundred persons, most of whom he carried to *Algiers*; which first excited a resolution in the emperor of attacking and making himself master of that place, as the sole means of abasing the naval power of the Infidels^k; an enterprize, which it had been happy for Christendom he had executed with as much success as he employed skill in the contrivance.

The war
breaks out
again with

THE death of the duke of *Milan* induced the *French* king to revive his pretensions to the duchy of *Milan*, though even before that event happened he had made an irruption into

^c SANDOVAL, OCHOA, VERA Y FIGUEROA, PAULII JOVII Histor. Justiniani Adriani.
SALAZAR, ALPHONSO ULLOA, SANDOVAL. ^e PAULII JOVII Histor. FERRERAS.
DE SALAZAR, Adriani Justiniani. ⁱ ALPHONSO ULLOA, FERRERAS. ^k OCHOA, VERA Y FIGUE-
ROA, FERRERAS.

^f PEDRO DE
^h OCHOA, PEDRO
ROA, FERRERAS.

- a *Savoy*; but, knowing that the issue of war is always doubtful, was content to propose an accommodation. The emperor, who had just seen his natural daughter *Margaret* married to the duke of *Tuscany*, and found his affairs in *Italy* in the most flourishing condition, was not very ready to part with so noble a possession as the duchy of *Milan*, more especially as the *Venetians*, the most prudent and the most powerful of the *Italian* republics, offered to enter into an alliance with him for its preservation¹. However, it is pretended, that he proposed to give the investiture of *Milan* to the third son of the *French* king, but this was after his father should have discovered his intention as to these three points. First, whether he meant to make a league with the *Turks*; the next, whether he would concur in reducing the Protestants in *Germany*; and, lastly, what security he would give that the duchy of *Milan* should
- b never be annexed to the crown of *France*. But, whatever propositions he made, it is certain that he took all possible precautions for making war with success; and, having issued his orders for that purpose, went to *Rome*, into which he made his public entry on the 5th of *April*. Not content with the interviews he had with the pope, he caused a solemn assembly to be held at the *Vatican*, where all the foreign ministers, and other persons of distinction in the city, were present, as well as the pope, in which he made a long and eloquent speech in support of his own cause, against the monarch of *France*^m.
- c AFTER he quitted that city, he went to put himself at the head of his army, in order to execute the design he had formed of entering *France*, contrary, as is affirmed, to the sentiments of his greatest generals. He arrived at *Nice* on the twenty-fifth of *July*, and passed from thence to *Aix*, where he remained near a month; after which he undertook the siege of *Marseilles*, on the twenty-fifth of *August*ⁿ. He did not find the reduction of that place so easy as he expected. At the same time *Andrew Doria* was upon the coast of *Provence* with a small fleet; and count *Henry* of *Nassau* had entered *Picardy*, from *Flanders*, with an army of twenty-six thousand men; yet, notwithstanding all these enterprizes were well contrived, and executed by the best troops in *Europe*, they failed; for the army before *Marseilles*, being but indifferently supplied with provisions, had recourse to raisins and figs; and these fruits not agreeing with their constitutions, an epidemic distemper broke out, that carried off twenty thousand men, and, amongst them, *Antonia de Leyva*, and other old generals^o. In the mean time the *French* army grew every day more numerous, so that on the tenth of *September* the emperor raised the siege, and began his retreat two days after count *Nassau* had done the like in *Picardy*, and for the same reason^p. The troops on board the fleet made some descents, and burnt and plundered the country, but were constrained to retire with loss, and, the weather becoming tempestuous, were forced to return. As for the emperor, he made a good retreat; and, having quitted his army in *Piedmont*, went to *Genoa*, where he found the fleet of *Andrew Doria*, on board which he embarked, and, arriving safely at *Barcelona* on the sixth of *December*, proceeded from thence to *Castile*, where his presence was very necessary^q.
- d IN the space of a few months the emperor found his affairs extremely embarrassed. The *French*, in their turn, began to act offensively in *Flanders* and in *Italy*, while the *Turks*, apparently in concert with them, made prodigious preparations for attacking the emperor's dominions by sea, particularly the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*. *Charles* gave orders on every side, and employed all his talents to make head against his enemies. Amongst those great qualities of which he was master, his eloquence was not the least useful or the least considerable; and if the *French* drew any advantage from their alliance with the Infidels, it may be doubted whether it balanced what accrued to the emperor from publishing it in the strongest manner throughout all Christendom^r. It was by the help of this chiefly, that, in the states of *Castile* held at *Valladolid*, he obtained a vast subsidy; and, under pretence of providing for the defence of the coasts against the *Turks*, he caused an exact account to be taken, in *Catalonia* and *Valentia*, of the number of men capable to carry arms^s. In the month of *July* he held at *Moncon* the states of *Aragon* and of the provinces annexed to it, where he likewise obtained a great supply, part of which he employed in fortifying the frontiers against the *French* in the summer. The *Turkish* fleet, in the absence of *Andrew Doria*, came, under the command of *Lutfi Bey*, on the coast of *Naples*, and took several places, which they burnt and pillaged; but *Andrew Doria*, in his return, took near twenty galleys, and made slaves of the janissaries on board them^t: however, having intelligence that *Chairuddin* basha, whom the *Turks* stiled *Barbarossa*, was coming down upon him with the whole *Ottoman* fleet, he retired to *Messina*. In the spring, and part of the summer, the war continued against the

¹ MEZERAY, PAULI JOVII HISTOR. ^m RAINALD, DUPLÉIX, FERRERAS. ⁿ SANDOVAL, P. DANIEL.
^o OCHOA, ALPHONSO ULLOA, FERRERAS. ^p MEZERAY, VERA Y FIGUEROA, MARIANA. ^q DUPLÉIX.
^r PAULI JOVII HISTOR. ADRIANI, PEDRO DE SALAZAR. ^s OCHOA, TURQUET, FERRERAS.
^t PEDRO DE SALAZAR, SANDOVAL.

French in *Flanders* and in *Piedmont* with some advantage to the imperialists; but queen *Leonora* on one side, and the queen dowager of *Hungary* on the other, pressed the two monarchs so earnestly, that a truce was concluded and signed for three months by the two queens at *Bonny*, on the 30th of *July*^a. The pope and the *Venetians* procured also a truce for the like space on the side of *Italy*; of which when the *Turkish* emperor was informed, he abandoned his design against *Naples*, and resolved to revenge himself upon the *Venetians*. Towards the close of the year, *Don Alvaro Bazan*, general of the gallies of *Spain*, taking something amiss, resigned that employment; but the emperor sent him word, that he was not offended even with his demission: that he had occasion for his service; and that he should keep his post, whether he served or not; and the empress sent a person of distinction, in her name, to prevail upon him to do as the emperor desired, which, under various pretences, he declined^w. b The same year *Alexander Medicis*, duke of *Florence*, was murdered by his cousin *Lawrence*, upon which the emperor gave his dominions to *Cosmo de Medicis*, to whom he intended likewise to have given his daughter *Margaret*, the widow of the deceased^x.

His interview
with the pope
at Nice, and
with the
French king
at Aigues-
mortes, near
Marseilles.

THE pope, by his legates, prevailed on their imperial and most christian majesties to have an interview at *Nice*, and in the mean time concluded with the emperor and the *Venetians* a league against the *Turks*. Setting out afterwards from *Rome*, he went to *Savona* by land, and, embarking on board the emperor's gallies, arrived at *Nice* on the seventeenth of *May*, and the next day the emperor came thither from *Barcelona*^y. The *French* monarch, with his queen, his son the dauphin, and the constable *Montmorency*, arrived at *Villafranca* on the twenty-first^z. The pontiff conferred with both princes separately, but could not engage them to meet and confer in his presence. After abundance of interviews, all he could accomplish was a truce for ten years, which was signed on the eighteenth of *June*; and a promise that they would send their plenipotentiaries to *Rome*, to negotiate a solid peace. The pope, making use of the emperor's gallies, returned to *Genoa*, and from thence to *Rome*^a. His imperial majesty, during these conferences, saw his sister often; and being informed that the *French* monarch was very desirous of conferring with him alone, and would for that purpose wait for him at *Aigues-mortes*, he ordered *Andrew Doria*, when he arrived with his gallies, to steer directly for *Marseilles*. As soon as the fleet appeared in sight, the cannon of the citadel and town were immediately discharged, the magistrates came in a body to salute him on board his gallies, and, having kissed his hand, presented the keys of the town; with which compliment the emperor was extremely pleased^b. He arrived on *Sunday* the fourteenth of *July* at *Aigues-mortes*, where he was received by king *Francis* in person, who went on board his gally, and was treated with all imaginable kindness and respect^c. The emperor went on shore the next day, and staid till the sixteenth, and dined with the king, the queen, the dauphin, and the constable *de Montmorency*. The two monarchs had a private conference of about an hour, and parted with such exterior demonstrations of friendship, that all the world thought the peace concluded; after which, the king conducted the emperor to his gally, and he was no sooner on board than he returned to *Spain*. These interviews detained *Andrew Doria* so long, that the Christian fleet was not at sea so early as it might have been. At length it assembled towards the end of *August* at *Corfu*, consisting of one hundred thirty-six gallies, two galleons, and thirty-nine frigates, divided into five squadrons, commanded by *Francis Doria*, general *Grimani*, general *Capello*, *Andrew Doria*, and *Don Ferdinand Gonzaga*, viceroy of *Sicily*. They went in search of the *Turkish* fleet under *Chairuddin Barbarossa*, found it in the gulph of *Galipoli*, and might have fought, but that *Andrew Doria* declined it, which brought some imputation upon him. Soon after the *Turkish* fleet lost by a storm seventy gallies and twenty thousand men^d. The *Venetian* general and *Don Ferdinand de Gonzaga* proposed going in pursuit of them; which *Andrew Doria* refused, alleging, they might meet with the like storm, and share the same fate with their enemies; upon which the fleet separated, and the squadrons retired to their respective ports. There happened this year a sedition at *Milan* for want of pay, another at the *Gouletta*, and a third in *Sicily* by the same troops, f for the like cause, which with great difficulty were appeased^e. On the first of *November* the emperor held an assembly of the states of *Castile* and *Leon* at *Toledo*, where he endeavoured by all means to have established an excise, to which the clergy consented; but, by the persuasion of the constable of *Castile*, the nobility and commons opposed it so steadily, that the scheme miscarried^f. The widow of *Alexander Medicis* was this year married to *Ottavio Farnese*, the pope's nephew, merely to content the pontif, and to prevent his changing sides, which, at that juncture, would have been attended with great inconveniencies^h.

^a P. DANIEL, MEZERAY, VERA Y FIGUEROA.

^w RAINALD, Adriani Justiniani.

^x PAULI

JOVII HISTOR.

^y SANDOVAL, ATHONSO ULLOA, FERRERAS.

^z P. DANIEL, MEZERAY.

^a RAINALD, DUPLEIX, OCHOA.

^b VERA Y FIGUEROA, MARIANA.

^c SANDOVAL.

^d PAULI

JOVII HISTOR. PEDRO DE SALAZAR, FER.

^e SANDOVAL.

^f VERA Y FIGUEROA.

^h RAINALD,

OCHOA.

^a THE emperor kept the states sitting till the first of *February*, and then ordered the arch-bishop of *Toledo* to dismiss them, being exceedingly displeased that the proposition which he had made was rejected; and this, notwithstanding that, in their own way, they had granted a free gift of four hundred and fifty millions of marvadies; and gave it as their principal reason for not adopting the new one, that it might have provoked a rebellion in the raising, or have lost him the hearts of his subjects if raised ¹. This misfortune was followed by another; he gave a tournament on the plain of *Toledo*, where all things passed very well; but in the cavalcade, at their return to the city, one of the emperor's harbingers gave some coarse language to the duke *de l' Infantado*, and, not satisfied with that, struck his horse upon the buttock. The duke asked him very gravely, if he knew who he was; and, upon his answering in the affirmative, drew his sword, and cut him over the head, but hindered those who were about him from cutting him to pieces, as otherwise they certainly would have done. Upon this, *Rodrigo Ronquillo*, provost of the household, would have arrested the duke in the emperor's name; but the constable interposed, and said, if the duke had committed an offence, the cognisance of it belonged to him, and thereupon conducted him to his own house, whether all the nobility followed him to a man, leaving nobody with the emperor but the arch-bishop of *Toledo*, to whom he was talking. This mortified him more than any thing that had happened in his life; and yet he was so prudent as to send to the duke the next morning, to let him know that the harbinger was committed to prison, and that he might prosecute him if he pleased. The duke thanked his imperial majesty, caused the man to be cured at his own expence, and sent him a present of five hundred ducats ². This was immediately followed by another disagreeable event; the empress was delivered on the first of *May* of a dead child, and expired quickly after, leaving behind her *Philip* prince of *Asturias*, and two daughters, *Donna Maria*, who espoused the emperor *Maximilian*, and *Donna Joanna*, who in process of time became queen of *Portugal* ³. The emperor shewed a real but a silent sorrow. Pope *Julius*, old as he was, no sooner heard of this event, than, under pretence of condoling, he sent his nephew cardinal *Alexander Farnese* to propose a match between the duke of *Orleans* and one of the emperor's daughters, with whom he was to give the duchy of *Milan* as a portion; and another match between the emperor and a daughter of the *French* king; which negotiation had no effect ⁴. The deputies from the city of *Ghent* in *Flanders* applied themselves to the emperor, to obtain an exemption from a tax imposed by the queen dowager of *Hungary*, governess of the *Low Countries*, in violation, as they apprehended, of their privileges, but without receiving the redress which they expected; upon this the inhabitants revolted, expelled the queen's commissaries, and addressed themselves to the *French* king, as sovereign of *Flanders*, for protection. As this was a hasty step, it took the *French* king unprovided, who immediately sent their letters to the emperor, in hopes it would determine him to give the investiture of *Milan* to the duke of *Orleans* ⁵. *Charles* considered this act of confidence in so strong a light, that he resolved to pass through *France* into *Flanders*, and sent *Granvelle* to demand a safe conduct from the *French* king; which he no sooner obtained, than he set out with a small retinue for *St. Sebastians*, leaving cardinal *Tavera* and the commander *Cobos* regents ⁶. He was received on the frontiers by the duke of *Orleans*, and at *St. John de Luz* by the dauphin. The *French* historians say, that those princes offered to go into *Spain* as hostages for his security; but the emperor answered very gravely, that he had the faith of a king, which he looked upon as a better security. He made them the companions of his journey ⁷.

A. D. 1539.

It was impossible for a prince to be treated with greater politeness than was shewn to the emperor through his whole journey; the magistrates in every city through which he passed presented him the keys, knelt and kissed his hand, as if he had been their sovereign. The king and queen, though the former was indisposed, met him at *Amboise*, and conducted him to *Paris*, where he was complimented by the parliament, all prisoners released, the city made him a present of a silver statue of *Hercules* as big as the life, and, in the space of a week he staid there, all the honours were paid him that ever had been practised, or could be invented ⁸. It is on all hands agreed, that the duchy of *Milan* was never so much as mentioned; but some writers assert, that the *French* king was advised to restrain him till he granted the investiture to his son; but that the constable *Montmorency* interposed, and put the king in mind of his word. It is also said, that the emperor was not without his suspicions; and that, knowing how great an influence the duchess of *Estampes* had over the king, he took occasion, as they were talking together by the fire side, to let fall a ring of great value from his finger; which she immediately took up, and presented to him. Upon this, the emperor said, smiling,

He passes thro' the city of Paris, to reduce the city Ghent.

¹ ALPHONSO ULLOA.² OCHOA, ALPHONSO ULLOA, SANDOVAL.³ VERA Y FIGUEROA, GOES,

OSORIO.

⁴ RAINALD, P. DANIEL, MEZERAY.⁵ DUPLEIX, FERRERAS.⁶ MEZERAY, OCHOA,

VERA Y FIGUEROA.

⁷ P. DANIEL, MEZERAY, DUPLEIX.⁸ ALPHONSO ULLOA, FERRERAS.

“Madam, it is yours; emperors and kings take nothing which they have once let fall.”^a But the duchess excusing herself, on account of the value of the jewel, the emperor replied, “Keep it, it will put you in mind of my journey through *France*.” She obeyed, and it is hinted, that the expedient had the proposed effect[†]. At his departure from *Paris*, the king attended him to *St. Quintin*; but the dauphin and the duke of *Orleans* accompanied him to *Valenciennes*, where he made them rich presents[‡]. The people of *Ghent* sent four ambassadors to pacify him, whom the emperor treated with great severity, and obliged them to kneel while they were speaking, and dismissed them with this answer, “Tell your companions, that I shall come as their sovereign and their judge, with the sceptre and sword in my hands.” On the arrival of his brother the king of the *Romans* with twelve thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, he, with the rest of his army, advanced towards *Ghent*, which he punished with great severity, as will be seen in its proper place. He received not long after the cardinal of *Lorraine* and the constable of *Montmorency* as ambassadors from his most christian majesty, to demand the investiture of the duchy of *Milan* for the duke of *Orleans*. The emperor told them with great frankness, that there were two reasons why he could not grant it; the first, that it would disoblige all the princes of *Italy*; the second, that it would cut off all communication between his dominions and the state of *Genoa*; but, to shew how high a price he set on the friendship of his brother *Francis*, he was willing to give his daughter to the duke of *Orleans*, with the *Low Countries*, and the title of king. This answer being reported to the *French* king, he is said to have replied, that he did not desire other people’s dominions, but fought only what belonged to him by descent[‡]. In the emperor’s absence, *Piali Hamet*, one of *Barbarossa*’s captains, landed with a strong detachment in the neighbourhood of *Gibraltar*, surprised the place, and made the principal inhabitants prisoners, with whom, and the pillage of the city, he embarked; but, being met by *Don Bernardin Mendoza* with fourteen galleys from *Sicily*, the corsairs were all either killed or taken, and the prisoners and booty recovered. There was this year so great a famine and pestilence in *Spain*, that it is thought the eleventh part of the people perished[¶].

Resolves to put
in execution
the design he
had formed
against *Al-*
giers.

1541.

THE emperor, who could never lose sight of a design that he had once formed, meditated, while in the *Low Countries* and in *Germany*, the conquest of *Algiers*, resolving to carry with him a body of *German* foot into *Italy*, sending orders at the same time to the viceroys of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and to *Andrew Doria*, to assemble their respective fleets, as well as to the regents in *Spain* for the same purpose, giving the command to the duke of *Alba*, with orders to provide every thing in abundance for an expedition of great importance, and to have all things ready against his return[‡]. He had the year before procured the pope’s bulls for raising money upon the clergy, and resolved, in his passage through *Italy*, to meet and confer with him at *Lucca*, to which proposal his holiness, though sinking under the weight of years, readily consented, as having several things of moment to offer to his consideration, and more especially to labour the conclusion of a solid peace with the crown of *France*[†]. The emperor entered *Italy* from *Tirol* in the decline of summer, and made some stay at *Milan*, where he married his niece, the daughter of the queen of *Denmark*, to the prince of *Lorraine*; which is generally ascribed to the pique he had taken at the *French* king’s giving the daughter of *Henry d’Albret*, though a child, in marriage to the duke of *Cleves*, who laid claim to the duchy of *Gueldres*, and might, in consequence of this marriage, disturb the emperor about other pretensions[‡]. He proceeded from *Milan* to *Genoa*, and from thence to *Lucca*. There the *French* ambassadors made heavy complaints of the breach of the truce by the death of two gentlemen, who were assassinated by persons in masks not far from *Milan*, by order, as it was said, of the governor, who had intelligence that they were charged with a secret commission and instructions to negotiate with the grand signor. This *Francis* the first magnified into a breach of faith, and an insult on the law of nations; while the emperor *Charles* treated it only as a pretence taken by the *French* to begin the war in concert with the *Turks*[‡]. While he remained at *Lucca*, he made three visits to the pope, who returned one. In these visits the emperor pressed the pope to call a general council, and to support the catholic league; and the pope was very earnest with him to preserve the peace of *Italy*, by making a cession of the duchy of *Milan*, which he peremptorily refused[‡]. This interview being over, the emperor, notwithstanding *Andrew Doria* and the marquis *del Vasto* laboured all they could to persuade him that the season was too far advanced, embarked, in order to execute his enterprise upon *Algiers*.

[†] THUAN. SANDOVAL [‡] VERA Y FIGUEROA, OCHOA, P. DANIEL. [†] SANDOVAL, FERRERAS.
[‡] ALPHONSO ULLOA, MEZERAY. [¶] PEDRO DE SALAZAR. [‡] SAGREDO, CANTEMIR, VERA Y
FIGUEROA. [‡] RAINALD, ALPHONSO ULLOA, SANDOVAL. [‡] OCHOA, FERR. [‡] P. DANIEL,
MEZERAY. [‡] RAINALD.

- ^a THE weather proved so bad, that he was forced to put into *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, and *Minorca*, ^{Which, however, is attended with the most disastrous catastrophe.} before he reached *Majorca*, where the rendezvous was to be. He sailed from thence to the coast of *Africa* with a fleet of two hundred large ships and one hundred smaller vessels; besides a squadron of seventy galleys, having on board six thousand *Spanish* foot, five thousand *Italians*, eight thousand *Germans*, three thousand volunteers, and two thousand horse; exclusive of the ordinary equipage of the galleys, his own, and those of the nobility who attended him. He arrived in sight of *Algiers* on the 20th of *October*, and debarked his troops the next day. The siege was long and perilous, the defence very gallant and well conducted; the Christian fleet was for the most part beat to pieces by tempests, so that at length he was forced to rise from before the place with great loss. It is said, that, after the retreat, the famous ^b *Hernando Cortes*, who conquered *Mexico*, offered, on the forfeiture of his life, to return with the army, and take *Algiers*; but, the contrary measure being resolved, his imperial majesty embarked, and landed in the kingdom of *Murcia* on the fifth of *December*, extremely mortified at this reverse of fortune^c.

- THE misfortunes of the former year constrained the emperor to act intirely upon the defensive. With this view he went in person into *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, and afterwards into *Navarre*, apprehensive that the *French* would attempt somewhat in favour of *Henry of Bourbon*, who had assumed the title of monarch of that country. It is certain that the *French* designed, in virtue of the potent alliances they had made, and their vast military preparations, to have attacked the emperor on all sides, and almost in every part of his dominions at once, but they met likewise with disappointments; however, the war was carried on with heat in the *Low Countries*, though with very little advantage, the same places being taken and retaken in the space of a few weeks; so that, except rendering a fruitful country a desert, there happened little alteration on that side^d. In *Piedmont* things went very much at the same rate; and the duke of *Savoy* had the misfortune to see his country destroyed by two princes; one of whom was his near relation, and to the other he was closely allied, without having any share or interest in the quarrel^e. In the autumn the dauphin, with an army of between forty and fifty thousand men, besieged *Perpignan*; but, after having spent a long time before it, and wasted a great many men, he was constrained to retire^f. The emperor called the states of *Arragon* and *Catalonia* together at *Moncon*, where they took the oath of fidelity to the prince *Don Philip*, and granted the emperor a free gift of half a million of ducats^g. He went from thence to *Barcelona*, where the prince swore to maintain the privileges and exemptions of that principality; and went afterwards with his father, for the same purpose, to *Valentia*, where the emperor obtained a large free gift, and the states likewise made a very generous present to the prince his son^h. There was this year a scarcity of provisions, occasioned by vast flights of locusts, that fell more especially in *Old Castile*, and devoured all the fruits of the earth.

- A DEFENSIVE war, however successful, was by no means acceptable to the emperor, who therefore meditated all this time a war of another kind; previous to which, he found it necessary to conclude the marriage of his son the prince *Don Philip* with the infanta *Donna Maria* of *Portugal*, and a treaty with *Henry* the eighth of *England*, which was signed in the month of *February* at *London*, and was very explicitⁱ. These points settled, he thought of nothing but passing into *Flanders*, believing that on that side it was most practicable to distress *France*. He committed the regency, during his absence, to his son the prince of *Asturias*, and assigned him the duke of *Alba* to assist him in military affairs, and his secretary *Cobos* in all points of another nature. He likewise put into his hands a paper, containing a succinct detail of what might happen in his absence, with his instructions upon every point^k. These necessary measures taken, he embarked at *Barcelona*, on board the galleys of *Andrew Doria*; and arrived safely at *Genoa*. The pope was very desirous of a conference, and sent the cardinal nephew to request it; which the emperor would have declined, but, finding himself so warmly pressed, he consented at length to an interview at *Bosetto*, a castle between *Parma* and *Placentia*; but, as it might have been easily foreseen, it had no effect, for the emperor was bent upon chastising the duke of *Cleves*, and making his rival *Francis* sensible of his superiority^l. While his imperial majesty was pursuing this plan, *Chairuddin Barbarossa*, with the *Turkish* fleet, having first spoiled *Calabria*, alarmed *Sicily*, and insulted *Italy*, proceeded to the coasts of *France*, and, being joined by the naval force of that country, the *French* and *Turkish* fleets landed a numerous corps of troops, and, in conjunction with them, besieged the town and fortress of *Nice*. The former they took by composition; but the citadel continued to make a long and brave defence, till the marquis *del Vasto* approached with an army of twelve thousand men under his command; upon which the allies raised the siege, the *French* squadron retiring

^c PEDRO DE SALAZAR, SAGREDO, CANTEMIR.^d P. DANIEL, MEZERAY, SANDOVAL.^e DUPLEIX,

OCHOA, FER.

^f ALPHONSO ULLOA; MARIANA.^g SANDOVAL, FER.^h VERA Y FIGUEROA,

OCHOA, MARIANA.

ⁱ GOES, OSORIO, FARIA Y SOUSA, LORD HERBERT'S History of Henry VIII.^k FER.^l RAINALD, ALPHONSO ULLOA.

A. D. 1543. to *Marseilles*, and the *Turks* to *Toulon*^m. The emperor was still more successful where he commanded in person, since he compelled the duke of *Cleves* to have recourse to his clemency, and extended it to him in a high degree, after making him thoroughly sensible of his displeasure. He likewise promised the distressed king of *Tunis*, who apprehended the great armament *Barbarossa* then made was to dispossess him of his dominions, his support and protection, and gave him leave to reside at *Naples* till that could be conveniently doneⁿ.

By his wife
conduct, the
emperor forces
the French to
conclude the
treaty of Soif-
sons.

THE fate of war is ever uncertain; but the issue of negotiations, wisely conducted, is rarely so. The *French* arms were successful in *Piedmont*^o; and the imperialists, though commanded by the marquis *del Vasto*, the best officer they had left, were thoroughly beaten in the neighbourhood of *Carignan*, on the 10th of *April*, by which that and some other places fell into their hands; but the marquis *del Vasto* repaired this loss by his extraordinary diligence, and by his fertility in expedients, which were the result of his great skill and long experience in the art of war^p. In the month of *May*, *Barbarossa* sailed for *Constantinople*, and took the command of a fleet which had been for some time preparing there; with which he ravaged the coast of the kingdom of *Naples*, and carried many thousand persons of both sexes into slavery. He meditated still greater mischiefs, which were prevented only by his death, that happened soon after by a flux, when he was upwards of fourscore^q. A *French* fleet, that was sent to ravage the coasts of *Galicia*, was not so successful; for Don *Alvaro Bazan*, who had resumed the command of the *Spanish* gallies, engaged and beat them^r. The greatest efforts, however, in this campaign, were made on the side of the *Low Countries* and in *France*; for the emperor, having brought over king *Henry* of *England* with a numerous army, which was employed in besieging *Boulogne*, marched in person with a corps of thirty-six thousand men, and invested *Montreuil*, while the count *de Furstenberg*, with a body of *German* troops, recovered *Luxemburgh*. The emperor clearly perceiving that his rival was unable to defend himself against two such powerful enemies at a time, pushed the operations of the war with such vigour, that, after taking *Chateau Thierry*, it was expected he would have marched to *Paris*; which threw the inhabitants of that great city into such consternation, that many of them retired to *Rouen*, *Orleans*, and other places^s. But the emperor, when he arrived at *Soissons*, made a halt, as if he expected some application should be made to him. Accordingly, father *Martin de Guzman*, who some say was confessor to the queen of *France*, and others affirm to have been following his studies there, came thither by direction of their most Christian majesties, and testified how much they were inclined to peace^t. Upon this plenipotentiaries were sent to *Chateau de Crespy* on both sides, and the treaty concluded on the 18th of *September*, the principal points of which were, that the emperor should give his daughter the infanta *Donna Maria* to the duke of *Orleans*, with the *Low Countries* and the counties of *Burgundy* and *Charolois*; or his niece, the daughter of the king of the *Romans*, with the duchy of *Milan*; but he was to retain the citadels of *Milan* and *Cremona* till there was an heir male of their marriage; and all places taken since the truce of *Nice* were to be restored; the *French* king renewing the renunciations made by the treaties of *Madrid* and *Cambrai*^u. The loss of *Boulogne* to the *English* hastened this treaty very much. After it was concluded, the emperor went himself to *Crespy*, where the duke of *Orleans* met him, whom he treated with great kindness and affection, and called him constantly his son. This year the king of *Tremecen* was restored to his dominions by the voluntary assistance of some of the *Spanish* nobility^v.

The birth of
the prince Don
Carlos, which
is accompanied
with the death
of his mother.

THE peace being made, both princes concurred in obliging pope *Paul* the third to summon the council of *Trent*, which he did by a bull dated in *November*, and appointed it to meet on the 15th of *March*^x. The emperor passing the winter at *Brussels*, the queen of *France* went thither, and carried the duke of *Orleans* with her; and the cheerfulness of the court was not a little increased by the news of the princess of *Asturias* being delivered on the 8th of *January* at *Valladolid* of her son *Don Carlos*; but that satisfaction was extremely lessened by the news of the death of his mother, which immediately followed^y. The great affairs of the empire, more especially those of religion, occupied all the summer; and about the time that it was expected he would have declared the marriage of the infanta *Donna Maria*, the duke of *Orleans* died on the 8th of *September*, much regretted by the emperor, who apprehended that the war would break out afresh; but the *French* king soon after sent ambassadors to *Brussels*, with assurances that he meant to maintain that good correspondence which was so lately restored. To which the emperor answered, that the peace would not be broken on his side. The next year was intirely spent in the wars in *Germany* against the protestants, and in establishing the inquisition at *Naples*,

^m PEDRO DE SALAZAR, SAGREDO. CANTEMIR.
ULLOA, OCHOA.
of Henry VIII. SANDOVAL.
FIGUEROA.

^q VERA Y FIGUEROA.

^r DUPLEIX, ALPHONSO ULLOA, FER.

^s SANDOVAL, MAR. FER.

^t SANDOVAL.

^u RAINALD.

^v MEZERAY.

^w ALPHON.

^x P. DANIEL, LORD HERBERT'S History

^y MEZERAY, OCHOA, VERA Y
OCHOA, P. DANIEL, FER.

which

a which was attended with a popular sedition², and, in consequence of that, a general defection; which lasted, to the incredible loss of that kingdom, several years.

In the beginning of the succeeding year died *Henry* the eighth of *England*, and his most Christian majesty *Francis* the first, which left the emperor at full liberty to pursue his designs in *Germany*; where he carried on the war against the protestants with his usual vigour, but with a strain of severity that was not natural to him, and which we have reason to doubt proceeded rather from political views than from a mistaken zeal; and the disturbances in the kingdom of *Naples* still continued³. An attempt was made at *Genoa* upon the life of prince *Doria*, by the count *de Fiesque*, in which the duke of *Parma* had some concern; and it was not long after retaliated by his assassination: upon which Don *Ferdinand Gonsaga* seized the city of *Placentia* for the emperor; which drew some suspicions upon him, and even upon his master^b. The prince Don *Philip* held a general assembly of the states of *Arragon*, and obtained a considerable free gift; and afterwards sent his favourite *Ruy Gomez de Silva* to compliment his father at *Augsburgh* upon his victories, and to acquaint him with the state of affairs in *Spain*^c. A. D. 1547.

His imperial majesty was every day more and more embarrassed by the religious disputes in the empire, where his notions and his measures were unacceptable to and suspected by both parties, more especially that great measure of the interim, which was properly speaking his own, and to which he was driven by the pope's transferring the council from *Trent* to *Bologna*; against which the emperor protested, but to no purpose^d. This embarrassed state of things making his presence absolutely necessary, and as his great point was to preserve all his dignities, as well as to transmit all his dominions to the prince his son, he judged it necessary to have him near his person. Having prevailed upon his brother, the king of the *Romans*, to let his son prince *Maximilian* go into *Spain*, he sent him through the *Milanese* to *Genoa*, from whence, on board *Doria's* galleys, he passed to *Barcelona*, where he arrived on the fifth of *August*, and, on his arrival at *Valladolid*, espoused, in virtue of a dispensation from the pope, the infanta *Donna Maria*, the emperor's daughter, who had been promised to the duke of *Orleans*^e. As soon as the rejoicings for this marriage were over, that is, in the beginning of *October*, the prince Don *Philip* devolved the administration upon his cousin *Maximilian*; and set out for *Barcelona*, with a train so numerous and so splendid, that the *Spanish* writers assure us nothing like it was ever seen before, or has been seen since^f. The first actions of princes are characteristic; and the same dignity, circumspection, magnificence, regularity, and œconomy; which appeared in this voyage, were discernible in all the great actions of *Philip's* life. He embarked at *Roses* in *Catalonia*, went from thence to *Perpignan*, and, after having seen and examined it, returned to his fleet, touched twice upon the coast of *France*, proceeded from thence to *Villa Franca*, and landed at *Savona*, from whence he went to *Genoa* in one of the galleys of the republic^g. He was received there, as he had been every-where, with all possible honours and respect, and gave the *Italian* princes and states leisure to make their addresses to him. He took a view of the field of battle of *Pavia*, as his father had done; and, proceeding from thence to *Milan*, passed his *Christmas* in that city, and conferred with all the great men in *Italy* on points of every kind, with a modesty and affability which were not afterwards so conspicuous in his conduct. 1548.

In the beginning of the year prince *Philip* set out from *Milan*, and, taking *Mantua* in his way, arrived at *Trent*, from whence he went to *Inspruck*, thence to *Salzburg* and *Munich*, and so to *Augsburgh*, receiving all the princes ecclesiastic and secular of the empire, and from thence to *Luxemburgh*, from whence by slow journies he repaired to *Brussels*, where, when he was introduced to his father's presence, he fell at his feet, and kissed his hand. The emperor received him with great affection, and caused the states of the *Low Countries* to acknowledge him in quality of duke of *Brabant*^h. About this time died *Paul* the third, of whom the emperor is reported to have said to his son, that if his body was opened, in order to be embalmed, they would find fleur-de-lis's stamped upon his heartⁱ. 1549.

The cardinal *de Monte* being raised to the papal throne, assumed the name of *Julius* the third, and gave immediate notice of it to the emperor and to the prince. Though at first they were well pleased with his election, yet they did not find him afterwards so favourable as they expected; and both the emperor's great projects of subduing the protestants, and procuring for his son the reversion of the empire, miscarried, though they were conducted with all possible address^k. The war was still carried on in the *Mediterranean* between *Andrew Doria*, who had now the title of prince, which he very justly deserved, and *Dragut*, a *Turkish* pirate, who had been bred up under *Barbarossa*, and succeeded him in his command; which, as it kept the seamen of *Italy* and *Spain* in breath, so it certainly contributed to raise

² SANDOVAL, VERA Y FIGUEROA, MEZ.

ULLOA. ^c SANDOVAL, & al. sup. citat.

FER. ^f MARIANA.

ⁱ RAINALD. ^k FER.

^a Lord HERBERT's History of Henry VIII.

^d RAINALD, OCHOA, VERA Y FIGUEROA.

^e MEZERAY, & al. sup. citat.

^g OCHOA, VERA Y FIGUEROA, SANDOVAL.

^b ALPH.

^c SANDOVAL,

^e SANDOVAL,

^h OCHOA, VERA Y FIGUEROA, SANDOVAL.

that naval force by which the maritime power of the infidels was kept from rising under those experienced officers that *Barbarossa* had bred, and was afterwards, when they were worn out, in a manner destroyed¹.

Embarrassed
by the fresh
conjunction be-
tween the infi-
dels and the
French.

As the emperor was firm, or rather positive, in the measures he formed, so, having taken fresh steps for carrying them into execution, he hoped they would have better success this year; and therefore, finding that the presence of *Philip* made no impression on a *German* diet, he conceived it more for his interest to return to *Spain*, more especially as clouds began to gather in several quarters. *Henry* the second inherited his father's resentments as well as his dominions; he procured an entrance into *Italy*, by taking the young duke of *Parma*, *Ottavio Farnese*, under his protection; he entered into a secret confederacy with the protestant princes of the empire, much oppressed by the emperor, who meant to oppress them more; and, as if he acted in concert, the grand signor equipped a great fleet, and threatened all the emperor's hereditary dominions^m. Don *Philip*, in the spring, returned to *Genoa*; and passed from thence to *Barcelona*; after which *Andrew Doria* sailed with his fleet to watch the motions of the *Barbary* corsairsⁿ. However, *Sinan* basha, with a *Turkish* fleet, made a descent upon *Sicily*, attacked *Malta*, ravaged the isle of *Gosa*, and took the city of *Tripoli* from the knights of that order^o. In the autumn, prince *Doria* returned to *Barcelona*, where he took on board the prince *Maximilian*, and his consort the infanta *Donna Maria*, whom he debarked at *Genoa*, from whence they continued their journey by land to *Flanders*^p. Before the close of the year the war was become general; and though at first the pope took part with the emperor in *Italy*, yet he quickly made peace with the king of *France*, who, furnishing the *German* princes with money, rekindled the flame of war in the empire, and, seizing the *Flemish* vessels that fell into his power, left the emperor no room to doubt that he would find himself attacked on all sides; for which, though he was now grown in years, and found the weight of them doubled by his infirmities, he prepared with great constancy and vigour, and formed new projects for extricating himself out of those new difficulties, with which he found himself more pressed than he had hitherto been during the whole course of his reign^q.

A. D. 1551.

Compelled to
make his escape
from Inspruck
in the night.

At the opening of the ensuing year the emperor met with the greatest and most unexpected reverse of fortune that befel him in his whole reign; for prince *Maurice* of *Saxony*, who owed his electorate to his favour, having in conjunction with other protestant princes assembled a good army, suddenly possessed themselves of *Augsburgh*, and other places, reduced *Clauser*, which was thought impregnable, and marched with such diligence to seize *Inspruck*, where the emperor then was, that, if he had not withdrawn in the night, leaving behind him the best part of his wardrobe and baggage, which were pillaged the next day, they had made themselves masters of his person^r. He retired into *Carinthia*, where he received deputies from the republic of *Venice*, who with great respect offered him all the service in their power. As the state was then arming with great vivacity, the emperor, who began to be jealous of every body, demanded the reason of this from the senate; who informed him, it was their custom to put their dominions in a posture of defence when armies were near them, though they had no share in the quarrel; but that his imperial majesty need be in no pain on that head, since the troops they had, and the troops they were raising, were intirely at his devotion, and he might employ them as he thought proper. This well-timed compliment had a good effect, and recovered his spirits; and when he saw that the old elector *John Frederic* of *Saxony*, whom in this confusion he released from a long imprisonment, refused to quit his person, and gave the highest marks of unshaken fidelity, he laboured to restore his affairs, and consented to the pacification of *Passau*, which afforded him time to take his measures^s. He sent immediately to his son prince *Philip* for men and money, and dispatched *Andrew Doria* with his gallies to bring both. The prince Don *Philip* executed his father's orders with such diligence, that the supplies were ready when the gallies arrived, so that the emperor was quickly in a condition to protect his *Italian* dominions^t. However, the prince of *Salerno*, to revenge himself for some real or pretended affront that he had received from Don *Pedro de Toledo*, viceroy of *Naples*, went over to the *French*, and, besides a large pension, was declared general of the gallies which were to be sent into the *Mediterranean*^u. The *Turks* had sent *Dragut*, with a very powerful fleet, to act against the emperor, and he sacked many places in the island of *Sicily*: from the middle of *July* to the beginning of *August* he appeared daily before *Naples*, which threw that city into vast confusion, till at length *Andrew Doria* arrived with the Christian fleet, and, to put an end to these terrors, engaged the infidels: but, for the first time, he was completely beaten, with the loss of six gallies and seven

1552.

¹ PEDRO DE SALAZAR, SAGREDO, OCHOA.
SANDOVAL, FER.

^o PEDRO DE SALAZAR, OCHOA.

^m MEZ. CANTEMIR, VERA Y FIGUEROA.

^p SANDOVAL.

ⁿ SAGREDO,
^q P. DANIEL, RAINALD.

^r ALPHONSO ULLOA.

^s JUSTINIANI, SANDOVAL, OCHOA, ALPHONSO ULLOA.

^t ADRIANI, FER.

^u P. DANIEL, MEZ.

^a hundred *Germans*, with several officers of distinction on board; upon which, with the shattered remains of his fleet he retired to *Sardinia*^w.

THE consequences of this misfortune might have been terrible, if, by an unforeseen accident, they had not been prevented. *Charles Mermila*, a *Neapolitan* exile, who had fled for shelter into *France*, was intrusted by king *Henry* with an important message to *Dragut*. This man, coming to *Rome*, discovered himself to cardinal *Mendoza*, to whom he offered, if the emperor would pardon him, and furnish him with a large sum of money, to deliver his country from the impending danger. The bargain was quickly made; and *Mermila*, going very secretly to *Dragut*, instead of informing him, as he was commanded, that the *French* gallies were coming to join him, assured him, in the name of king *Henry*, that he was unable to act in concert with him that year, but had sent him two hundred thousand ducats towards the expences of the next; which *Dragut* believing, returned immediately towards *Constantinople*^z. A few days after arrived the prince of *Salerno* with the *French* fleet, who, finding that the infidels were retired, followed, in order to bring them back, which design carried him likewise to *Constantinople*, so that the emperor's dominions on this side were free for that year. The emperor, in the mean while, having drawn together a potent army, marched to *Inspruck*, and from thence to *Germany*, directing his march towards the *Low Countries*. The design of this expedition was to recover *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, which the *French* king had surpris'd during the troubles; but, not arriving till it was late in the year, his design in a great measure miscarried, which, with the insurrection of the city of *Sienna* in *Italy*, in favour of the *French*, renewed his chagrin, and induced him to question that good fortune upon which he had formerly so much relied. The prince *Don Philip* procured from the states of the respective kingdoms in *Spain* very large supplies; and, having received his father's consent, concluded the marriage of his sister the infanta *Donna Joanna*, with the prince of *Portugal*^y.

THE distracted state of affairs, the many enemies they had to deal with, and the repeated demands of his father for supplies of money, embarrassed the prince *Don Philip*, notwithstanding the vast sums he had drawn by repeated free gifts from the states, and obliged him to entertain a project, which, if carried into execution, must have been at the expence of the church; but the *Spanish* clergy first exposed it so effectually in writing, and opposed it afterwards with such steadiness, that the prince thought fit to desist^z. In *Italy* the imperialists bent their whole force to the reduction of *Sienna*; but the subjects of that little republic, being most of them rich, enlisted so many foreigners in their service, and exerted themselves with such spirit and intrepidity, that, though much blood was spilt, there was not much gained^a. In the mean time *Dragut* and the prince of *Salerno* arrived on the coast of *Sicily* with a numerous fleet, where they burnt and destroyed many places on the coast, carrying many of the inhabitants into slavery. Their fortune was different when they came to attack *Naples*; for the viceroy *Don Pedro de Toledo*, having had time to prepare for their reception, posted several corps of troops so judiciously along the coasts, that, in several descents they made, they were constrained to retire with loss. At length, by the persuasion of the prince of *Salerno*, they attacked the island of *Corfica*, and reduced it, except *Calvi* and *Bastia*, in which the *Genoese* had strong garrisons: the *Turks*, leaving this in the hands of their allies, returned with their vessels loaded with plunder, and crouded with slaves, to *Constantinople*. In the *Low Countries* the emperor carried on the war with vigour, and with success, as long as the season would permit^b. In the winter he formed the project of marrying his son to queen *Mary* of *England*; though a very intelligent and accurate writer^c acquaints us, that, old and gouty as he was, he was very desirous to have married her himself; but, perceiving that design could not be effected, he sent embassadors to propose her marriage with his son, and at the same time applied to the pope to use his influence in promoting this scheme, as the only effectual means for enabling *Mary* to execute her design of re-establishing popery in *England*^d.

AT the opening of the year died *Don Juan* prince of *Portugal*; and in a few days after his decease, which was concealed from his consort the infanta *Donna Joanna*, she was delivered of a son, who received the name of *Sebastian*, on account of his being born upon the feast of that saint^e. The treaty of marriage between the prince of *Spain* and the queen of *England* being concluded, he received the emperor's orders to prepare for his voyage for that kingdom, and to leave the administration of affairs in *Spain* to the princess dowager of *Portugal*, who, having obtained leave from her father-in-law, willingly accepted the charge^f. The prince, before he embarked, settled the household of his son *Don Carlos*, and

^w PEDRO DE SALAZAR, SAGREDO, CANTEMIR.

VERA Y FIGUEROA, GOES.

^z PEDRO MEXIA.

SAGREDO, SANDOVAL.

GODWIN'S Life of Queen Mary.

WIN'S Annals.

^x SANDOVAL, PEDRO DE SALAZAR, FER.

^a ADRIANI, ALPHONSO ULLOA, FER.

^c PALLAVICINI, Istoria del Concilio di Trento, lib. xiii. cap. vi.

^e GOES, OSORIO, FARIA Y SOUSA.

^f VERA Y FIGUEROA, GOD-

^y OCHOA,

^b CANTEMIR,

^d RAINALD,

^e VERA Y FIGUEROA, GOD-

^f VERA Y FIGUEROA, GOD-

went to pay his devotions at the shrine of St. James of Compostella^z. He sailed from *Corunna* ^a with a very numerous fleet, attended by the principal nobility of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and arrived at *Southampton* on the nineteenth^b, or, as some writers say, on the twentieth of *July*. He sent from thence his favourite *Ruy Gomez de Silva*, with a present of jewels to the queen, of the value of one hundred thousand ducats. The marriage was celebrated on the feast of St. James, and, when their titles were proclaimed, those of *Naples* and *Sicily* were added in virtue of the emperor's resignation, which had been sent a little beforeⁱ. After the rejoicings for the marriage were over, most of the *Spanish* nobility returned; and the prince sent four thousand *Spanish* troops, that were on board his fleet, to his father in *France*^k. In *Italy* the war was carried on with vigour by the duke of *Florence*, or of *Tuscany*, against the *French*; but in the *Low Countries* the *French* king took several places, and wasted the country, notwithstanding the emperor had built two new fortresses, which he stiled *Charleroi* and *Philipville*; but the emperor, towards the close of the campaign, forced the king to raise the siege of *Renty*, and afterwards made an irruption into *Picardy*^l.

Charles takes
a resolution of
quitting the
world, and
resigns to his
son.

1555.

THE vast extent of his dominions, and the multiplicity of affairs which occupied his attention, joined to a precarious state of health, had for some time rendered the emperor thoughtful and reserved. His melancholy was much increased by the news of his mother's death, which happened on the 12th of *April*, and which put him in mind that it was time for him to execute what he had formerly meditated, and even proposed to the queens of *Hungary* and *France*, which was an abdication and retreat^m. The mortification that he daily met with contributed not a little to fix him in this disposition; the death of pope *Julius* the third, and of his successor *Marcellus* the second, who sat but three weeks, and the election of cardinal *Caraffa*, who assumed the name of *Paul* the fourth, afforded him much disquietⁿ. He laboured to live at least upon good terms with the last-mentioned pontiff; and, sacrificing his resentment against his nephew, who had deserted his service for that of the king of *France*, he did him the honour to nominate him to a hat, which he received with great expressions of gratitude, as his uncle bestowed it with all the exterior signs of pleasure^o; but in a short time after, this cardinal persuaded the pope, who was very old and suspicious, that the emperor designed to depose him; upon which, in violation of the laws of nations, he seized the cardinal *Sforza*, the emperor's ambassador, and sent him to the castle of *St. Angelo*^p. The civil and military affairs in his *Italian* dominions fell into such confusion, that he was compelled, in conjunction with his son, to name the duke of *Alba* to be vicar-general there, that he might reduce them into some order^q. The *Turkish* fleet, at the solicitation of the *French*, came again upon the coasts of *Naples* and *Sicily*, insulted *Tuscany*, and rode triumphant in the *Mediterranean*; while the *Algerine* corsairs made themselves masters of *Bugia* on the coast of *Africa*^r. The congress that had been held at *Calais*, at the solicitation of his daughter the queen of *England*, proved abortive^s: upon the whole, considering the perplexed state of things, and his own declining condition, he sent for his son Don *Philip* into *Flanders*, and, having first resigned to him the grand mastership of the order of the *Golden Fleece*, he, on the 25th of *October*, in a full assembly of the states at *Brussels*, in the presence of the two queens his sisters, and of the duke of *Savoy*, made a full resignation of all the hereditary dominions of the *Low Countries*, and of *Burgundy*, in favour of the king Don *Philip*^t, after having, in a long speech, declared the motives to this resolution, and recommended in the most pathetic terms the same fidelity and duty to his son which himself had experienced in the great officers of state and nobility who were present; and this with such dignity, and so becoming an eloquence, that the whole audience melted into tears^u. Don *Philip*, kneeling, kissed his hand, and made a short speech; after which the emperor, being quite exhausted with the fatigue of the solemnity, withdrew^v. After this, king *Philip*, being persuaded that the most Christian king had sincere intentions of peace, consented to name commissioners to treat of a temporary truce, that might afford them leisure to regulate the various points that were to be settled by it; and with this prospect of tranquillity, which was very acceptable to all parties, this year concluded.

Disposes every
thing for his
voyage into
Spain, and
embarks for
Zealand.

ACCORDING to the best lights that can be obtained from history, we may venture to affirm, that the emperor resigned all his *Spanish* dominions to his son in the month of *January*; but it is not easy, perhaps it is not practicable, to fix the day; *Ferreras*^x says it was on the first, others^y say the sixth, others the tenth, others the fifteenth; but *Sandoval*^z, who has printed the very act of abdication, shews us, that it was not signed till the sixteenth.

^z SANDOVAL, FER.

^b VERA Y FIGUEROA.

ⁱ RAPIN'S History of England.

^k GODWIN'S

Annals.

^l JUSTINIANI ADRIANI, MEZ. P. DAN.

^m MAY. TURQ. MARIANA.

ⁿ RAINALD.

^o SANDOVAL, RAINALD.

^p FER.

^q JUSTINIANI ADRIANI, OCHOA, VERA Y FIGUEROA.

^r CAN-

TEMIR, P. DAN.

^s GODWIN'S Annals.

^t Corps Universal Diplomatique, tom. iv. lib. iii. p. 93.

^u ALPHONSO ULLOA.

^v VERA Y FIGUEROA, LUIS CABRERA, Historia del Rey Don Phelippe II. fo. 1619.

MEZ.

^x Historia general de Espana, P. xiii. sect. 8.

^y VERA Y FIGUEROA, HER.

^z Historia

de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V.

- a As soon as it was known in *Spain*, measures were taken for proclaiming the new sovereign with all possible ceremony, that, as this was in all respects a new case, the people might entertain no doubts or difficulties about it^a. Accordingly, at *Valladolid*, where the court then was, a kind of theatre was erected in the most public part of the city on the 28th of *March*, about five in the afternoon, to which the prince *Don Carlos*, the ambassador of *Portugal*, the principal grandees, and the prelates, repaired^b; and the voluntary resignation of his catholic majesty *Charles* the first being declared; the young prince, with the assistance of *Antonio de Roxas*, his governor, threw out the standard which he held till then wrapped up in his hand, crying out, “*Castile, Castile*, for the king *Don Philip* our sovereign;” which standard was afterwards carried through the principal streets of the city^c.
- b The emperor remained, after his abdication, some months at *Brussels*; and, upon declaring his resolution to return into *Spain*, and there to pass the remainder of his days, the archduke *Maximilian* and the infanta *Donna Maria* came thither to take their leave of him^d. After their departure, the emperor took leave of his son, and is said to have given him such observations upon government as his great abilities and long experience furnished^e. He wrote also to *Mary* queen of *England*, to apologize for the absence of his son; and it is remarkable, that, in this letter, he tells her, that they could not either of them quit the *Low Countries* before, without running their affairs into confusion^f. When he was informed that the fleet which was to escort him was assembled, he set out from *Brussels* for *Ghent*, where he was on the 26th of *August*, as appears by a rescript of his, directed to the bishop of *Osnabrug*, president of the imperial chamber at *Spire*, in which he informs him of his resignation in favour of his son, and of his intention to devolve the imperial authority on his brother *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*. He went from thence to *Sudburg*, in the isle of *Zealand*, where, by a public edict, directed to the electors and other princes of the empire, which in a great measure repeats the former, he commits the government of the empire to his brother *Ferdinand*; and directs that the same duty and obedience should be paid to him as to himself^g; so that, notwithstanding what some historians have said, these are neither of them resignations. This last is dated on the 7th of *September*, and ten days after he embarked with his sisters, the queens of *Hungary* and *France*, for *Spain*; but was driven in his passage into an *English* port, from whence, on the 20th of the same month, he wrote to his daughter the queen of *England*^h, to excuse his son’s stay, and his not making her a visit, which he ascribes to the bad state of his health, and to the advanced season of the year, which made it requisite for him to lose no time in pursuing his voyage; and it is probable he sailed again either on that day or the day following.
- c He arrived safely at *Laredo* in *Biscay* on the 28th of the same month; and, after remaining there some days to recover the fatigue of the voyage, he set out for *Burgos*. There are some who pretend that he was mortified when he perceived that few of the nobility came to meet him, which, as it must be a conjecture, so, if we consider the character of this prince, we can scarce think it probable^k. He had, upon mature reflection, preferred retirement at his age to the highest dignities; and this supposes, that in a very short time he preferred a croud of courtiers, at least, if not flatterers, to that retirement he had sought. He went from thence to *Valladolid*, where he saw his grandson *Don Carlos*^l; and from *Valladolid*, accompanied by the two queens his sisters, he set out upon a rainy day, which shews how desirous he was of getting thither, for the place he had chosen for his retreat. This was the monastery of *St. Justus*, belonging to the order of *Hieronymites*, next in authority to the *Carthusians*, seated in the *Vera de Placentia*, which all who have seen it describe as one of the sweetest and pleasantest places in *Europe*^m. He resided in a little house built near the convent, employed himself in acts of piety and devotion, and practised for his amusement some of the mechanic artsⁿ. It is certain that king *Philip* consulted him in the beginning of the ensuing year, by his favourite *Ruy Gomez de Silva*, upon the most proper methods of raising men and money in *Spain*, and upon the expediency of the prince *Don Carlos* passing into *Flanders*: as to the first part of his commission, he gave him the best council in his power, and dissuaded the last^o. He did not actually resign the empire till the beginning of the year 1558; when the ensigns of the imperial dignity were sent to the diet by the prince of *Orange*, the vice-chancellor of the empire, and his secretary^p. He was so desirous of fulfilling, in the most exact manner, the duties of that station which was the result of his own choice, that he would not permit the two queens to reside at *Placentia*, as they would have done, that

Retires to the convent of St. Justus in Escudremadura, and remains to his decease.

^a ALPHONSO ULLOA, FER. ^b VERA Y FIGUEROA. ^c SANDOVAL, FER. ^d PEDRO MEXIA.
^e SANDOVAL, FER. ^f STRYPE’S Memorials, vol. iii. p. 302. ^g Corps Univ. Diplom. tom. iv. P. i. p. 4.
^h STRYPE’S Memorials, vol. iii. p. 307. ⁱ AMELOT DE LA HOUSSEY, BAYLE, VARILLAS. ^j SANDOVAL, FER.
^k Les Delices de l’Espagne, par DON JUAN ALVAREZ DE COLMENAR, Tour through Spain and Portugal, by UDAL AP RHYS, p. 113. ^l SANDOVAL, ALPHONSO ULLOA, FER. ^m VERA Y FIGUEROA, LUIS CABRERA.
ⁿ SURIUS, THUANUS, RAINALD.

his meditations might be the less disturbed^a. In this state he was found, but not surpris'd, a by that death he had long expected, and to which he submitted with all exterior marks of humility, piety, and patience, on the 21st of *September* the same year, in the 59th year of his age^r. Donna *Leonora*, queen dowager of *Portugal* and *France*, upon her return into *Castile* from a visit she had made her daughter in the first-mentioned kingdom, died after a short illness, a few months before him^s; Donna *Maria*, queen dowager of *Hungary*, within the compass of the same month^t; and his daughter-in-law, queen *Mary* of *England*, within the space of two months^u.

Account of his legitimate and illegitimate offspring, and other particulars.

THIS great prince, by his empress Donna *Isabella* of *Portugal*, had many sons, none of which survived beyond the age of infancy, except his successor Don *Philip*, and two daughters, the infanta Donna *Maria*, who espoused the archduke *Maximilian*, son to *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*, and who was himself afterwards emperor, and the infanta Donna *Joanna*, princess of *Portugal*^v. As to his natural children, there are many doubts and disputes: he had by a *Dutch* lady a daughter *Margaret*, first married to *Cosmo de Medicis*, duke of *Florence*, and, after his demise, to *Ottavio Farnese*, duke of *Parma*, by whom she was the mother of *Alexander Farnese*, one of the greatest captains of his age^x. By another lady he had a son, who was the famous Don *Juan* of *Austria*, who was bred up by the emperor's faithful servant *Lewis Quixada*, without knowing who was his father, and who considered *Margaret Ulloa*, the wife of *Quixada*, as his mother^y. At his departure from *Brussels*, it is said the emperor acquainted Don *Philip* that he had a brother, and where he was. Upon this discovery Don *Juan* discerned that the wife of *Quixada* was not his mother. He was afterwards told, that a *German* lady of *Ratisbon*, *Barbara de Blomberg*, was his mother, and he thought her so to his death^z. But some modern writers, upon the credit of the jesuit *Strada*, have surmised, that his birth was not less illustrious on the side of his mother than his father, which, however favoured by great writers, is liable to many difficulties^a. Those who say that the emperor had another natural son, whose name was *Priam Conrad*, are mistaken; he was the son of *Barbara Blomberg* by her husband, and therefore Don *Juan* considered him as his half-brother^b. Some mention^c another Don *Juan*, who died at seven years of age; but whether this be true or not is scarce worth inquiry.

Reasons for preserving the history intire, and not intermixing it with his son's.

WITH regard to the character of this great prince, the reader will collect it from the facts that have been related. His own historians lift him too high; other writers have visibly laboured to diminish his reputation, and laboured to little purpose^d. There are few monarchs of whom more falsities have been related, and this from his first entrance on the government to his resigning it; which many would make us believe was with a view to the papacy, a thing highly improbable, and absolutely inconsistent with other reports of his dying in protestant sentiments; which is altogether unlikely, since the emperor was serious in his religious notions, and had conversed with divines who had embraced the Christian faith as set forth in the Scriptures, and who suffered for that faith^e. It is also said, that he repented of his resignation, as we have hinted already; but as there is no act of his mentioned to prove it, it is far from deserving credit^f. We have now conducted him from his retreat to his tomb, and shall therefore proceed to the reign of his son Don *Philip*; having taken this method to render his history clear and connected in all its particulars, and to avoid breaking the thread of the ensuing narrative, by interspersing facts that would have been far less intelligible in that way than when the reader sees them, as he does here, all together.

^a VERA Y FIGUEROA, & al. supra citat.

^r BAYLE.

^u GODWIN'S Annals.

^w GOES.

^x MAX. TURQ. MARIANA.

^z OSORIO, FARIA Y SOUSA.

^y BAYLE. ^z LUIS CABRERA, MAY. TURQ.

^a SANDOVAL, & al. ubi sup.

^b BAYLE, SANDOVAL,

the article of *Barbara Blomberg* in BAYLE.

^c See the article of Don *Juan* of *Austria* in BAYLE.

^d See

rum, p. 2. edit. Tubing. 1693.

^e JACOBUS WILHELMUS IMHOFIUS, Notitia Germaniæ Proce-

^f VARILLAS, MEZ.

^g BRANTOME, Capit. Etrangers, tom. i. p. 36.

THUANUS, AUBIGNE.

^h See the Preface to the French translation of the ninth volume of FER.

S E . C T . XV.

The history of the reign of Don Philip II.

^a **T**HE first thing done by Don *Philip*, after his accession to the dominions of *Spain* by the resignation of his father, was to satisfy the queen of *England*, his consort, and his subjects in general, by concluding a peace, and, when this was found impracticable, a truce, with the crown of *France* for five years, which was published at *Cambray* on the 4th of *February*, between the emperor and the two kings of *France* and *Spain*; the news of which was very acceptable every where, except at *Rome*^a. *Paul IV.* persisted in his aversion to the house of *Austria*, and, to gratify his resentment, shewed very little care either for what he did, or for what was said of his actions. His scheme was to deprive king *Philip* of the kingdom of *Naples*, to give it to a *French* prince, and, by the assistance of that crown, to make such other regulations in *Italy*, as might gratify his own inclinations, and the ambition of his family^b. This truce, therefore, was very unwelcome to him, who was already in arms, and left the dominions of the church in a manner at the mercy of the duke of *Alba*, whom he endeavoured to amuse with propositions and treaties, but who was, of all men living, the least to be imposed upon by such artifices. In *Spain*, the nobility and people were inclined to carry on the war in *Africa* against the *Moors*, who, after taking from them *Bugia*, were disposed to strip them of the rest of their conquests; and it was to prevent this, that the *Spaniards* were for engaging in an offensive war, which *Philip* prevented, by sending them positive orders not to proceed therein till his arrival, which they very punctually obeyed^c.

THE pope, having sent his nephew cardinal *Caraffa* into *France*, engaged *Henry* the second to conclude a secret league against the *Austrians*, in which the *Turk* was to have a share, tho' that part of the scheme failed^d. The duke of *Guise*, however, was sent with a potent army to protect the city of *Rome* from being sacked by the duke of *Alba*, as it had been by the duke of *Bourbon*; and, about the same time, the truce was violated by the admiral *Coligni's* attempting to surprise *Doway*, in which he failed^e. Upon this king *Philip* found himself under a necessity of renewing the war; and, at his request, his consort queen *Mary* prevailed upon her subjects to take part in the quarrel against *France*. Accordingly a considerable body of troops was sent over, under the earl of *Pembroke*, to join the king's army; which, under *Philibert* duke of *Savoy*, and count *Egmont*, were employed in the siege of *St. Quintin* in *Picardy*^f. The *French* army, under the command of the constable and marshal *St. André*, marched towards *St. Quintin*, to cover a reinforcement they meant to throw into the place, which they effected; but, in their retreat, prince *Philibert* and the count of *Egmont* attacked and routed them intirely with great loss. This action happened on the 10th of *August*^g, dedicated by the church of *Rome* to the honour of *St. Laurence* the martyr; and, four days after, the place was taken by storm, the king having then joined the army, which struck the *French* with such consternation, that they immediately sent their fleet to *Civita Vecchia*, in order to bring over the duke of *Guise's* army from *Italy*; so that the pope, finding himself abandoned, was constrained to submit to such terms as the duke of *Alba* thought fit to prescribe, to receive him with great kindness and respect when he thought fit to make him a visit in *Rome*, and to dismiss him with his blessing^h. This year died the cardinal archbishop of *Toledo*; upon which the king Don *Philip* advanced to that see father *Bartolome de Carranza y Miranda*, a *Dominican* frier, who was constrained to accept of it against his will, and who was afterwards very cruelly treated by the inquisitionⁱ.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the duke of *Guise*, having surprised some of the adjacent fortresses, pursued the advantage he had gained so well as to make himself master of *Calais*, and all its dependencies, by which the *English* being intirely driven out of *France*, the deep sense of the loss and disgrace so affected queen *Mary* that it brought her to the grave^k. The same duke, in the spring, attacked the strong fortress of *Thionville*, of which he made himself master: soon after which the marshal duke *de Termes* marched with a great body of forces from *Calais*, and, after sacking *Dunkirk*, advanced to *Gravelines*, where being attacked in front by the *Spanish* and *Flemish* horse, commanded by count *Egmont*, and taken in flank

^a LUIS CABRERA Historia del Rey de Espana, Don Phelippe II. fol. 1616.

HERRERA, LUYs DE MARMOL Description gen. de Africa, fol. 1599. SALAZAR, FER.

^b RAINALD, FER. ^c CAMP. ^d RAINALD, FER.

^e FRANCISCI HARÆI Annales Ducum Brabantiae & utriusque Belgii, fol. 1623. CAMPANA THUANUS, MEZERAY, FER.

^f GODWIN'S Annals, FER. ^g LAURENTII SURII Comm. Rerum in Orbe gettarum, ab anno 1500 ad annum 1566. 8vo. 1566.

^h RAINALD, ILLESCAS, FER. ⁱ DIEGO DE CASTEJON Y FONSECA Primatia de la Santa Iglesia de Toledo, fol. 1625.

^k GODWIN'S Annals.

by the artillery of the *English* fleet, he was thoroughly beaten, and taken prisoner, with the loss of almost all the army that he commanded. In *Italy*, the duke of *Alba* being recalled, that his severity might not lose those countries, which by his great military skill had been defended, the *Turkish* fleet, under the command of the basha *Piali*, consisting of one hundred and thirty galleys, came in the month of *June*, and insulted the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and, having done what mischief they could, proceeded to *Corfica*, to join the *French*, who treated them that year as they had been treated by them the year before^m. They sailed from thence to *Minorca*, where they took and plundered *Port Mahon*, and then, with a large booty and many slaves on board, returned to *Constantinople*. The *French* army under monsieur de la Motte gained some advantages in the beginning of the summer, but were afterwards beaten; and, about the approach of winter, the two crowns being equally weary of the war, consented to a negotiation, and a suspension of arms, in order to the conclusion of a stable and solid peace.ⁿ

A. D. 1558. In the beginning of the year the peace was concluded at *Chateau Cambresis*, in which it was stipulated, that his catholic majesty should marry the princess *Elizabeth* of *France*, who, in the life-time of *Mary* of *England*, had been thought of for his son the prince Don *Carlos*. Madame *Margaret*, the *French* king's sister, was to marry the duke of *Savoy*, in consideration of which the *French* were to restore to him all his dominions. *Corfica* was to return to the *Genoise*, the *Spaniards* quitted all claim to *Burgundy*, and the *French* to the *Milaneze* and the kingdom of *Naples*. In this treaty *Philip* did not take proper care of his allies; for the empire lost *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, and the *English* *Calais*; though, to save appearances, it was stipulated that the *French* should render it in eight years, if queen *Elizabeth* did not furnish them within that time with a pretence to keep it^o. The duke of *Alba* was sent to *Paris*, to espouse the princess *Elizabeth* for the king; and the duke of *Savoy* went thither to wed the princess *Margaret* himself. The rejoicings for these marriages, and for the peace, were interrupted by the fatal accident of the *French* king's death, by a splinter of a lance that struck him in the eye; which, however, had no influence on the treaty or the marriages^p. King *Philip* hastened his return to *Spain*, and left his sister *Margaret*, princess of *Parma*, governess of the *Low Countries*, keeping her son prince *Alexander Farnese* at *Madrid* by way of hostage, under colour of providing for his education. The king embarked in *Zealand* on the 20th of *August*, and arrived in *Biscay* on the 29th^q. He held soon after an assembly of the states of *Castile* at *Toledo*, where, according to the desire of his father, he acknowledged Don *Juan* of *Austria* for his brother; and is said to have wept when he first saw him, because of the strong resemblance he had to the emperor^r. On the 4th of *October* the king was present at an act of faith, and, which is singular enough, he is highly commended by the *Spanish* historians for his want of humanity, and for his attributing to the gospel of peace, cruelties that would have made *Mohammedans* tremble. But the inquisition were resolved to tear up what they stiled heresy by the roots; and, having persuaded the king to consider this as a point of state, they proceeded without mercy, and he, who should have protected, was present, and looked on the slaughter of his subjects with pleasure^s.

The duke de Medina Celi, with the Spanish fleet, beat by the Turks. THE princess *Elizabeth* of *France*, being conducted to the frontiers of that kingdom by the cardinal of *Bourbon* and the duke of *Vendosme*, was received there by the cardinal archbishop of *Burgos* and the duke of *Infantada*, who conducted her to *Toledo*, where the marriage was celebrated with great pomp on the 2d of *February*^t. In the assembly of the states held soon after, the prince Don *Carlos* was acknowledged successor, and sworn to by all who were present^u. The knights of *Malta* having solicited the king very earnestly to recover *Tripoli* out of the hands of the infidels, the command of that expedition was committed to the duke of *Medina Celi*, viceroy of the *Sicilies*, who assembled for that purpose a numerous army and a strong fleet. He was assisted also by *Doria*, by the pope, and other princes and states of *Italy*, and was very successful at the beginning, making himself master of the island of *Gerbes*. While he remained there with his fleet, he was surprised by the basha *Piali*, with the whole force of the *Ottoman* empire under his command, which threw the Christians into such a panic, that they might with greater propriety be said to be destroyed than defeated. The duke himself escaped with great difficulty; his son, with several other persons of distinction, were taken prisoners, together with twenty galleys, and at least as many were sunk, with all who were on board them. Soon after the fortrefs and island of *Gerbes* were likewise reduced^v. The king Don *Philip* was extremely affected by this misfortune, and immediately demanded from the new pope, *Pius* the fourth, the necessary powers for raising money on the clergy. *Antony*

¹ EMAN. METEREN Histoire des Pays-Bas, depuis 1515 jusqu'en 1612, fol. 1618.

² HER. ^o Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. v. part i. p. 34.

³ EMAN. METEREN.

⁴ HER.

⁵ SALAZAR DE MENDOZA.

⁶ THUANUS.

⁷ GIACOMO BOSIO Hist. dell' Origine de San Giovanni Gerosolimitana, fol. 1594.

^m CAMPANA.

^p CABRERA.

^q HERRERA.

- a of *Bourbon*, duke of *Vendosme*, endeavoured to engage the pope to procure from his catholic majesty the restitution of the kingdom of *Navarre*, which he claimed in right of the family of *Albret*, but without effect; though it is said *Philip* was not extremely well satisfied with his own title to that kingdom ^x. The city of *Toledo* appearing to the king less convenient for the residence of his court than that of *Madrid*, he removed thither this year, and began to lay out those improvements which have since rendered it the capital of *Spain* ^y. The persecution against the protestants was still carried on with unrelenting severity, and, on the 22d of *December*, there was an act of faith held at *Seville*, in which some were put to death, and many were condemned to grievous punishments, of which perpetual imprisonment was amongst the mildest ^z.
- b THE king, sensible of that insolence which prosperity always inspires, more especially *Don Carlos* amongst the *Turks*, gave orders for building galleys in all the ports on the coasts of *Catalonia*, *Valentia*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, and directed such precautions to be taken for the protection of all the maritime parts of his dominions as preserved them from any insult. The jealousies and heart-burnings, that afterwards produced such terrible consequences in the *Low Countries*, began about this time, not through any fault in the dukes of *Parma*, but from the rigour and haughtiness of the bishop of *Mecklin*, so well known to the world by the title he acquired next year of cardinal *Granvelle* ^a. The great danger that *Spain* was in of being attacked by the infidels, and the repeated intelligence which the court received that the *Morescoes* in *Granada* held secret correspondence with the *Moors* in *Barbary*, induced the king to cause them all to be disarmed; which was done with great dexterity and address, but at the same time it so terrified those poor people, that it has been thought the most probable cause of their subsequent insurrection; from whence it appeared of how much greater consequence it would have been to have left their arms, and by good treatment have taken away their disaffection ^b. The *Moors* threatening *Oran* with a siege, the king ordered *Don Juan de Mendoza* to sail from *Malaga* with a squadron of twenty-four galleys, with a body of troops on board, for that fortress; but they met with such a storm at sea, that twenty-two galleys, four thousand men, and amongst them the general himself, and several other persons of quality, were lost ^c. The emperor *Ferdinand*, making peace about this time with the grand signior, obtained the liberty of the *Spanish* noblemen, who were made prisoners in the fight at sea before-mentioned, except
- d *Don Gaston de la Cerda*, son to the duke of *Medina Celi*, who died at *Constantinople* ^d. This year an accident befel the prince *Don Carlos*, which was very near being fatal to him. The king had sent him, together with his brother *Don Juan of Austria*, and his nephew prince *Alexander of Farnese*, to the university of *Alcala de Henares*, to pursue their studies. The prince, who was then about seventeen, and very sprightly and active, unluckily tumbled down stairs, by which he received such a blow on the head, that for some time he scarce gave any signs of life, but by degrees came to himself, and continued for some days tolerably well, when on a sudden he was attacked by a fever, attended with such violent symptoms, that the physicians acquainted the king that his life was in the utmost danger, who thereupon immediately repaired to *Alcala*, where he shewed the utmost tenderness and concern for the prince, who is said to have recovered, when at the very point of death, by laying his hand upon the head of a dead monk, afterwards highly revered in *Spain* by the name of *St. Diego* ^e.
- e IN the spring of the ensuing year, the king *Don Philip*, after having maturely considered the plan offered him by *Juan Baptista de Toledo* for building a most magnificent edifice, or rather a group of elegant and magnificent structures, made choice of a great extent of rough, barren, and heathy country, at a small distance from the village of *Escorial*, which lies about seven leagues from *Madrid*, where the first stone of the monastery was laid with great solemnity on the 23d of *April*; and, on the 20th of *August* following, the first stone of the church was likewise laid with equal solemnity, and dedicated to the honour of the holy martyr *St. Laurence*, who is said to have been broiled alive at *Rome* in the third century ^f. The best *Spanish* authors say, that in this the king executed the will of his father, who was very desirous of erecting a monastery for the burial-place of himself and his family, worthy of those vast dominions over which they ruled while living; and, as a proof of this, they allege the placing *Geronymites* in the monastery; but at the same time it is agreed, that the dedication of the church, and indeed the whole form of the structure, which is that of a gridiron, is to be referred to the victory of *St. Quintin*, which was gained upon the feast of *St. Laurence* ^g. In the spring, the project of *Hassan*, son of *Barbarossa* king of *Algiers*, for the recovery of *Oran*

^x RAINALD.^y CEPEDA.^z *Annales Ecclesiasticos y Seglares de la Ciudad de Seville desde el ano 1246, en que fue conquistada del Poder de los Moros, hasta el de 1671, por Don DIEGO ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA,* fol. Madrid 1677.^a CABRERA.^b *Historia de la Rebellion y Castigo de los Moriscos del Reyno de Granada, por LUYX DE MARMOL CARVAJAL,* fol. 1600.^c FER.^d SALAZAR, MARMOL.^e FRANCOIS DE PENA dans le Vie de St. Diegue, liv. ii.^f FRAY JOSEPH DE SIGUENCA de la misma Orden, fol. 1613.^g *Historia de la Orden de San Geronymo,* por HER.

and *Mazalquivir* out of the hands of the *Spaniards*, began to discover itself. He had a formerly treated with his catholic majesty, of which, as they had some suspicion at *Constantinople*, he framed this design to recover his credit, and employed in it the whole force of the infidels in *Africa*, as well as a great naval armament, which was furnished by the grand signior.

Hassan king of Algiers besieges the fortresses of Oran and Mazalquivir.

1563.

ABOUT the middle of *March* he took the field with a numerous army, invested both fortresses, and so stationed his squadrons, that they could obtain little or no relief by sea. The count *de Alcantete* commanded in *Oran*, and his brother *Don Martin de Cordova* in *Mazalquivir*, who having an intire affection for, and perfect confidence in, each other, made all the necessary dispositions for a long and gallant defence, for which, by their having very numerous garrisons, they were the better enabled. As there were many strong forts and outworks detached from the body of both places, the two brothers took care to put these in the best state of defence possible, because they might be defended with a small force, and their garrisons frequently changed. This had a good effect, for though, in *Oran* and *Mazalquivir*, the allowance of provisions was very sparing, yet, in the forts, the soldiers were allowed to fare well; and when they were either wounded, or fatigued beyond measure, the garrison was changed. By these methods the *Turks* suffered extremely, and paid very dear for every yard of ground they gained; but at length they came to attack *Mazalquivir* by sea, and notwithstanding they were repulsed in several general assaults, as they persisted obstinately in the pursuit of their point, the place had been probably taken, if the Christian fleet had not arrived, under the command of *Don Francisco de Mendoza*, upon which king *Hassan* was obliged to retire, after a fruitless siege of three months. The king immediately declared the count *de Alcantete* viceroy of *Navarre*, and gave his brother *Don Martin de Cordova*, and all the officers who commanded under them, particular marks of his favour^b. This war engaged the king to cause the *Moors* of *Valentia* to be disarmed, which was done throughout that kingdom in a single hour, and six thousand sabres, that were taken from them, sent to the militia in the island of *Sardinia*ⁱ. The king made a tour in the winter to *Saragossa*, where he was treated with great splendor and magnificence; however, being informed that great acts of injustice were committed by magistrates, and other persons in power, upon the lower sort of people, he caused many to be put to death, and their estates being confiscated, he made full restitution out of them to all who had been injured. He went from thence to *Monçon*,^d where he held the states of *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, and *Valentia*, where he obtained very liberal supplies, and immediately issued his orders for assembling a very numerous fleet in the spring, as well as for finishing all the gallies upon the stocks^k. The king, still neglecting to recall cardinal *Granvelle*, the troubles in the *Low Countries* daily increased. The council of *Trent* being closed this year, the *Spanish* prelates and divines, who had assisted there, returned home^l. and the king, who had been the principal support of that council, received them with much respect.

Don Garcias de Toledo attacks and reduces the castle of Penon de Velez.

As the king had been informed that some of his subjects in *America* were apprehensive that they might some time or other be divided from *Castile*, he caused a solemn instrument to be drawn up, by which all the countries the *Spaniards* possessed, or which might be conquered by them, in that part of the world, were irrevocably annexed to that crown; for the due performance of which he, for himself, his heirs and successors, pledged his royal faith to them and their posterity; which act was transmitted thither for their satisfaction^m. As the succession depended at this time solely on the life of the prince *Don Carlos*, the king sent for his nephews the archdukes *Rodolph* and *Ernest*, the sons of *Maximilian* king of the *Romans*, who soon after became emperor, and received them with great kindness and affection. The vast preparations that had been made, as well in *Italy* as in *Spain*, for assembling a great naval power, were in some measure relaxed, upon the king's having certain intelligence that the *Turks* had laid aside their design of sending their fleet into the *Mediterranean*; but, however, as the expence had been very great, as many gallies were assembled at *Carthage*,^f and as the squadrons of *Portugal* and *Malta* were arrived, it was determined to employ them. The king judged no expedition so proper for that purpose as the reduction of *Penon de Velez*, a fortress which the *Moors* had recovered out of the hands of the Christians, and under the cannon of which their corsairs took protection whenever they were chased by the gallies of *Spain*. There had been an attempt made upon the place the year before, but without effect, chiefly through a misunderstanding amongst the general officers employed in that service. The command was now given to *Don Garcia Toledo*, viceroy of *Sicily*, who, with a numerous army and a potent fleet, failed in order to execute his master's orders. Notwithstanding the place was very strong from situation, as well as the effects of art, covered by several good

^b PIERRE DE SALAZAR.
^l FER. ^m CAMPANA.

ⁱ GASPAR ESCOLANO Hist. de la Ciudad y Reyno de Valentia.

^k CABRERA.

- a forts, and defended by a numerous garrison, it was, after a very gallant defence, abandoned A. D. 1564. by the infidels, and, the *Spanish* troops taking possession of it, was fortified in a better manner, and rendered much stronger, than before^a. The king ordered the decrees of the council of *Trent* to be published, enforced, and obeyed, throughout all his dominions. It was this that determined the inhabitants of the *Low Countries* to defend liberty of conscience by the sword, and to prevent the introduction of the inquisition amongst them; and they began to dispose every thing for throwing off the yoke of *Spain*, notwithstanding the king had at length, to comply with their desires, made use of an honourable pretence to remove cardinal *Granvelle*; a condescension that, two years before, might have restored the public tranquillity^o, but was then considered as a testimony that the king saw he had been in the
- b wrong.

- THE corsairs of *Barbary*, notwithstanding their loss at *Penon de Velez*, continued still to disturb the commerce, and to make frequent descents upon the coasts of *Spain*, which it was impossible for the king's squadrons to prevent, as they committed these depredations in light ships, and by surprise. However, the king recollecting the advice given him by Don *Garcia de Toledo*, resolved to send a squadron, with a certain number of vessels filled with stone and bitumen, to block up and spoil the mouth of the river of *Tetuan*, to which these pirates commonly resorted. This measure, as it was wisely contrived, was very happily executed, to the great satisfaction of the king, and benefit of his subjects. But it was not long before both he and they were alarmed with certain intelligence that the *Turks* were arming with
- c incredible diligence, and that they would speedily put to sea a greater fleet than any that had yet appeared. On this, proper precautions were taken for the security of the *Spanish* coasts, more especially those of *Catalonia* and *Valentia*, for the protection of *Majorca*, *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, for putting *Sicily* and *Naples* in a proper condition of defence, and for assembling the gallies of *Genoa*, *Tuscany*, and the other *Italian* states, to be employed as occasion might require^p. The *French* monarch *Charles IX.* and his mother, having demanded an interview with his catholic majesty at *Bayonne*, he excused himself, and sent the queen *Donna Isabella* to confer with her mother and brother, attended by the duke of *Alba*, and some other persons of great quality; and in these conferences, which lasted about three weeks, it is said that various resolutions were taken for extinguishing heresy, or, to speak with greater propriety,
- d for the extirpation of those whom they stiled heretics^q. The king likewise caused several provincial councils to be held in his dominions, in which the decrees of the assembly of *Trent* were received; and though one would have imagined this must have been very acceptable at *Rome*, yet it happened quite otherwise; for *Pius IV.* observing that all this was done by virtue of the royal prerogative, and without so much as mentioning his holiness's name, he was extremely offended at it.

Interview at Bayonne between the queen of Spain, her mother, and brother.

1565:

- IN the mean time, certain advice was received, that this prodigious armament of the *Turks* was intended against *Malta*, which induced the grand master *Jean de Valette* to demand the assistance of all the Christian powers. Don *Garcia de Toledo*, viceroy of *Sicily*, went thither immediately with a squadron of twenty-eight gallies, in order to give the best advice and
- e assistance in his power. He found all things in a much better state than he expected, and the grand master at the head of five hundred knights, and four thousand regular troops besides, exclusive of two thousand five hundred domestics, capable of bearing arms. He left with him his natural son Don *Frederic*, with a hundred *Spanish* volunteers; and having furnished him with ammunition and provisions, and promised him all the succours in his power, he returned to *Sicily* towards the end of *April*. On the 18th of *May*, the *Turkish* fleet, commanded by *Piali* basha, consisting of upwards of three hundred sail, appeared in sight, and debarked soon after an army of forty-five thousand men, under the command of *Mustapha* basha. As the *Turkish* generals are almost always responsible for the success of the expeditions in which they are employed, they pushed their military operations with prodigious obstinacy,
- f notwithstanding the great and continual losses they sustained, which, however, were as regularly supplied by continual reinforcements. While things were in this situation, a vast naval force was assembled in *Sicily*, where, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of the grand master, the viceroy Don *Garcia* delayed their departure, which occasioned much discontent in *John Andrew Doria*, and other principal officers; but the viceroy considered, that, if the expedition miscarried, it must be fatal to *Malta*, and might be so to *Naples* and *Sicily*. At length, however, taking his measures from his own intelligence, he sailed with a fleet of seventy gallies, and, on the 6th of *September*, landed 12,000 *Spanish* and *Italian* foot without any interruption, and returned safe with his fleet to *Sicily*^r.

The grand signior causes the island of Malta to be invaded by Sinan basha.

^a MAMBRINO ROSEO Compendio della Storia dal Regno di Napoli, parte seconda, che seguita la parte prima del Collenuccio, con le Annotazioni di Tomaso Colto, e vol. Libro settimo di Colonello Patca, 4^{to}. 1613. ^o ANTONIO CARNERO Historia de las Guerras Civiles que ha auido en los Estados de Flandres, fol 1625. ^p CABRERA.

^q DUPLEIX, THUANUS.

^r GONZALES DE ILLESCAS Historia Pontifical. RAINALD, FER.

Relieved by
succours from
Sicily, by
whom the
Turks are de-
feated in
battle.

THE *Turks*, as soon as they knew that the succours were landed, raised the siege, embarked their artillery, and would have put their troops on board, but that *Piali* basha persuaded *Mustapha* to attack the Christians in their camp, which he did, and was very soundly beat; upon which he retired to the fleet, and the *Turks* quitted the island with much precipitation^a. The viceroy of *Sicily* returned with his fleet, and pursued them, but with no great effect: after which he reembarked the forces, and carried them back to *Sicily*. This war produced some very singular consequences in *Spain*, where Don *Juan* of *Austria* made his escape from court, with a sincere intention of going to *Malta*, to signalize himself against the infidels; but, over-heating himself in his journey, fell sick of a fever in *Aragon*, where he received the king's orders to return, which he was forced to obey^b. The prince Don *Carlos* was inclined to take the same step, but in appearance only; for, in reality, he meant to go to *Flanders*, being upon bad terms with his father. By a strange infatuation, the person he trusted was *Ruy Gomez de Silva*, the king's favourite, who cheated him with a false letter from the viceroy of *Naples*, importing that *Malta* was relieved; upon which he laid aside his journey, and then, as is generally supposed, revealed it to his father^c. This year prince *Alexander Farnese* was sent by the king to his mother in *Flanders*, after procuring for him Donna *Maria*, the daughter of the infant Don *Edward* of *Portugal*, in marriage; and Don *Antonio*, who afterwards took the title of king of *Portugal*, being at this time upon bad terms with the regency, retired to *Madrid*, and was kindly received by king *Philip*^d.

Intrigues of
Don Carlos
with the
malecontents in
the Low
Countries dis-
covered.

TOWARDS the close of the preceding year, pope *Pius* the fourth had sent a cardinal, with the title of his legate, accompanied by two commissaries, to enquire into the reasons which had induced the inquisition to seize and imprison the archbishop of *Toledo*; but the death of the pope obliged the cardinal legate to return, and put an end to the commission. The king was in hopes that the cardinal of *Alexandria*, who, upon his accession to the papal throne, assumed the name of *Pius V.* might have been prevailed upon to act in a different manner from his predecessor; but it proved otherwise; for he not only renewed the commission, but likewise ordered that the archbishop should be sent to *Rome*, with all the original pieces that regarded his process, which the inquisition at first endeavoured to avoid, but with which at length they were obliged to comply^e. King *Philip*'s intelligence, tho' it was generally pretty good, failed him this year, in regard to the motions of the *Turks*, who, he was brought to believe, would employ their whole strength in a land-war against *Hungary*. This kingdom they attacked indeed with a numerous army, but at the same time they dispatched *Piali* basha, with a strong fleet, to plunder the coast of *Naples*, which he performed so effectually, that, after loading his galleys as deep as they would swim with booty and slaves, he was constrained to leave much that he had taken behind, having intelligence that Don *Garcia de Toledo* was at sea with a fleet to attack him^f. His catholic majesty, at the solicitation of the grand master, resolved to be at the expence of building a new fortress to cover the capital of that island; and having sent an engineer, with a sufficient number of workmen for that purpose, agreed to furnish the value of ten thousand ducats in military stores, provisions to the same value, and the like sum in ready money annually, till it should be completely finished^g. On the 11th of *August* the queen Donna *Isabella* was delivered of a daughter, who was baptized by the pope's nuncio, and had the name given her of *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, of whom we shall have occasion hereafter to speak frequently^h. The prince Don *Carlos* was one of the sponsors at this ceremony, though the king had discovered his intrigues with Mr. *Montigny*, one of the deputies from the malecontents in the *Low Countries*, by whom he was solicited to go thither; for which that unfortunate gentleman was sent prisoner to the castle of *Segovia*, and, upon his attempting to make his escape from thence, was transferred to *Medina del Campo*, where, with some of his friends, who had accompanied him into *Spain*, he lost his life upon a scaffold. Not long after, a resolution was taken to send the duke of *Alba* to support the inquisition, and compel the *Flemings* to remain good catholics by a military force, though some of the council advised that the king should go thither in person; and perhaps his affairs would have taken a better turn, if he had yielded to this adviceⁱ.

The archbishop
of Granada
stirs up a per-
secution
against the
Moriscos.

Don *Pedro Guerrero*, archbishop of *Granada*, having made a tour to *Rome*, to visit the new pope, acquainted him with the strong suspicions he had that the *Moriscos* in his diocese were few or none of them Christians in their hearts; that, tho' they were baptized, he was informed they afterwards washed their children's faces with hot water, as a token of their intention to efface that sacrament; that, after they were married according to their usual form in the churches, they espoused their wives privately at home after the manner of the *Moors*, that they pursued the same conduct in other respects, received privately their countrymen from

^a GIACOMO BOSIO.

1627.

^b CABRERA.

^c LORENZO VANDER HAMMEN Y LEON Historia del Don Juan de Austria, 4to,

^d FARIA Y SOUSA.

^e HERRERA.

^f MAMBRINO ROSEO.

^g GIACOMO

BOSIO,

^h DIEGO DE COLMENARES Historia de la Ciudad de Segovia, fol. 1637.

ⁱ FER.

- a *Africa*, gave them intelligence prejudicial to the Christians, and frequently stole their neighbours children, whom they sold to these corsairs, who carried them into *Barbary*, circumcised, and brought them up *Mohammedans*, with much more to the same purpose; upon which informations the zealous pope wrote in very strong terms to king *Philip*, to stir him up against these poor people, and to raise a new flame about religion in *Spain*, at a time when he was already sufficiently embarrassed by pursuing this conduct in the *Low Countries*. If this conduct was strange in the pope, it was still stranger in the king, who took his advice, and sent express orders into the kingdom of *Granada* to oblige the *Morescoes* to change their habit, their manners, and their language, all at once. *Mondejar*, who was captain-general of that province, and others of his principal officers, remonstrated strongly in favour of these poor people, and declared their unwillingness to attempt the execution of a scheme equally unreasonable and impracticable, which looked as if they had a design to drive them first into despair, and then into rebellion. The *Moors* themselves also, by their deputies, represented with great humility the sad situation they were in; and with much modesty, but by clear and strong arguments, as the best *Spanish* historians admit, refuted the principal points of accusation that had been urged against them. But it was to little or no effect, except procuring a small respite; for the king gave express orders, even to those who had most strongly opposed this measure, to take their instructions from the resident *Spinosa*, a man who, in point of inflexibility, did not yield at all to the duke of *Alba* himself; and we shall quickly see what this produced.
- c THE king ordered a fleet to be assembled at *Corunna*, and it was certainly given out, at least, if not intended, that he would go in person to the *Low Countries*. An author of great reputation ^a assures us, that permission was asked from *Charles IX.* to debark the *Spanish* troops at *Frejus*, and so to march them by land into *Burgundy*; but the king found a civil pretence for declining what it was not either his interest or his inclination to grant. When the duke of *Alba* came to take his leave of the prince *Don Carlos*, in order to go to *Flanders*, the young man threw himself into a violent passion, told him he meant to go thither himself; that the army should have no other chief; and that he should not presume to go thither on pain of his high displeasure. The duke of *Alba* answered with great respect, that, at this time, those countries were in the utmost confusion; that he went to settle tranquility; that the prince would bestow that time in preserving a life infinitely precious to *Spain*; and that when all troubles were composed, he might visit the *Low Countries* without danger, and be the distributors of those favours which his father might think fit to bestow on such as he desired either to reward or to reclaim. He added, that, at all events, it was his own duty to obey the king's orders, which he hoped his highness would not take amiss. The prince immediately drew his dagger in great passion, and would have killed him; but the duke seized him by the arms, cried out for help, and, as soon as some of the courtiers entered, withdrew, and informed the king of this strange event, which, without question, gave him great displeasure. The duke of *Alba* landing at *Nice*, passed into *Lombardy*, and put himself at the head of the *Spanish* army, which, tho' not very numerous, was composed of such good troops, and the duke's military reputation was then at such a height, that some of the greatest powers in *Europe* were alarmed. The *Swiss* were apprehensive, that, in compliment to the pope, the duke would have taken *Geneva* in his passage; and therefore they thought fit to arm by way of precaution. The protestants in *France* had their fears; but the duke executed his commission punctually, and, having conducted the army into the county of *Burgundy*, proceeded from thence into *Flanders*, where having caused the counts of *Egmont* and *Horn* to be arrested as they came from council, he directed a citadel to be built at *Antwerp*. As he paid little or no regard to the princess *Margaret*, she very prudently resigned the title of governess, and retired into *Italy*, leaving the duke to reap all the glory and all the fruits of his own measures ^f. Measures which had one good effect, that they served to establish the *Dutch* republic.
- f THE unfortunate prince *Don Carlos* of *Spain* seemed to be intent upon accomplishing his own undoing. He had the misfortune to be deformed in his person, and to have a weakness in one of his legs; circumstances which occasioned more than ordinary indulgence to be shewn him in his infancy; and this, if it did not excite, at least strengthened bad habits. He was hasty and passionate, and, which rarely happens in the same person, he was obstinate and fullen, very apt to take offence, and implacable in his aversions; which very probably was the occasion of his distractions; for as he did not conceal his resentment, so some of the greatest persons about the court were the objects of it, and therefore little inclined to conceal or to excuse his errors. The president *Spinosa*, *Don Ruy Gomez*, prince of *Eboli*, and the king's favourite, were of this number; and *Don Garcia Toledo*, his governor, who had a sincere affection for him, taking the liberty, as they were riding together in a wood, to expostulate

Duke of Alba goes into the Low Countries, and the princess Margaret resigns the government.

A. D. 1567.

The prince Don Carlos forms a design of quitting his father's court, and flying into Germany.

^a LUYDE MARMOL, CARVAJAL.

^d THUANUS.

^e CABRERA, FER.

^f HERREERA, CABRERA,

HARLEI FAMILIANI SIRADJE de Bello Belgico. METEREN, FER.

with him upon his ill conduct, the prince suddenly attempted to kill him; upon which he immediately set spurs to his horse, and fled to *Madrid*^e. The prince was desirous of marrying his cousin the archduchess *Anne of Austria*, which was likewise very acceptable to the emperor; but as the king made no great haste in the negotiation, he conceived in his own mind that the king thought him unfit to be married, and incapable of the succession; upon this he took a resolution of flying into *Germany*, and wrote letters to most of the nobility, desiring their assistance in a certain great affair; which they promised him, provided it was not against his father, and furnished him with a very large sum of money. He then broke the matter to Don *John of Austria*, and pressed him to concur in it; but he told him he had put it out of his power; that some of the nobility would acquaint the king, and therefore it was better in him to drop the thing itself^h.

On which the king goes in person to his apartment, and causes him to be arrested.

BUT he persisted; upon which his confessor forsook him. The admiral, and some other lords, having brought his letters to the king; and his majesty being likewise informed that the master of the posts had received the prince's orders to furnish horses for a long journey, he resolved to arrest him; and, for this purpose, went the same day, which was the 18th of *January*, to *Madrid*. About midnight he entered his son's apartment in the palace, attended by *Ruy Gomez de Silva*, Don *Juan Manrique de Lara*, Don *Antonio de Toledo*, the prior of *St. John*, and *Lewis Quixada*, the duke of *Feria* following with some of the guards. The prince, as soon as he saw him, shrunk under the bed-cloaths, crying out, *Will your majesty kill me? I am not mad, but am rendered desperate by the manner in which your majesty treats me.* The king bid him make himself easy, and be assured that he meant every thing for his good. The king seized all the arms that were in the room, together with his papers, and a strong box. He then appointed six noblemen of the first families in *Spain* to wait upon the prince, with express orders that two of them should have him constantly in their sight; and that they should permit him to have nothing in his reach by which he might endanger his own lifeⁱ. The king immediately gave notice to the pope's nuncio, and to all the foreign ministers, of the motives which led him to treat the prince in this manner. He did the same to all the great towns, by a letter, which is still extant in more volumes than one^k. Their imperial majesties interposed with great earnestness and anxiety in favour of the prince; but the king assured them, that he had taken the advice of civilians and divines before he proceeded so far; and that they might be assured he would act with caution and tenderness for the future^l.

He dies under that confinement in the space of a few months.

DON *Carlos*, however, bore his confinement with great impatience. He refused all nourishment for two whole days, of which the king being informed, he went to his apartment, and staid till he had taken some refreshment. He afterwards eat with great avidity, and overcharged his stomach. When the weather became hot, he drank to excess of ice dissolved to water, by which he weakened the tone of his stomach to such a degree that it would bear nothing. His physicians, seeing the danger he was in, advised him to prepare for death; which he did with great piety and calmness, being assisted by his confessor and other divines. He desired earnestly to see his father, who went to him immediately, and gave him his blessing. The prince begged his pardon, and desired that he would provide for his servants. The king asked him what he would have done for them, and, when he told him, promised to do all that he had asked. In a short time after the king withdrew, he expired, on the 24th of *June*, in the 24th year of his age^m. Such was the end of this unhappy prince, according to the best *Spanish* historians; but other writers have taken great freedom upon this subject, and have, without scruple, asserted that he was put to death by his father's commandⁿ. If this be true, it is inexcusable; if it be not true, the king was doubly unfortunate, in the loss of his son and of his reputation, of which few princes were so tender. He caused the whole court to go into mourning, and buried him publicly with great splendor^o (A).

THE

^z FER. ^h HERRERA. ⁱ CABRERA. ^k DIEGO DE COLMENARES. ^l FERRERAS.
^m CABRERA, CAMPANA. ⁿ Hist. de France, par PIERRE MATTHIEU. ^o CABRERA, CAMPANA.

(A) The prevailing opinion, as to the violent death of the prince Don *Carlos*, has proceeded chiefly from the confidence with which it was reported by *French* historians; one of them has given a long account of the king's proceedings against him before the inquisition, the issue of which was his being sentenced to death; but he was to be allowed to chuse what death he pleased, which having refused, four slaves came into his chamber in a morning, where two held his arms, one his legs, and the other strangled him with a silken cord. The same writer agrees that many were of opinion he was bled to death in a warm bath⁽¹⁾. *Twigit*, in his history of *Spain*, discusses the point largely, and at length asserts, that

the inquisitors persuaded the king that he might lawfully put to death the prince his son, the queen his wife, and the prince with whom she was supposed to be with child, though it proved a princess. After all, he leaves it doubtful whether the prince was poisoned, or strangled by slaves. According to this writer, Don *Carlos* was impotent, and the unfortunate queen fell a sacrifice to the king's jealousy, not of the prince, but of the marquis de *Pozza* (2). Monsieur *St. Evremont* indulges a very unbecoming pleasantry upon this melancholy subject. He says, the *Spaniard*, who strangled Don *Carlos*, cried out while he was doing it, *Calla, calla, Señor, todo que se hace es por su bien*; that is,

(1) *Pierre Matthieu Hist. de France.*

(2) *Hist. de Espagne, liv. xxix p. 1400—1406.*

a THE marquis *de Mondejar*, finding all his representations ineffectual, left the publication of the king's injunctions to his son the count *de Tendilla*; and they were accordingly published about the beginning of the year ^p. The archbishop also enjoined the clergy in their respective parishes to require the *Morescoes* to register all their children from the age of five to fifteen, in order to be taught the *Castilian* tongue, and to be thoroughly instructed in the Christian religion. This manner of proceeding determined them at once to revolt; which resolution, though suddenly taken, was pursued with great slowness and secrecy, and was managed intirely by *Farax Aben Farax*, and some others of their chiefs. The first thing they did was to send into the mountainous country of *Alpujarros*, where their strength lay; and finding that there were eighty-five thousand *Moorish* families, that they could with ease bring fifty thousand able men into the field, they conceived the recovery of *Granada* a thing very practicable, if the scheme was rightly conducted. They sent an agent to *Algiers*, without being suspected, and they contrived a very singular method of introducing their deputies to sound the minds of the people in all parts of the kingdom, without giving any umbrage. They addressed themselves to the archbishop of *Granada*, and having informed him, that a great number of their poor countrymen, coming about their business to the city, were taken sick and died, without receiving either temporal or spiritual comforts; they intreated him to procure a place for erecting an hospital without the gates, promising to leave it intirely to his direction. He obtained for them this favour, and afterwards passes for those whom they named to go abroad, and beg a sum sufficient to erect and endow this hospital; and these were the very men who managed the insurrection ^q. They first fixed upon *Holy Thursday*; but finding their preparations not complete, they put it off to *Christmas Eve*. In the mean time, another deputy of theirs, who was going to *Africa*, was discovered by accident; and though he made his escape into the mountains, yet his papers were seized, and sent to the court by the count *de Tendilla*, which gave such light into their designs, that the king ordered the marquis *de Mondejar* to repair immediately to *Granada*, who, by his great prudence, prevented their surprizing that city ^r. At the time appointed, however, or rather a little before, they revolted every-where in the country; and having elected Don *Ferdinand de Valor*, a young man of the age of twenty-four, very rich, extremely brave, and very prudent, they proclaimed him, by the name of *Mohammed Aben Humeya*, king of *Granada* and *Cordova*, of which family he really was, and some of them had formerly bore the same title. He swore, at the time of his election, to live and die in support of the *Mohammedan* religion. After the revolt, they committed every-where the most outrageous excesses, and the most inexcusable cruelties, more especially on ecclesiastics and women, profaning churches, and expressing such an aversion and detestation of the Christian religion, as if they were desirous of justifying all that their enemies had said of them, and to bring those who had interceded on their behalf into suspicion with the court, or at least into contempt ^s.

c IN the month of *May*, the king named his brother Don *Juan* of *Austria* captain-general of the gallies of *Spain*, and sent him to *Cartagena* to take upon him the command, after having given him very full instructions in regard to the operations of the campaign, and of his own conduct. Don *Juan* having with him Don *Alvaro Bazan*, and most of the old officers,

The death of Donna Isabella, queen of Spain, and the rumours it occasions.

^p DIEGO DE MENDOZA.
DIEGO DE MENDOZA.

^q CABRERA, HERRERA.

^r LUYS DE MARMOL, CARVAJAL.

^s Don

Hold your tongue, hold your tongue, Sir; all that is done is for your good (3); which seems to be a wilful mistake of what the king said when he seized him; for at the breaking open of the door, the prince cried out, *What brings your majesty here? Is it to kill me?* To which the king answered, *No, my son; it is for your good. Be not impatient* (4). Wiser and more impartial writers of that nation confess that those stories have been transmitted to posterity, *odio magis quam ex fide*, rather to indulge spleen than vindicate the truth (5). But let us hear strangers well informed, and whose integrity will admit of no suspicion. A *Polish* bishop and senator, who had his information from the *Polish* minister, then at the court of *Philip II.* says, that the king, going from *Valladolid*, turned out of the road to go and make a visit to his son at *Madrid*, out of paternal affection, and found him giving up the ghost; but he leaves it doubtful whether he died of poison or of grief (6). *Morosini*,

the *Venetian* senator, who was permitted to inspect the dispatches of their minister to the republic, assures us, that Don *Carlos*, not being able to find a sword or dagger, the king left him no weapons, and suffered none to go near him armed, with which he might dispatch himself, took the diamond secretly out of his ring, and swallowed it; but finding this did him no hurt, weary of life, and ashamed of his imprisonment, he eat voraciously of all that was brought before him, and swallowed afterwards great quantities of cold water, which brought on a dysentery, that killed him; but that he first received all the sacraments of the church, with his father's forgiveness and blessing (7). This agrees perfectly well with what we have related in the text from a *Spanish* historian, and, in a matter of so dark and perplexed a nature, may, as the astronomers speak, without any sensible error, pass for truth (8).

(3) *Oeuvres de St. Evremond.*

(4) *Luis Cabrera Hist. del Rey d'España, Don Phelipe II. Historiques, Politiques, Critiques, & Littéraires, par Amelot de la Houssaie, tom. i. p. 205.*

Chronica, A. D. 1568.

(7) *Paoli Morosini Historia della Citta e Repubblica di Venetia.*

Historia del Rey d'España, Don Phelipe II.

(5) *Memoires*

(6) *Pauli Piascii*

(8) *Luis Cabrera*

received from them, with all imaginable docility, whatever counsels and lights they thought a fit to give him, visited the coasts of *Italy* and of *Africa*, examined the ports, changed the garrisons, and returned to court in the month of *September*, and made a large report to the king of the condition in which he found things every-where, with which his majesty was highly satisfied¹. The queen Donna *Isabella*, who the year before had been delivered of another daughter, the Infanta Donna *Catalina*, being in the fifth month of her third pregnancy, died of a miscarriage on the third of *October*, not without strong suspicions that her death was owing to ignorance, or something worse, in her physicians². The murmurs this occasioned were extremely heightened, when it came to be known that the king had entered into a negotiation for marrying the archduchess *Anne* of *Austria*, whom the emperor had intended for his son³. He sent, upon this occasion, his brother the archduke *Charles* to the court of *Spain*, with instructions to persuade the king, if possible, to recall the duke of *Alba*, and to pardon the prince of *Orange*. All possible marks of kindness and respect were shewn to the archduke; but the advices he gave in the emperor's name were not only slighted, but ill-received; and the successes which the duke of *Alba* had this year in the *Low Countries* were magnified, as if he had actually put an end to the war⁴.

War with the Morescoes in Granada carried on with incredible fury. MOHAMMED ABEN HUMEYA laboured all that was in his power to obtain assistance from the princes of *Africa* and from the grand signior. The former promised much, and gave little; but as for the latter, he neither promised nor gave any thing at all. The Christians, under the command of the marquis de *Mondejar*, took the field, and carried on the war with vigour; but the marquis, who was thoroughly persuaded in his own mind that a great part of the *Morescoes* involved in this rebellion were in reality Christians, driven to madness and despair by oppression and ill usage, treated them with lenity, and received many to mercy; by which he gained very useful intelligence, and brought the war, as he imagined, very near to an end. At *Granada*, however, the president *Deza* gave out that the marquis husbanded the war, in order to enrich himself and his captains by the plunder of the *Morescoes*, for whom, at the same time, they suggested he had too much compassion, and held a correspondence with them inconsistent with the king's service. The marquis wrote to the archbishop of *Granada*, and justified himself fully; but it vexed him so much, that, having dispossessed the *Morescoes* of a post of great consequence, he caused the old men, women, and children, they had left behind them, to be put to the sword; an action unworthy of so great a man, and of which he was very much ashamed all his life after. The marquis de *los Velez* also entered the *Alpujarros*, and had many actions against the *Morescoes* with different fortune; but he was jealous of the marquis of *Mondejar*, and would not act in concert with him, which turned to the prejudice of both. The king, to put an end to these disputes, sent his brother Don *Juan* of *Austria* to command in chief, with very full powers. He acted with great prudence; and, having received the advice both of the marquis of *Mondejar* and of the president, he sent them in writing to the king, and desired to know whose advice he should take.

Reasons why the king would not exterminate these people, as he was pressed to do. THE preference that was for some time given to violent councils furnished *Aben Humeya* with a better army than he had before, though he had been twice beaten by the marquis de *Mondejar*. He shewed great dexterity and courage in the perilous situation in which he was; for his father Don *Antonio* and his brother Don *Francisco Valor* were prisoners at *Granada*, and this induced him to write to the marquis of *Mondejar* and to Don *Juan* of *Austria*, which raised suspicions in his own people. He chastised such as discovered them with great severity, and, amongst the rest, put to death his father-in-law; and by giving a loose to his passions, in taking several women, created such jealousies, that one of his secretaries, by counterfeiting an order for cutting the throats of a body of *Moors* that came from *Barbary* to his assistance, engaged them to conspire against him, and set up *Lopez Aben Abo*, at whose instance they seized the unfortunate *Aben Humeya*, and, notwithstanding he gave them the strongest assurances of his innocence, resolved to strangle him. When he found his death inevitable, he declared himself a Christian, and that he had acted out of revenge for the injuries done to his father and his family. *Lopez Aben Abo* assumed, with the royal dignity, the name of *Muley Abdallah*, took all imaginable precautions to prevent the Christians from penetrating into the mountains, laboured to procure fresh succours from *Barbary*, and, notwithstanding the duke of *Sessa* and Don *Juan* in person acted against him with numerous troops, and gained several advantages, he found ways and means to keep up the war to the conclusion of the year. The king Don *Philip* was exceedingly disturbed by this dangerous rebellion in the heart of his kingdom, and yet he was very unwilling to rely wholly upon his arms for putting an end to it, paying great regard to the suggestions of the marquis de *Mondejar*; that if the country of *Alpujarros* was totally depopled, he would only gain a parcel of black rocks and desert

¹ LORENZO VANDER HAMMEN.² HERRERA.³ FERRERAS.⁴ CARRERA.

a mountains, into which the *Moors* from *Barbary* might steal over at pleasure, and keep up a war without end^y. This year queen *Elizabeth* of *England* seized a great sum of money he was sending into *Flanders*, which induced the first open rupture between the two courts; and this year the king concluded his marriage with the archduchess *Anne* of *Austria*, his niece^z, notwithstanding he could not be ignorant how this was censured throughout *Europe*.

Don *Juan* of *Austria* and the duke *de Sessa* renewed the war against the *Morescoes* immediately after *Christmas*, and met at first with a very obstinate resistance, by which numbers of men, and some persons of distinction, amongst whom was *Lewis Quixada*, whom Don *Juan* revered and loved as a father, were lost. Some strong places were reduced, and others revolted; so that on the whole there was a great slaughter on both sides, and no great success on either. In the mean time the king, by the advice of the president *Deza*, caused the *Morescoes* to be removed out of the city and plain of *Granada* into the kingdom of *Castile*, where they had lands given them, and satisfaction for what they left behind. However, some of the noble families expostulated upon this treatment, and insisted upon the privileges they had from Don *Ferdinand* and the emperor *Charles*, upon their constant fidelity to the crown of *Spain*, the services they had rendered, and the impossibility of making satisfaction for their large estates; upon which the president was obliged to demand an explanation of the king's order, and whether it would admit of any exceptions. To this Don *Philip* answered, that the privileges of his predecessors were inviolable, that it was never his intention to invade them, and that the *Morescoes*, distinguished by their fidelity, should be likewise distinguished by marks of his favour. This declaration had a great effect, for some of the chiefs of the rebels immediately began to treat, and even *Lopez Aben Abo* insinuated, that he had been forced to do all that he had done; upon which Don *Juan* offered him pardon, and great possessions; but he acted perfidiously, and murdered *Abaqui*, a noble *Moresco*, who had laboured honestly to put an end to these troubles; which induced another of his countrymen to treat him in the same manner; and, upon his death, the public tranquillity was quickly restored^a. This war of the *Morescoes* lasted between two and three years, cost the lives of twenty thousand *Castilian* soldiers, about five times that number of *Morescoes*, and depopulated and destroyed some of the finest countries in *Spain*. The king, towards the close of the summer, made great preparations for the celebration of his marriage; which he might well do, since, upon his making a tour to *Seville* in the spring, which city he had never before honoured with his presence, they made him a present of six hundred thousand ducats^b. His intended consort, the archduchess *Anne*, came from *Germany* into the *Low Countries*, where the duke of *Alba* had prepared a fleet to transport her into *Spain*; and though at that time, and chiefly through his management, there was no good understanding between the two courts, yet queen *Elizabeth*, in point of civility, sent an *English* squadron to escort the archduchess, and to invite her to put into any *English* port, in case the season, which was far advanced, should render it expedient^c. She embarked on the 24th of *September*, and arrived, without any accident, at the port of *St. Andero* in *Biscay*, from whence, accompanied by her brothers the archdukes *Albert* and *Wenceslaus*, she continued her journey to *Valladolid*, where she was met by the archdukes *Rodolph* and *Ernest*, and from thence came to *Segovia*, where she was received by the princess *Donna Joanna* and the cardinal *Zuniga Espinosa*. There the marriage was celebrated about the middle of *November*, after which the court returned to *Madrid*^d. The king entered this year into what was called the *Holy League* against the *Turks*, in favour of the *Venetians*, and sent prince *Doria* with his gallies to join the fleet of the allies; which, though a great force, did little, through the disputes that arose amongst the several generals who commanded. The duke of *Alba*, having rendered himself universally odious in the *Low Countries* by his cruelties, displeased his master by his imprudence, in causing his own statue to be erected at *Antwerp*, with figures representing the states under his feet^e.

A GENERAL council was held at *Venice*, composed of the ministers of the powers embarked in the holy league, wherein it was agreed, that the fleet should consist of two hundred gallies, and the army of fifty thousand foot and four thousand horse. The pope agreed to furnish the sixth part of the expence; the smaller states of *Italy* the like proportion amongst them, which did not take effect; the republic of *Venice* a third, and his catholic majesty one half. *Mark Antonio Colonna* was appointed to command the pope's gallies, the *Venetians* named for their general *Sebastian Venier*, and Don *Juan* of *Austria* was declared generalissimo of the league^f. The emperor of the *Ottomans*, *Selim*, having reduced a great part of *Cyprus*, sent his fleet, consisting of two hundred and eighty gallies, exclusive of ships of war and galliots, commanded in chief by *Hali basha*, and under him by four other bashas, with orders to fight the Christians at all events, and where-ever he found them. In the mean time Don *Juan* of *Austria*,

An end at length put to this war, and the arrival of the archduchess queen in Spain. A. D. 1570.

Don Juan gains against the Turks the glorious victory of Lepanto. 1571.

^y DIEGO DE MENDOZA. ^z CAMDEN's Annals, Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. v. part i. p. 175.
^a GASPAR ESCOLANO. ^b ORTIZ DE ZUNIGA. ^c CAERERA. ^d HERRERA. ^e THUANUS.
^f ANTONIUS GABUTIUS, libri vi. de vita & rebus gestis Pii V. Pont. Max. fo. Romæ, 1605.

having

having assembled the fleet of the league, and reviewed them carefully, found the *Venetian* gallies feebly manned, and indifferently provided with ammunition. To remedy the first, he put on board them four thousand of his own troops, and supplied the latter from his stores. At *Corfu* a grand council was held, when, by the advice of prince *Doria*, the following orders were settled: The van, consisting of fifty-four gallies carrying green streamers, was commanded by *Andrew Doria*, which, in the line of battle, was to form on the right; Don *Juan*, with the grand commander of *Castile*, and the generals of the pope and the republic of *Venice*, followed next, with sixty-four gallies, whose streamers were blue, the standard of the league being carried by the *Real*; this squadron was to compose the main body in the line: then came the provveditore *Barbarigo* with his squadron of fifty-five gallies, and yellow streamers, which was to form the left; the rear guard, which consisted of thirty gallies with white streamers, was commanded by the marquis of *Santa Cruz*; and in this order, on the 7th of *October*, the two fleets met in the gulph of *Lepanto*. The *Turks* formed in a half-moon, into which they brought two hundred and thirty gallies and seventy galliots. The first shot was fired by *Hali* basha, and answered by Don *Juan* of *Austria* from the *Real*. The Christians made no great haste to engage, depending upon the artillery of their galleasses, which were extremely well served, and put the *Turks* into great confusion; at length *Barbarigo*, with the left wing, began the attack, and the battle became general about half an hour after twelve. Don *Juan* engaged the gally of *Hali*, and, after an obstinate resistance, carried it, the commander being killed upon the spot. Upon this, he ordered the banner of the cross to be displayed from the mainmast, and the head of *Hali* to be fixed upon a pike, and placed in the stern; after this, it was all carnage and confusion; and if *Uluciali*, who was in the left wing, had not retired in time with twenty-eight gallies, the whole *Ottoman* fleet had been destroyed. As it was, they lost thirty thousand men, besides ten thousand that were taken prisoners, and fifteen thousand Christian slaves released. Thirty gallies were sunk, twenty-five burnt, and one hundred and thirty taken. On the side of the Christians, the loss, in the whole, was about ten thousand men; but, which was much greater, for the want of unanimity in their generals, they lost the fruits of their victory, and, after disputing a long time about what they should do, agreed at last to do nothing. The king Don *Philip* celebrated this victory by a feast, which continued nine days; and appointed the anniversary to be kept for ever in the cathedral of *Toledo*, to which he sent the standard of the grand signor, and other trophies. The queen, on the fourth of *December*, was delivered of the prince Don *Ferdinand*; and in this year the *Spaniards* seized the important fortrefs of *Final*, to which they pretended no better title than that it might fall into worse hands.

The next campaign proves fruitless, tho' highly honourable to Don Juan.

A. D. 1572.

THE next year a grand council was held at *Rome*, to consider of the most effectual method for continuing the war. The grand commander of *Castile*, who was there on the part of the crown of *Spain*, proposed, that the pope, the *Venetians*, and the lesser states of *Italy*, should attack *Albania* and the adjacent countries; that the maritime force of *Spain* should be employed against the *Turks* and *Moors* in *Africa*; while the emperor and the king of *Poland* made a powerful diversion on the side of *Hungary*. But those who could concur in nothing else, were unanimous in rejecting this; to which the sentiments of the pope did not a little contribute, who was against dividing the forces of the league. On the other hand, the emperor of the *Ottomans* gave the command of his fleet to *Uluciali*, one of the ablest officers in his service, and who with incredible diligence assembled a greater naval force than could well be imagined. He dispatched likewise an ambassador to *Charles* the ninth of *France*, to dissuade him from entering into the holy league, and this not without effect. The death of pope *Pius* the fifth was another unlucky incident, because the princes of his communion looked upon him as a saint. He was succeeded by cardinal *Buoncompagno*, who assumed the name of *Gregory* the thirteenth. The allies were very apprehensive, that, fresh troubles breaking out in the *Low Countries*, his catholic majesty would quit the league, from which he received little benefit, and to which he contributed most. The king, however, assured them he had no such intentions, and, to convince them of it, he ordered Don *Juan* of *Austria* to take the command of the confederate fleet. That prince went accordingly to *Italy*, where he had an interview with the princess *Margaret* his sister, whom he had never seen before. He then proceeded to *Naples*, and, as soon as the fleet of the allies assembled, he went and took the command. His active spirit led him immediately in search of the *Turkish* fleet: *Uluciali*, who was much inferior in strength, advanced to meet him, but, like a great seaman, often offered him battle, and as often avoided fighting. At length Don *Juan* blocked him up in the port of *Modon*, where he would have attacked him, but most of the other generals said it was impracticable, as his fleet was protected by a good fortrefs, and many batteries along the coast.

⁸ ANT. DE HERRERA. ^b ILLESCAS. ¹ LORENZO VANDER HAMMEN.
¹ ANTONIO DE FUENMAYOR, Vie du Pape Pie V. par JEAN BAPT. FEUILLET.
 RENZO VANDER HAMMEN.

² P. DANIEL, CABRERA.
^m ILLESCAS. ⁿ LO-

- a Don Juan replied, that when they were once engaged, the cannon on shore must cease firing, or do as much mischief to their friends as to their foes; but the other generals persisting in their opinion, the fleet retired, after having performed little or nothing; but Don Juan's character was as much raised by the proposition he made in this, as by the victory he gained the year before^o. This year the king lost his great favourite, and his principal minister. The first was *Ruy Gomez de Silva*, prince of *Eboli*^p, singular in this, that, during the king's whole reign, he had remained equally possessed of his good graces, and died as much regretted by the people as by his master; the other was cardinal *Espinosa*^q, of whom his master *Philip* said, long after he was dead, that he was the greatest minister *Spain* ever could boast; and yet *Spain* had produced cardinal *Ximenes*, who had possessed his master's confidence long after
- b he lost his affections.

Don Juan of *Austria*, in obedience to the king's orders, had employed infinite care and diligence in augmenting, repairing, and equipping, his fleet, that, in conjunction with the allies, he might put to sea in the month of *April*, fully determined to proceed through the *Archipelago*, and put an end to the naval power of the *Turks* for a century at least; but when he thought himself in a condition to execute this project, he received the surprising news, that the *Venetians* had made their peace with the *Turks*; upon which he caused the colours of the league to be struck, and hoisted the banner of *Spain*^r. The king either was not, or did not seem much displeased. He removed *Juan de Soto*, who was secretary to his brother, and made him intendant of the fleet, on account of his advising his master to think of doing something for himself, and of acquiring an independent sovereignty at the expence of the Infidels. *Juan de Escovado* succeeded him as secretary to the prince; and the king, who bestowed upon him several favours, told him plainly the reasons for which he had removed his predecessor^s. He afterwards sent orders to Don Juan to reduce *Tunis*, and to demolish it. The season was very late before this order could be put in execution, but it was executed by the bare appearance of the fleet, for the *Turks* abandoned it; the prince, contrary to Don *Philip*'s order, fortified the town, and marked out a new citadel, capable of holding eight thousand men; and afterwards, by the advice of both his secretaries, engaged the pope to propose to his brother declaring him king of *Tunis*. To this Don *Philip* answered, that the respect as well as affection he had for his brother would not permit him to grant that request, as he knew the grand signor meditated the recovery of all the places held by the Christians in *Africa*; and that, in its proper season, he would explain himself to his brother's satisfaction^t. This year the royal family was increased by the birth of the Infant Don *Carlos*; soon after which died the Infanta Donna *Joanna*, the king's sister^u. This year also he removed to the escorial the bodies of his queen Donna *Isabella* and of the prince Don *Carlos*, as also those of the emperor *Charles* the fifth, of the empress, of Donna *Leonora* queen of *Portugal* and *France*, of his brothers and sisters, and of his aunt Donna *Maria* queen of *Hungary*; at the same time he caused the body of his grandmother Donna *Joanna* to be transferred to *Granada*, and interred there near the bodies of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*^v.

- c This year opened with a scene which never would have happened if the king had not lost the cardinal his minister. The wars in which the king had been so long involved in the *Low Countries*, and in the defence of *Italy*, and the places he possessed in *Africa* against the *Turks*, had constrained him to borrow money upon his revenues, from those in other countries, as well as the bankers in his own dominions, for which they had assignments. To supply his present necessities, he had recourse to the states, and they advised him to supersede those assignments; and to deduct, after liquidating his creditors demands, what he judged reasonable in regard to usury and exchange. His own subjects thought this hard; but those who durst call things by their proper names said, that he had declared himself a bankrupt. In consideration of this worthy action, the states gave him another tenth of the *Alcavala*; and thus, for a small temporary advantage, he lost his credit for ever^x. The apprehensions of the *Turkish* fleet was the great motive to this measure, of which the king gave notice to cardinal *Granvelle*, viceroy of *Naples*; to the duke of *Terra Nova*, who had the government of *Sicily*; and to Don Juan of *Austria*, who was then in *Italy*; with express orders to provide in time for the safety of the *Gouletta* and of *Tunis*. Don Juan did all in his power; but the viceroys were so much concerned for the provinces under their government, that they did not do what they might have done in time. The consequence was, that *Sinan* basha, who commanded the *Turkish* fleet, landed forty thousand men without opposition; upon which the Christians abandoned *Tunis*, and retired into the new fort. *Sinan* basha leaving the command of the fleet to *Uluciali*, invested both that and the *Gouletta* at the same time: the former was carried by assault; and Don *Pedro Portocarrero*, with the small remains of his gar-

He forms a project of becoming king of Tunis, by the mediation of the pope.
A. D. 1573.

All those places, of which his kingdom was to be formed, conquered by the Turks.
A. D. 1574.

^o CABRERA.

^p FERRERAS.

^q HERRERA.

^r LORENZO VANDER HAMMEN.

^s Idem, &

FERRERAS.

^t HERRERA.

^u CAMPANA.

^v SIGUENCA.

^x CABRERA.

rison, carried into slavery. The new fort had the same fate not long after; so that the *Spaniards* lost all they had been so long acquiring, and at least twelve thousand good troops. The king thereupon sent prince *Vespasian Gonzala* to examine the state of things at *Oran*, who, finding them in disorder, fortified *Mazalquivir*, and abandoned the place before-mentioned. Don *Juan* of *Austria*, who was hindered by the bad weather from going in person to the relief of the fortresses in *Africa*, was exceedingly chagrined at their loss; but the king bore it with great temper, and laid no blame either upon Don *Juan*, or the people who commanded^y. Don *Juan* had this year the honour of entertaining *Henry* the third of *France* at *Cremona*, in his return from *Poland* to his hereditary dominions^z.

Don Juan of Austria forms, notwithstanding, new pretensions on his brother.

A. D. 1575.

The king sends him into the Low Countries with discretionary powers there. 1576.

THE death of the *Turkish* emperor *Selimi* gave some hopes that the war would not be continued with the same vivacity; but these were quickly dashed by the news that a numerous fleet^b was equipping at *Constantinople*. Don *Juan* of *Austria*, who was then at *Genoa*, pressed the king so warmly for leave to return to *Spain*, that he obtained it. His business was to solicit two requests; the first was, to be declared Infant of *Castile*; and the other to be created lieutenant-general of *Italy*. After mature deliberation, the king refused the first, because there was no precedent of any such thing; and declined the latter, by telling him his presence was necessary in *Italy*, and that he would send full powers after him^a. The *Turkish* fleet made an attempt upon *Calabria*; but were so roughly handled, that they thought proper to return to *Constantinople*. This year was fatal to the Infant Don *Carlos*; but the queen was delivered on the twelfth of *July*, which was three days after, of the Infant Don *Diego*^b.

IN the spring of the year died Don *Lewis de Requifens*, who had succeeded the duke of *Alba* in the government of the *Low Countries*; and the king immediately resolved to send Don *Juan* of *Austria* thither. Don *Juan*, who knew very well that both money and troops were wanting, sent *Escovedo* his secretary to court, who presented so many and so sharp memorials, that the king directed *Antonio Perez*, who was secretary of state, to tell him, that he would not be importuned, and that he should learn to write in a more becoming stile^c. Don *Juan*, perplexed with this delay, embarked at *Genoa*, and came to *Barcelona*, of which he gave the king notice, who, to avoid receiving him as an Infant of *Castile*, which he knew that prince expected, retired to the escurial, and sent for him thither. At his audience, he would have kissed the king's hand; but Don *Philip*, rising from his seat, threw his arms round his neck, and embraced him. He then kissed the queen's; and, in paying the same respect to the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, he rased his forehead with the pommel of his sword. The child cried out violently; upon which the king took him in his hands, and said to Don *Juan*, "God be praised, it is only a scratch." "So much the better," replied Don *Juan*; "for, if it had been ever so dangerous, here is no window out of which I could have thrown myself." "Brother," added the king coldly, "more or less dangerous would not have altered the case, for it would have been still an accident, and accidents are not in our power^d." The king held several councils, to which the duke of *Alba*, the marquis *de los Velos*, and the secretary *Perez*, were called; and the result was, that the king left every thing to his brother's discretion, except the point of liberty of conscience, which he absolutely refused to grant. As so much time had been lost, the king enjoined him to pass through *France* in disguise, which^e he did in quality of domestic to *Octavio Gonzaga*, and arrived safely at *Luxemburgh*^e. *Muley Mohammed*, who had been expelled the kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco* by his brother, solicited Don *Philip* to restore him by force of arms; but the king, grown weary of *African* expeditions, declined it. He then applied himself to his nephew Don *Sebastian*, king of *Portugal*, who sent one of his ministers to solicit the assistance of Don *Philip* in this enterprize, and to demand one of his daughters in marriage. The king answered, that the Infantas were too young; and that if his nephew, under the appearance of devotion, would come to our lady of *Guadalupe*, he would meet him there; which he did; and the duke of *Alba* had a share in the conference. The king and the duke both laboured to dissuade Don *Sebastian* from the war, by shewing him how great an army was necessary to do any thing in *Africa*, how impossible it was to subsist such an army, and how little he could rely upon the promises of a *Moor*. These remonstrances were vain; and the king was at last forced to promise his nephew, that he would furnish him with fifty galleys and five thousand men, provided the *Turk* had no fleet at sea^f. This year died at *Rome* the unfortunate doctor *Carranza*, archbishop of *Toledo*, after being obliged to abjure certain doctrines, which he affirmed in the most solemn manner when he was dying, he had never supported or believed. His persecution is said to have been owing to the envy of a great prelate, who had passionately sought what without desiring *Carranza* obtained. In *Spain* some had still their doubts about him, but at *Rome* he was unanimously regarded as a saint^z.

^y LORENZO VANDER HAMMEN.
^d CARRERA. ^c VANDER HAMMEN.
por JUAN DE BAENA. ^z ILLESCAS.

^a Idem.

^a CARRERA.

^b HERRERA.

^c FERRERAS.

^e Epitome de la Vida y Hechos de D. Sebastian, Rey de Portugal,

a THE king Don *Philip*, in order to be better informed of the state of affairs in *Morocco*; Don Philip makes peace with the emperor of Fez and Morocco. A. D. 1577. sent over *Francisco Aldana*, who had been long a prisoner in that country, and was well acquainted with *Muley Moloch*. He was extremely well received by that king, and, after he had remained there some time, was kindly dismissed. At his return, he assured his catholic majesty, that *Muley Moloch* had a great body of *Turks* about his person, was well provided with artillery, and could raise a numerous army without difficulty; upon which he was sent to make the like report to Don *Sebastian*, though it proved to no purpose. The king procured for his brother-in-law the archduke *Albert* a hat from *Rome*, and the grand cross of *Malta* for the archduke *Wenceslaus*, with one of the richest commanderies that order had in his kingdom. The news brought him by captain *Aldana* made him very apprehensive that **b** the *Turks* might seize the kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*; and as he by no means desired such neighbours, he caused it be intimated to *Muley Moloch*, that he was well disposed towards him. That monarch, who needed, immediately solicited his friendship; so that an alliance was quickly concluded, and, by the interposition of the *Venetians*, the king made a truce with the *Turks* for three years. In consequence of these measures, he sent the duke of *Medina Cœli*, in the winter, to dissuade Don *Sebastian* from attempting the war in *Africa*, but without any effect ^a.

c IN the spring of the year the king had the news of the arrival of the archduke *Matthias*, Don Juan of Austria dies in the Low Countries. not without suspicion of poison. 1578. whom the confederates had invited into the *Low Countries*, and whom they acknowledged as their governor ¹. On the last day of *March* *Juan de Escovedo*, secretary to the prince Don *Juan of Austria*, was assassinated in the streets ². The general opinion was, that he was in the secret of his master's intention to espouse queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, and that this induced the king to order him to be put to death. But it is very certain that he was murdered by the express direction of the secretary *Antonio Perez*, who gave out to those he employed, that it was for his majesty's service; and that he procured for them, by way of reward, commands in the army in *Italy*: it is also certain, that *Perez* had twice attempted to poison him before, once at his house, to which he invited him for that purpose, and another time by procuring poison to be put into his victuals at home, which he escaped by accidentally dining abroad, and of which his wife had like to have died, and on this account a poor slave was unjustly put to death ³. This assassination made a great noise at the time, and was attended, as such **d** actions always are, with very fatal consequences. On the fourth of *April* the queen was delivered of the Infant Don *Philip*, who succeeded his father ⁴. This year, however, was very fatal to the royal family; for on the seventh of *October* died Don *Juan of Austria* of a malignant fever ⁵, as some say, but, as others assert, not without a great suspicion of poison. On the eighteenth of the same month died the prince Don *Ferdinand*, at the age of sixteen, to the inexpressible grief of his parents; and on the twenty-fourth died the archduke *Wenceslaus* ⁶. This year was also fatal to the unfortunate Don *Sebastian*, king of *Portugal*, who perished in his rash expedition into *Africa* ⁷, as we shall have occasion to shew at large in its proper place; and as soon as the news of it arrived at *Madrid*, the king sent orders to cover the places which the *Portuguese* possessed in that country.

e THE cardinal Don *Henry* having assumed the regal dignity in *Portugal* immediately after *Antonio* the death of Don *Sebastian* was known, felt very early the cares of a crown; for, on the one side, he was solicited by the people to marry, that the independency of *Portugal* might be preserved; and, on the other, he was pressed by the ambassadors of Don *Philip* to regulate Perez, secretary of state, and the prince of Eboli, disgraced and imprisoned. and declare the succession. His catholic majesty, who had not the least scruple about his own right, sent a friar to persuade the king of *Portugal*, that, being a priest, a bishop, and a cardinal, he could not in conscience, or with any degree of decency, marry, more especially at his time of life. He likewise applied to the pope, to prevent any dispensation from being obtained for that purpose; alleging the great scandal that would attend it, and what advantages would be taken of such a step by heretics. The king Don *Henry*, who, though **f** no great politician, was an honest, pious, and just man, was absolutely deaf to these insinuations. At *Rome* they opened but one ear to his catholic majesty, and at the same time extended one hand, reserving as much for the king of *Portugal*, that, in so important a business, something might be heard and felt on both sides ⁸. The new emperor of *Morocco* and *Fez*, perceiving how much it was his interest to be well with the king of *Castile*, sent over one *Andrew Gasparo*, a *Corfican*, who negotiated a peace for twenty years between the two crowns; in consideration of which, and of the assistance promised by Don *Philip*, in case of any foreign invasion or domestic trouble, he yielded to him the town of *Larach* for their mutual conveniency; and, rejecting the large offers that were made for the ransom of the duke of *Barcelos*, son to the duke of *Braganza*, and nephew to the king of *Portugal*, he **g** made a present of him to king *Philip*, and sent him to the house of Don *Pedro de Vinegas*, his

^a CABRERA.¹ EMANUEL METEREN.² VANDER HAMMEN.³ HERRERA.⁴ CAMPANA.⁵ ANTONIO CARNERO.⁶ CABRERA.⁷ FARIA Y SOUSA.⁸ ILLESCAS.

embassador^r. The council of *Castile* advised the king to detain him as an honourable prisoner, a whom he might otherwise find the most formidable competitor to the crown of *Portugal*; but Don *Philip*, with great magnanimity and prudence, rejected their advice, and bound him in stronger chains, by ordering him to be set at liberty, and sent home with all possible marks of kindness and respect^r. The king caused the body of his brother Don *Juan* of *Austria* to be brought privately into *Spain*, and then to be removed publicly, and with great funeral pomp, to the *escorial*, and, according to the dying request of that prince, it was there interred, on the 24th of *May*, close by that of his father the emperor *Charles* the fifth^t. On the 29th of *July*, *Antonio Perez*, secretary of state, was arrested, and sent to prison, upon some discoveries that were made of the murder of Don *Juan*'s secretary; and the princess of *Eboli* was at the same time confined for having too great an influence over *Perez*, by which she had b drawn from him some secrets of state^u. Some time after the secretary, falling sick, had leave to return to his own house, where he was visited by the king's confessor; upon which, and his not being removed from his office, the world, always busy in criticising the actions of princes, made some very strange conclusions^w.

The duke of Alba drives out Don Antonio, and conquers the kingdom of Portugal.
A. D. 1580.

Don *Henry* of *Portugal*, who, though not a great, was a very good prince, declared, that as to the succession, the king Don *Philip*, and the duke of *Braganza* in right of his wife, were the two competitors, and the only two whose rights would admit of a discussion; for as to Don *Antonio*, prior of *Crato*, though he had the greatest credit with the populace, yet he esteemed and adjudged him a bastard. He appointed five commissioners to hear and determine the affair of the succession, and in this disposition died, on the last of *January*; upon this, c the five commissioners assumed the government, with the title of regents; and tho' they did all that was possible to keep the people within bounds, yet their aversion to the *Castilians* was so strong, that Don *Philip*'s ambassadors could not have been safe, if the duke of *Braganza*, with great generosity, had not received them into his palace^x. But the king, though he was secure of three of the regents, never intended that his title should be regulated by their judgments; but, having taken his measures from the very death of his nephew, had an army and a fleet ready to put him in possession of that kingdom. He resolved to put at the head of his forces the best officer in his dominions, which was the duke of *Alba*, old, in disgrace, and at that time a prisoner; the reason of which was this: His eldest son Don *Garcia de Toledo* had given a promise to one of the queen's ladies of honour, which he refused to make good; upon which d the king caused him to be arrested, and sent to *Tordesillas*. His father the duke took him from thence by force, carried him to his own castle of *Alba*, and there married him to his cousin Donna *Maria de Toledo*, daughter to the marquis of *Villena*. The king could not but punish this offence, though perhaps he did not highly resent it. However it was, upon the death of the king of *Portugal* he sent to know of the duke, if his health would permit him to command an army; who replied, that his strength and abilities, such as they were, should be always devoted to his service. The king then sent him directions to come to some place near *Madrid*, where he might receive his orders; and he did accordingly come to *Barajas*, where they were sent him, without seeing the king at all^y. As soon as the *Spanish* troops entered *Portugal*, the populace proclaimed Don *Antonio* king, first at *Santaren*, and then at *Lisbon*; notwithstanding which, the duke of *Alba* reduced the kingdom without much trouble, after defeating Don *Antonio* in two battles^z. The king, in the mean time, after causing the prince Don *Diego* to be acknowledged his successor by the nobility, advanced to *Badajoz*, where he fell ill towards the end of *September*, and was hardly out of danger before the queen, whom he had sent for thither, was seized with a violent fever, of which she died on the 26th of *October*, in the 31st year of her age, exceedingly regretted by the king and by his subjects^a.

Don Philip goes in person into Portugal, and is acknowledged by the states.

THE king, at the request of the duke of *Alba*, entered *Portugal* in the spring, and opened the assembly of the states at the convent of *Tomar*, where the nobility, clergy, and deputies from the cities, did homage and swore allegiance; the duke of *Braganza* and his son the duke of *Barcelos* being the first who took the oaths^b. The king then granted a general pardon, f excepting to Don *Antonio*, and fifty-two others, who were named; he bestowed likewise many favours upon the nobility, who remained notwithstanding discontented, and, if we may trust some of the *Spanish* historians, the revenues of *Portugal* would not have satisfied their expectations^c. On the 29th of *June* he made his public entry into *Lisbon*, where not long after the fleet from the *Indies* arrived; which gave him great satisfaction, more especially as he understood that he had been acknowledged and proclaimed there; and consequently, by the end of the year, was intirely master of the kingdom of *Portugal*, the islands of *Azores* only excepted^d. As for the unfortunate Don *Antonio*, he remained disguised and concealed in the

^r Hieron de Mendoza. ^s Faria y Sousa. ^t Siguenca. ^u Cabrera. ^w Turquet.
^x Faria y Sousa. ^y Cabrera. ^z Viperanus. ^a Siguenca. ^b Antonio d'Escobar.
^c Campana. ^d Faria y Sousa.

- a kingdom till towards winter, and then found a passage to *England*, where he was kindly received and protected by queen *Elizabeth* ^c.

THE king, having spent the winter at *Lisbon*, found himself, at the beginning of the new year, in greater perils and perplexities than ever he was in his life; persecuted with numberless demands, which it was impossible for him to grant; and which, if he denied, was likely to increase that discontent which was too great and dangerous already. He had sent for his sister the empress *Donna Maria*, upon the death of his queen, to take care of his children; and, not finding him at *Madrid*, she came to *Lisbon*. The king received her with all possible respect and kindness, and had some thoughts of making her regent of that kingdom; but he soon laid that aside, to prevent the disputes that must have arisen with another lady, who had appointed herself regent. This was the duchess of *Braganza*. The king had in general promised to comply with her demands; but when she came to make them, he did not think himself obliged to keep his word. She expected to be made regent, to have a great number of towns given her in property, and to have all her debts paid, with some other things of less consequence. In this embarrassed condition the king first sent away his sister, and then took the report of five *Portuguese* commissioners, whom he had appointed to consider of the duchess's demands; who said, that if his majesty gave her seven hundred and fifty thousand ducats to pay her debts, she ought to esteem it a great favour, as well as a full satisfaction ^f. Don *Antonio*, by the assistance of the queen mother of *France*, and other princes who pitied his condition, equipped a fleet of sixty sail, with a considerable body of forces on board, with which he proposed to go to the *Azores*. In their passage, or rather as they were on the point of entering into port, they were attacked by the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, with a *Spanish* squadron under his command, and totally defeated. In this battle three hundred persons were taken prisoners, amongst whom were thirty noblemen and fifty gentlemen. They produced *French* commissions, and expected to be treated as prisoners of war; but the marquis finding by papers that their chief aim was to intercept the fleet from the *Indies*, insisted there was no war between the crowns of *France* and *Castile*, treated them all as pirates, beheaded the gentlemen, and hanged the rest without mercy ^g. On the 21st of *November* died the prince Don *Diego*, to the great grief of the whole *Spanish* monarchy ^h, as well as of his father, who, though he was esteemed the greatest master of dissimulation of any prince of his time, and made his utmost efforts to appear calm and easy amongst his new subjects, found it impossible to conceal the anxiety that this and other untoward accidents gave him; more especially when he found that all his efforts to gain the affections of the *Portuguese* were fruitless and ineffectual. In this year pope *Gregory* the thirteenth made that famous alteration in the calendar which produced the distinction of old stile and new; and though it was perhaps not well understood, and withal very little pleasing to the *Castilians*, the king caused it to be observed and brought into use through all the countries under his dominion, as in such cases he piqued himself extremely upon shewing his respect and submission to the see of *Rome* ⁱ.

- It is no great wonder, if, in this situation of things, the king grew weary of his residence at *Lisbon*, where, when he had caused his son the Infant Don *Philip* to be acknowledged and sworn to as his successor, and had directed the bodies of the two last kings *Sebastian* and *Henry*, together with the remains of twenty other persons of the royal family, to be transferred to the chapel of *Belem*, he made preparations for his departure ^k; at which time the duke of *Alba* being sick, he visited him with all the kindness of a friend, and shewed great concern for his death ^l. On his leaving *Portugal*, he appointed the cardinal archduke *Albert* regent, and brought many of the *Portuguese* nobility with him to the escurial, where, to his great satisfaction, he found most of those things executed which he had directed, and seemed to please himself with the hopes of repose, when in truth the busiest and least agreeable part of his life was yet to come ^m. He was desirous, however, of reducing the *Azores* islands, and sent the marquis *de Santa Cruz* with a fleet for that purpose, which service he performed with great success; but it would have turned more to his reputation, if it had been attended with less bloodshed; but the adherents to Don *Antonio* in those islands had given great provocation; the marquis was naturally severe, and the executions that followed upon their reduction were numerous and cruel ⁿ. There happened nothing of great importance in the succeeding year, except the assembly of the states of *Castile* and *Leon* at *Madrid*, for acknowledging the Infant Don *Philip*, and the conclusion of a marriage between the duke of *Savoy* and the Infanta *Donna Catalina*; to which the king consented, upon condition that the duke came in person to espouse her ^o.

Becomes very uneasy there, and finds it impossible to render himself beloved.

A. D. 1582.

Returns into Spain, and marries the Infanta Catalina to the duke of Savoy.

1583.

1584.

^c CAMDEN'S ANNALS.

^k CABRERA.
PANA.

^f HERRERA.

^l ANT. DE HERRERA.

^g CONESTAGGIO.

^m FARIA Y SOUSA.

^h SIGUENCA.

ⁿ ANT. HERRERA.

ⁱ ILLESCAS.

^o CAM-

*Finds himself
extremely in-
commoded by
the power and
policy of the
queen of Eng-
land.*

A. D. 1585.

IN the beginning of the year the galleys of *Spain* were sent to bring that prince; and the king, with the whole court, went into *Arragon*, where at *Saragossa* the marriage was consummated in the month of *February*, and in *June* the king accompanied his son-in-law to *Barcelona*, where he embarked for his own dominions^p. He went afterwards to hold the states of *Catalonia*, *Arragon*, and *Valentia*, at *Moncon*, in order to have the prince acknowledged by them, where, as things went not altogether to his mind, he fell sick, and, upon his recovery, dissolved the states, though his affairs obliged him to remain at *Valentia* the remainder of the year, where he received the ambassadors of some princes of *Japan*, who afterwards went to *Rome*, to pay obedience in the name of their masters to the pope^q. In the succeeding year, finding himself, as his own historians say, deeply touched in his honour by the depredations committed in *Europe* and *America* by the *English*, he entertained a project of making queen *Elizabeth* feel the whole weight of his resentment. Some say he was excited to this by the prince of *Parma*; and that, after he had begun his preparations, he was dissuaded from pursuing them by the same prince, who, upon mature deliberation, foresaw the difficulties that would attend such an enterprize, and concluded it impracticable. It is much more probable that he was encouraged to it by the popish fugitives from *England*, men of a violent and implacable spirit, who, under the veil of religion, sought to vent their own passion and resentment; and that he was farther importuned to it by pope *Sixtus* the fifth is very certain. Besides, Sir *Francis Drake* had burnt several ships in the road of *Cadiz*, and had taken a very rich *East Indiaman*, named the *Saint Philip*, which provoked the king highly^r. The *Spanish* writers say, that, notwithstanding this, the prince of *Parma* prevailed upon him to consent to certain conferences for a peace in the *Low Countries*, which is out of doubt; but when they add, that the propositions of the *English* commissioners rendered them ineffectual, we have great reason to question their sincerity, since we know that those commissioners came into a great deal of trouble for their complaisance; and that, in the issue of this business, these pacific propositions appeared to be no more than a *Spanish* amusement. The truth seems to be, that the king had lost his old able ministers; and that his councils were chiefly governed by cardinal *Granvelle*, who did not live, however, to see the mischiefs and misfortunes they produced^s.

*Resolves to
employ the
whole force of
his dominions
in humbling
that prince's.*

1588.

THE king, bent upon the execution of this expedition, issued his orders for assembling the whole maritime force of his vast dominions, and ordered all the fleet to assemble as early as it was possible at *Lisbon*; while the prince of *Parma* had instructions to provide in the *Low Countries* the greatest force he was able, both by sea and land, for effecting and covering a descent. The steadiness of the king, in pursuing whatever resolution he had once taken, joined to the high opinion the *Spaniards* had of the invincible force of their maritime power, which at that time was certainly the greatest in *Europe*, and the zeal, not to say fury, of the catholics, to pull down a princess whom they considered as the protectress of heretics, animated all the preparations for this extraordinary design, for the execution of which the king spared no expence; so that, as Don *Bernard de Mendoza* (and none knew better) told the president *de Thou*, it cost the king upwards of thirty-six millions of pieces of eight by that time the fleet was assembled at *Lisbon*. This invincible armada, as it was stiled, consisted, according to the *Spanish* accounts, of one hundred and thirty ships of war and galleys, having on board upwards of twenty thousand land troops, and eight thousand two hundred and fifty seamen, besides slaves at the oar. When things were almost ready, the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, who was to have commanded, died, and the king appointed the duke *de Medina Sidonia* to succeed him, who would willingly have excused himself, as being conscious of his want of skill in maritime affairs, and was afraid of the king's displeasure. He sailed from *Lisbon* the 27th of *May*; but, meeting with very bad weather, was obliged to put into the port of *Corunna*, where he remained some time, and came in sight of the coast of *England* on the last of *July*. They were from that time harrassed by the *English* fleet, composed of small and light ships, which had great advantage over them in the *English* chanel, and, being commanded by the ablest seamen of that age, pushed their advantage to the utmost. The weather was also favourable to them, and destructive to the *Spaniards*. The prince of *Parma* suffering much, and seeing no hopes of executing their enterprize, the duke *de Medina Sidonia*, and the rest of the *Spanish* commanders, from meditating a conquest, were brought to study how to escape; and in this they were no less unfortunate, as being in the midst of their enemies, and but very indifferently skilled in navigating those seas. They quickly found it was impossible to retire through the *English* chanel, and were therefore forced to sail northward, along the coast of *Scotland*, beaten all the way by furious tempests; and, after losing twelve large ships that ran upon the coast of *England*, some were also lost upon the west of *Scotland*,

*the dismal ca-
tastrophe of his
invincible
armada, by*

^p FERRERAS.

^q CABRERA

^r LUIS DE BAVIA, *Historia Pontifical*.

^s CAMDEN's *Annals*.

- a some were driven to *Denmark*, and some to *Ireland*. The duke *de Medina Sidonia*, with the few ships that remained, at last put into *St. Andero*. The *Spaniards* compute their loss at thirty-two large ships and ten thousand men, but it was certainly much greater; *Mariana* says truly, that it ruined their marine, and that the best part of their old troops and most experienced seamen perished in this fatal expedition, which, as in the beginning it was intended to crush *England*, so in its conclusion it proved the heaviest blow that *Spain* had ever felt since she became a maritime power¹. Some great historians, and amongst them Mr. *de Thou*, say, that the king was so much chagrined, that he would not permit the duke of *Medina Sidonia* to come to court; but in reality the duke himself declined it, and went to his own house, full of sorrow and regret. But the king issued his orders for relieving all the poor people that returned, and wrote the duke a very kind letter, in which he thanked him for his services, expressed a great concern for the miseries he had endured, and told him, that, in things depending upon the elements, the fault was never to be imputed to men. This letter, as it deserves, is extant, and shews, that whatever passed in his mind, *Philip* knew how to conceal all his passions².
- b

THE next year the king found himself in a new situation, which he little expected; for *Spain and Portugal* in great danger by an invasion from *England*. Don *Antonio*, who styled himself king of *Portugal*, having prevailed upon queen *Elizabeth* to assist him with a numerous fleet and a powerful army, the former commanded by Sir *Francis Drake*, and the latter by general *Norris*, arrived on the coasts of *Spain* in the spring, where they sacked *Corunna*, and did a great deal of mischief, which, how much soever it chagrined the *Spaniards*, in reality undid themselves³; for Don *Philip* immediately sent express after express to the archduke *Albert*, to provide for the security of *Portugal*; which had been out of his power, if they had sailed directly to *Lisbon*, where they did not arrive till the first of June. Don *Antonio* had promised that his countrymen would rise unanimously in his favour, in which no doubt he went too far; but the bulk of the nation were certainly so inclined, and it was owing to the precautions taken by the archduke that they became masters of the suburbs only, and not of the capital, where, however, it was as much as he could do to restrain the populace from a general insurrection; and, if there had not been a misunderstanding, or at least a want of right intelligence, between the *English* admiral and general, Don *Antonio* might have succeeded in his enterprize, or at least have given rise to a long war. But Sir *Francis Drake* not bringing the *English* fleet up the *Tagus*, and the cardinal archduke having burnt all the magazines of provisions without the town, general *Norris* was obliged to decamp on the fourth, for want of provisions. In his retreat, he took the fortress of *Cascaes*, which was ruined and blown up at his departure; and the *English* fleet made prizes of a great number of ships, after which they embarked their forces, and returned⁴. Though this was considered as a high dishonour in *Spain*, yet in reality the loss was very inconsiderable, in comparison of what it might have been; and it so effectually opened the king's eyes, that he studied from this time to suit his councils to his circumstances, and to consider of the properest ways and means to put his own dominions in a state of defence, against enemies whom he found to be far more formidable than he had ever imagined; and, if he had not done so, it is highly probable that his territories would have suffered more than they did, though, notwithstanding all his care, they suffered a great deal.

d

e

THE civil war in *France* occupied in a great measure the thoughts of Don *Philip*, at a time when the situation of his own affairs seemed to demand his whole attention, as the necessities of the state required the whole forces of his vast dominions in *Europe* and elsewhere. But it may be he had continued his intrigues with the catholic league, as it was styled, so long for his own security, that he could not easily withdraw his protection. Perhaps he looked on the troubles of *France* as very favourable to his own safety and power; but it is most probable that he had still greater things in view; and that, having procured for himself the administration of that kingdom, under the title of protector of *France*, he thought it not impracticable to obtain the possession of it for his favourite daughter the Infanta Donna *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, who it was once proposed should espouse the young duke of *Guise*; but, whatever his motives were, his conduct plainly shewed, that he meant to frustrate the pretensions of *Henry* the fourth, styled in *Spain* the prince of *Bearn*, to the crown of *France*; and to the desire of doing this, he sacrificed interests that much more nearly concerned him: for, not content with sending a great corps of *Spanish* troops to the duke of *Mayenne*, which weakened his own army in the *Low Countries*, he sent express orders to the prince of *Parma* to relieve *Paris*; which he performed with great reputation to himself, but with irreparable loss to the concerns of *Spain* in the *Netherlands*. His expence in support of the *French* rebels in their own country and at *Rome* was immense, at the same time that his own affairs every-where suffered

f

¹ CAMPANA.² ANTONIO HERRERA.³ FARIA Y SOUSA.⁴ CABRERA.

for want of money; and, while he meditated the destruction of other powers, the very means a he employed for that purpose exhausted his own^r.

Antonio Perez tortured on account of the business of Escovedo's murder, and his escape.

WE have before mentioned the disgrace and imprisonment of *Antonio Perez*, the king's secretary of state, who, in consequence of his being charged with various crimes, had been sentenced to a fine and imprisonment; and afterwards the old prosecution, for being concerned in the murder of *Escovedo*, being revived, though he had compounded it with the son of the deceased, by giving him a large sum of money, he was tortured to make a confession, and prosecuted afresh upon that confession. This, though he was a man of very quick parts, drove him to the very extent of them; so that, being a native of the kingdom of *Arragon*, he contrived to make his escape thither, in order to shelter himself under the privileges of that kingdom, which not without great difficulty he effected. Being again apprehended by the king's b orders, upon his appeal to the chief justice, he was carried to *Saragossa*, and thrown into the prison belonging to that tribunal, of which the justice of *Arragon* was the chief. But as all proceedings before them were in public, and in a clear and open manner, that by no means answered the intention of his enemies, who made use of the royal authority, as if the king was of that number; they therefore caused it to be suggested to the inquisition, that *Perez* intended, as soon as he should be acquitted by the tribunal of the chief justice, to retire into *Bearn*, and put himself under the protection of queen *Catherine of Navarre*, mother of *Henry IV. of France*, and, if he did not like that country, to withdraw into *Holland* or *England*. It was clearly computed from hence, that a man who placed his hopes in heretics (though he could hope protection from none else) could never be in his heart a good catholic. To fish c out, therefore, this latent heresy, the inquisitors thought fit to transfer him to their prison without the city of *Saragossa*. This produced a revolt, which the bishop of *Tervel*, who was then viceroy, quieted, by taking *Perez* out of the prisons of the inquisition, and sending him back to the prisons of the chief justice; but the marquis of *Almenara*, the king's minister, was so rudely handled by the populace, that he died.

Delivered by the people of Arragon, which draws on them the king's indignation.

THE inquisitors, having engaged all their friends to support them, constrained the viceroy to deliver up the prisoner to them again; and, having assembled about two thousand foot, to cover this great enterprize, they attempted to carry it into execution, which excited a fresh insurrection, and in this there perished about one hundred persons, some of them gentlemen. However, as the soldiers could not be brought to act against their countrymen, or rather d against their country, the people prevailed, and set *Antonio Perez* at liberty, who very prudently withdrew into *Bearn*^z. In the midst of these disputes, the chief justice of *Arragon*, *Don Juan de Lanuza*, died, and was succeeded in that high office by his son. The people, upon certain intelligence that *Don Alonso Vargas*, with a body of six thousand men, was advancing, by the king's command, in order to punish this opposition to his will, insisted upon the assembling an army for protecting the liberties of *Arragon*, and obliged the young chief justice to issue commissions for that purpose; but most of the nobility, being become dependent upon the court, or willing to obtain favours by sacrificing that constitution which had made them great, either acted against the commons, or affected to appear neuters. The chief justice himself would have retired, if the people, who suspected it, had not restrained e him. *Don Alonso Vargas*, who was himself an *Arragoneze*, no sooner appeared with his troops before *Saragossa*, than the magistrates went out to meet him, and, when he had taken possession of the city, the chief justice, *Don Juan de Lanuza*, returned with the duke of *Villa Hermosa* and the count *de Aranda*. *Don Alonso* caused them all three to be arrested, and, by the king's express order under his hand, directed *Don Juan's* head to be cut off upon a scaffold the same day^z. In the opinion of all sensible people, the blow that deprived him of life, 591. extinguished the liberties of *Arragon*. As to the other two noblemen, they died in separate prisons, under prosecutions for high treason; but their heirs making it fully appear, that they only made use of that popularity which their great probity and unblemished characters had given them to quiet the first commotions, and had no share at all in the last, they were, by a f solemn sentence, declared loyal and faithful subjects^b. This end had the troubles of *Antonio Perez*, who in a tedious exile, in which he was driven to great necessities, survived his mother and most of his enemies (B).

THE

^r ANT. HERRERA, BAVIA, Hist. y Pontifical, Hist. de la Ligue, par LOUIS MAIMBOURG. ^z Obras, Relaciones, & Cartas, d'Antonio Perez, Memoires historiques, politiques, critiques, & literaires, par AMELOT DE LA HOUSSE, Histoire de la catastrophe of Antonio Perez, secretary of state to Philip II. king of Spain, by MICHAEL GEDDES. ^a GEDDES's Miscellaneous Tracts; vol. ii. p. 398. BOURDEILLE, Sieur de BRANTOME, Memoires des Grands Capitaines Etrangers. ^b CABRERA.

(B) We have said so much in the text of *Antonio Perez*, and the fortunes and misfortunes of that great minister are in general so well known, that we shall insist here

only on a few particular points that have hitherto in some measure escaped the public notice, and which, in conjunction with his own writings and the common histories,

- a** THE king Don *Philip* was still very intent upon his projects in *France*; but finding it very difficult to supply the leaguers with money, in proportion either to their demands or to their wants, he formed a project, which shews his abilities as a politician. Pope *Sixtus V.* had amassed prodigious sums of money, which he laid up in the castle of *St. Angelo*, under pretence of employing them, if it should be necessary, against the infidels; but Don *Philip* suspected rather it was intended for the conquest of *Naples*. His immediate successor *Urban VII.* died so soon, that the king had it not in his power to practise upon him; but *Gregory XIV.* being raised to the pontifical throne, he ordered his ambassador to acquaint him, how much it was in his will, and how little it was in his power, to support the holy league in *France*; and, as a proof of his sincerity, desired leave to sell some of the church-lands in *Spain* for so good a purpose. This, he knew, the *Spanish* cardinals would labour to prevent; but, that they might not seem to have less zeal for the church than their master, they suggested that the treasures laid up by pope *Sixtus* might as well be employed against heretics as against infidels; in which they prevailed, and no less than three millions were this year issued for the service of the league^c, which the *Spanish* faction in *France* placed to the account of king *Philip*, though not a penny of it came out of his pocket. But the duke of *Mayenne*, desirous of knowing what his catholic majesty's sentiments really were, sent the president *Jeanin* to *Madrid*, to discover them, where he found the king so fully persuaded of his title to *France*, that, in his discourse, he frequently made use of these terms, *My city of Paris, my town of Orleans, my port of Rouen*, which by no means pleased that minister, though he dissembled it. At length he was plainly told, that the king looked upon the infanta *Isabella* as the heiress of *France*; that he was inclined to marry her to the archduke *Ernest*, and, in consideration of the zeal and fidelity of the catholic league, in raising them to the throne, he was content to give them the *Low Countries*^d. At this very juncture, the council of sixteen took upon them to offer the crown of *France* to the infanta, provided she espoused the young duke of *Guise*, who was just escaped out of prison. It was from these propositions, and the slender supply of ten thousand crowns a month, which the king promised the duke of *Mayenne*, that the president took occasion to make the best terms he could with *Henry* the fourth^e. The *English* had this year a fleet upon the coast of *Spain*, under the command of the earl of *Cumberland*, and another squadron under lord *Thomas Howard* at the *Azores*, which, but for the intelligence they received from the former, had been surprised by Don *Alonzo Bazan*; who had the honour, however, of taking the *Revenge*, commanded by Sir *Richard Greenfield*, whose name *Ferreras* has hispaniolized into *Campo Verida*; the only ship of war the *Spaniards* took from queen *Elizabeth*. But this saved the plate fleet; the best part of which, however, together with the prize, perished by a storm in their return to *Spain*, where, notwithstanding, Don *Alonso* was received in triumph^f.

^c HER. BAVIA.
Annals, CABRERA, HER. FER.

^d Histoire de France, par PIERRE DE MATTHIEU.

^e THUANUS.

^f CAMDEN'S

tories; will give the reader a true idea of the most singular character perhaps that the world ever saw. It is certain, that his intimacy with Donna *Anna de Mendoca y la Cerda* plunged them both into misfortunes. This lady was princess of *Étoli*, equally remarkable for her accomplishments and her passions. She had a high genius, lively wit, and exquisite beauty; she was at the same time very ambitious and very gallant. The mistress, as the world said of *Philip II.* and the mistress too, if the same authority may gain credit, of *Antonio Perez*. She is said to have been in love with the power of the king, and the person of the secretary (1). The king's jealousy had no share in their disgrace; the princess always retained a great power over that monarch, notwithstanding she always corresponded with, and affected great attachment to *Perez*, who, through his long exile, still held a place in his master's esteem. This appears in part from the king's will, but more clearly and with better evidence in the memorial which Don *Baltazar Zuniga* drew up for the information of his nephew the *Conde de Olivarez*, in which he expressly affirms, that *Perez* was the faithful servant of the king, though disgraced, tortured, and banished, and kept his secret among his enemies, in spite of the threats, the arts,

and the gifts, employed to exact it from him (2). He had a great affection for his wife, as appears from the elegant *Latin* epitaph he wrote for her; but he had his gallantries notwithstanding; and we are told, that *Henry IV.* of *France* hinted to him one day his surprise, that he should be so much the slave of a woman that had but one eye. *Perez* answered with emotion, she set the world on fire with that; if she had preserved both, she would have consumed it. We are not at the bottom of this history, which had a large share in his misfortune; he kept up his *Spanish* haughtiness in the midst of his wants, and would give the title of excellency only, not highness, to the count of *Soissons*, the duke of *Guise*, and other princes. Though he was a beggar, he was very intimate with queen *Elizabeth*'s favourite the earl of *Effex*, and no less with M. de *Villeroi*, the *French* secretary of state, to whom those letters were addressed, which are intitled, *To a friend*; but he quickly lost his credit with queen *Elizabeth* and *Henry IV.*; and perhaps it would have been as well if he had not preserved it with their ministers. He died at *Paris* in 1611, in mean circumstances; for though he had many great qualities, he wanted oeconomy (3).

(1) *Herrera, Cabrera, Nani.*
Vie d'Antoine Perez, Secrétaire & Faveur, &c.
par Amelot de la Houffaye, tom. i. p. 242—252.

(2) *Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, p. 257. Anecdotes de Philippe II. p. 153.*

(3) *Memoires Historiques, Critiques, Politiques, & Littéraires,*

*A new insur-
rection in Ar-
ragon, attend-
ed with fresh
acts of severe-
rity.*

THE next year the unfortunate *Aragonese*, who had been obliged to take shelter in the principality of *Bearn*, believing that the severities which had been exercised at *Saragossa* must have spread universal discontent through the kingdom of *Aragon*, they, with such succours as could be procured from the queen of *Navarre*, resolved to make an irruption into that kingdom; in which possibly they might have met with some success, if one of the queen's ladies of honour had not betrayed them to the viceroy Don *Alonso Vargas*, who posted troops there with such propriety, that Don *Martin de Lanuza*, who commanded the refugees, was surprised and beat, almost as soon as he entered the kingdom. He had, however, the good fortune to escape himself; but Don *Diego de Heredia*, Don *Francisco Ayerbe*, Don *Juan de Luna*, and Don *Diego Perez*, were taken, and executed, together with numbers of an inferior rank; and an expedition that was made in *Catalonia* by the *Bearnois* was not more successful^a. Don *Philip*, upon this, published an amnesty, in which however were excepted *Antonio Perez*, and twenty others by name, all who were in prison, or under prosecution, and such as might be objected to by the inquisition. Upon which the *Aragonese* said truly, that the king had sent them a very handsome suit of cloaths, but that it would fit nobody. Soon after, he convoked an assembly of the states at *Tarragona*, which was held in his name by the archbishop of *Saragossa*, and which, when they had curtailed some of the privileges of the kingdom, and done other disagreeable acts, the king meant to honour with his presence. The household of prince *Philip* being settled, the king, though somewhat indisposed, set out for *Navarre*; but, in his route, was taken so ill at *Ejtrella*, that it was believed his life was in danger. He recovered notwithstanding, through the strength of his constitution, and, as soon as he was able to bear the fatigue of travelling, proceeded with the prince to *Pampluna*, where he was received with all apparent marks of joy, held an assembly of the states, in which the prince Don *Philip* was acknowledged his heir apparent. Having left an able architect to finish the castle, he returned through *Aragon*, and was present at closing the assembly of the states at *Tarragona*, where, upon his giving orders to Don *Alonso de Vargas* to leave the kingdom with his troops, excepting only a detachment that was to guard the inquisition, he obtained a free gift of seven hundred thousand livres, of that country money^b.

*The king insists
upon the incon-
testable right
of the infanta
Donna Isabel-
la.*

His projects with regard to *France* were now at a crisis. He had a strong body of forces in *Bretagne*, and had directed the duke of *Parma*, who had gained so much reputation the year before by raising the siege of *Rouen*, to enter *France* a third time, to countenance the general assembly that was to be held at *Paris* for the choice of a king. That nothing might be wanting to facilitate his design, he caused ingots of gold to be carried by land to *Namur*, to be coined there into a million and half of ducats, the best part of which were to be distributed amongst the deputies to the assembly, where the duke of *Feria* was to assist in his name, and to demand the duchy of *Bretagne* for the infanta *Isabella*, to which he asserted her right was indisputable, since that duchy came to the crown of *France* by an heir female, whose immediate direct heiress was his deceased queen, and consequently his daughter by her. The duke was also to support the interests of the duke of *Guise*, who, in case he was elected king, was to marry the new duchess of *Bretagne*; but, previous to this, he was to use his utmost endeavours to procure the election of the infanta, and to consent to the other measure only in case of necessity. These fine-spun schemes were broken by a variety of accidents. The duke of *Parma* died at *Arras*, where he was assembling his forces; upon which the troops mutinied, and a great part of them disbanded. The duke of *Feria* quarrelled with the duke of *Mayenne*; and the *Spanish* ministers were so scrupulous in parting with their money, that they were not able to carry any considerable point in the assembly; so that if the king persuaded himself, as some think he did, that his daughter would have been this year declared queen of *France*, he must have been much disappointed^c. The *Spanish* historians tell us^d, that Don *Alonso Bazan*, with the gallies under his command, took several *English* ships that had made themselves masters of two of the plate fleet at the islands of the *Azores*; but an author of our own^e, who was at that time in *Spain*, affirms, that Don *Alonso* might have done it, if he had followed the king's orders; but that, by pursuing his own notions, he failed, was disgraced for it, and never recovered the king's favour any more.

*Manages with
great address,
and obtains a
large free gift
from the states
of Arragon.*

THE king Don *Philip* employed a great part of the spring in taking the best measures possible for quieting the minds of the people of *Aragon*, and at the same time provided for the security of that kingdom, by disposing his troops in such a manner on the frontiers, as to put a speedy end to any commotion that might be excited, in hopes of abolishing the concessions made in the last assembly of the states, in prejudice to their old constitution. He sent likewise a squadron of ships from *Biscay*, to support the leaguers in *Bretagne*; in the

^a MAYERN. TURQ. Naval Tracts.

^b HER.

^c P. DANIEL.

^d FER.

^e SIR WILLIAM MONSON'S

a prosecution of which enterprize they engaged some *English* ships, by which both sides were losers; but the *Spaniards* carried their main point of preserving what they had acquired in that country, which gave great uneasiness to queen *Elizabeth*^m, on account of its situation. The king held a chapter of the order of the golden fleece, for the installation of his son the prince Don *Philip*, in which the collar was given to the duke of *Infantado*, the marquis de *Villena*, and Don *Pedro de Medicis*, a young *Moorish* prince, whose name was *Muley*, son to *Muley Mohammed*, the dethroned king of *Fez* and *Morocco*, who came privately to the king's court, and declared that he did it with a desire of becoming a Christian. After due precautions taken to be secure of his sincerity, he was baptized, and the king not only gave him appointments suitable to his birth, but also made him a knight of *St. Jago*, and grandee of *Spain*ⁿ.

HENRY IV. of *France*, having declared himself a catholic, broke all the measures of the league, and brought over at once all who had any sincere inclinations to restore the peace, and revive the honour, of their country^o. The catholic king, in a manner little suitable to his great prudence, as even the *Spanish* historians confess, persisted in the pursuit of those projects that were now become impracticable, and had so much influence at *Rome* as to engage pope *Clement* the eighth to delay the absolution which he had demanded by the duke de *Nevers*, and perhaps might have done more, if a *French* priest had not honestly and boldly said to that pontif, *Holy father, your predecessor Clement VII. lost England by gratifying the emperor Charles V. have a care therefore that you do not lose France by pushing too far your complaisance for Philip II.* This, and other remonstrances, wrought upon the pope; but as for the king, though he might at that time have made very good terms with *Henry*, he continued obstinate in his own measures, and in lavishing vast sums to no purpose, while his affairs suffered at home and abroad through the debts and difficulties that were by this means brought upon his administration^p. In the *Low Countries*, the principal nobility refused to acknowledge the count de *Fuentes*, whom he had appointed their governor; so that the management of public affairs was left to count *Peter Ernest de Mansfield*, who had been appointed his deputy by the duke of *Parma*; and this visible declension of his grandeur on all sides, though it had no effect upon his behaviour, is thought to have affected the king's mind, and to have increased his infirmities^q.

d THE friends of the *Spaniards* in *France* had prevailed upon the duke of *Mayenne* to remove the count de *Belin* from the post of governor at *Paris*, and to bestow it on the count de *Brisac*, whom they looked upon as an irreconcilable enemy to the king; and so perhaps he might have been, if they had not procured him this post, which enabled him to make his peace with his master, by putting the capital of his dominions into his possession. He managed this affair with such secrecy, that, while the army of *France* entered on one side of the city, the duke of *Feria*, with about four thousand *Spanish* troops, marched out of the other. There is no doubt that *Henry* might have attacked, and probably cut them to pieces; which, however, he was so far from attempting, that he sent them a safe-conduct, and offered them an escorte^r. The king Don *Philip*, having sent his nephew the archduke *Ernest*, with the title of governor, into the *Low Countries*, the *French* king made him some propositions of peace; and, upon his declining them for want of proper powers, he sent an agent to *Madrid* with as little effect. Hostilities were still continued by the *English* at sea, and, by their assistance, the *French* were enabled to recover several places in *Bretagne*. 1594.

To heighten the perplexities of Don *Philip*, a *Turkish* fleet, under the command of the *A* *Turkish* *basha* *Zigala*, appeared very unexpectedly on the coast of *Calabria*, where they committed most horrid outrages; and having acquired a vast booty, and a multitude of slaves, returned in triumph to *Constantinople*^s. This year died Don *Gaspar de Quiroga* archbishop of *Toledo*, a person equally beloved and revered, and who had opposed, as far as he was able, most of the measures that had brought the king into distress. He was a great oeconomist, and died immensely rich, but without making any disposition of his effects, which were therefore claimed by the pope. It is probable this might have met with some opposition, if, at the same time the claim was made, the pontif had not declared his intention that one third should be employed in works of piety, that another should be paid into the royal treasury, and the remainder belong to the apostolic chamber, which was executed without any dispute^t. The king, upon the demise of this prelate, recalled the archduke *Albert* from the government of *Portugal*, where the administration was committed to five regents; and, upon the archduke's arrival in *Spain*, the king gave him the rich see of *Toledo*, to the great joy of his

^m CABRERA, MEZ. P. DANIEL.

^p CABRERA.

LUIS DE BAVIA.

^q EMAN. METELEN.

ⁿ HER.

^r MEZ.

^o CATHERINOT, LOUIS MAIMEBOURG, MEZERAY.

^s CAMDEN'S ANNALS, THUANUS.

^t CABRERA,

mother, though she had no interest in his promotion; for though he treated her with great civility and respect, yet it was believed he never forgave her the defeating his father's scheme of causing him to be elected king of the *Romans*.

An attempt
made to set up
an impostor for
Don Sebastian
detected and
punished.

THE king, having received the news of the death of the archduke *Ernest*, governor of the *Low Countries*, appointed Don *Pedro Henriquez de Toledo de Fuentes* to succeed him for the present, intending that government for the cardinal archduke *Albert*, who, for that reason, was not consecrated to his see, though he took possession of it by proxy, and appointed *Garcia Loyasa* his administrator, who, upon his resignation, became his successor^a. *Henry IV. of France*, believing that he could receive no greater injuries than he had done from *Philip*, declared war against *Spain*, and took proper measures, with the assistance of the queen of *England*, to make his power felt, where his friendship had been despised^w. There happened this year, or rather there was finished this year, a very singular and almost incredible transaction in *Spain*. At the time king *Philip* made himself master of *Portugal*, amongst other ecclesiastics, who were in the opposite interest, there was one father *Michael de los Santos*, an *Augustine* frier, who had been vicar general of his order, chaplain to Don *Sebastian*, and confessor to Don *Antonio*. He was a man of learning and sense, and yet took such liberties in his discourse, that the king found it absolutely necessary to remove him out of *Portugal*; upon which he caused him to be seized, and sent him to *Madrigal*, where he made him confessor to a monastery of nuns of his own order, amongst whom was Donna *Anna of Austria*, his niece. Father *Michael* took notice there of one *Gabriel de Spinosa*, at that time a pastry-cook, a native of *Toledo*, but a foundling, who had been bred a velvet-weaver, who went as a soldier when the king sent the duke of *Alba* into *Portugal*, and, having carried away a young woman from that country, took up the trade he then followed for a subsistence. This man father *Michael* engaged to assume the name of Don *Sebastian*; and as he could not have a more able master, and as a great deal of time and pains were spent in giving him instructions, there was scarce ever an impostor who acted his part with greater dexterity. The next thing father *Michael* did was to introduce him to Donna *Anna*, who, through reverence of her spiritual guide, prejudice in favour of a man who did all he could to render himself agreeable to her, and through want of experience, was easily brought to believe that he was really the person he represented. Being flattered that a dispensation from the pope might enable her to share his throne and his bed, she gave him some jewels of great value to furnish him with money; and, in disposing of these privately at *Madrid*, he was apprehended for a thief, and, at the time he was seized, declared the truth, that he was a pastry-cook in *Madrigal*, and that the jewels belonged to the princess *Anne of Austria*. But, soon after he was confined, a packet was intercepted, directed to him from *Madrigal*, in which the title of majesty being given him, it was immediately carried to the king, and orders thereupon sent to confine Donna *Anna* to her cell. The share father *Michael* had in this business came soon after to be understood; upon which he was made prisoner, and the decision, with respect to him, left to the pope's legate. *Gabriel Spinosa* at first confessed freely, but afterwards retracted; however, being carried to *Madrigal*, and confronted both with the princess and the frier, the two men being put to the question, acknowledged all. The issue of this matter was, that *Gabriel de Spinosa* was condemned to suffer death; to which he submitted with great reluctancy. Father *Michael*, after being degraded by order of the nuncio, was delivered over to the secular arm, and hanged. He is said to have died very penitent, and to have confessed that he intended to make use of the pretended *Sebastian* to excite a rebellion, and, if possible, to bring about a revolution in *Portugal*; after which he was to be removed, to make way for Don *Antonio*. As for the unfortunate princess, she was removed to another convent of the same order, and very closely confined during the remainder of her life^x.

A. D. 1595.

The Spaniards
revenge themselves
on the
Turks for pil-
laging Calabria.

TOWARDS the end of the month of *August*, the cardinal archduke and archbishop *Albert* set out for the *Low Countries*, vested with full powers to treat and conclude a peace with the *French* monarch; for as Don *Philip* could not prevent his being absolved by the pope, he at length abandoned the design of making the infant a queen, and contented himself with what was in his power, resigning to her the *Low Countries*; a resolution which, if it had been earlier taken, might have produced those effects that were now expected from it in vain^y. Don *Pedro de Toledo*, captain-general of the galleys of *Naples*, in conjunction with Don *Pedro de Livo*, general of the galleys of *Sicily*, made a descent at *Patras* in the *Morea*, at the time of the fair, where they took from the *Turks* a booty to the value of 400,000 ducats, and brought away many rich merchants, whom they ransomed at a very high price. This year the *English* had a strong squadron in *America*, under the command of Sir *John Hawkins* and Sir *Francis Drake*, who both died there, after doing much mischief to the *Spaniards*, but with little advantage to themselves^z.

^a ANTONIO CARNERO. ^w MEZ. P. D. NIEL, CAMDEN'S ANNALS.
FER. MAMURINO, ROSEO, CANTEMIR, CAMDEN'S ANNALS.

^x MAYERN. TURQ.

^y C. BRERA,

THE

^a AGE and infirmities had by degrees broke the spirit of king *Philip*; so that, notwithstanding the natural loftiness of his temper, his confidence in his own strength, and conceit of his superior policy, he had a strong inclination to peace, and was even disposed to make some sacrifices for obtaining it; yet partly from the slowness of the *Spanish* councils, and partly from that inactivity into which he was now fallen, he did not pursue his new measures with that vigour which was necessary to have procured them success. He had intelligence of an *English* fleet and army preparing to invade his dominions, and he would persuade himself that the place aimed at was *Lisbon*; upon which he ordered all his strength thither. But this fleet, commanded by the lord admiral *Howard* and the earl of *Essex*, had, in reality, no other view than the attacking *Cadiz*, and destroying there the fleet outward-bound to the *Indies*. They were very fortunate in all respects; for they brought the first news of their own arrival, and found the *Spaniards* miserably unprepared. Don *Juan Portocarrero*, who commanded the galleys in the bay, provided in the best manner he was able for the defence of the forts and the security of the merchantmen; which, however, proved to very little purpose. The *English* attacked them with their small ships, as the depth of water did not permit them to use their large ones, and shewed more concern to outstrip each other in getting in than about the resistance with which they might meet. The passage being forced, the frigates, instead of taking shelter under the castle of *St. Philip*, run ashore on the other side, by which the men escaped. The galleons were either taken or burnt; the galleys had the good luck to get out, by the breaking down of a bridge, which the *English* somewhat imprudently had quitted. This, however, put it out of the power of the duke of *Medina Sidonia* either to relieve the place or favour the retreat of those who were in it; so that the earl of *Essex* stormed and took it; but the admiral landing to second him in that design, the fleet of merchantmen got up the bay, which otherwise might have been all taken; to prevent which the duke ordered them to be set on fire. The *English* remained in possession fourteen days, and though they ransomed the place for one hundred and twenty thousand ducats, the adjacent country could not raise the money; so that they carried with them their hostages. The *Spanish* authors are divided as to the value of the plunder; some say it amounted to four, and others say to eight millions, and six millions more perished at least on board the fleet^a. This struck such a terror along the coast, ^d that the inhabitants every-where abandoned it; so that the *English* landed at *Faro* in *Algarve*, burnt and plundered it, carrying from thence the library of the famous *Jerome Osorio*, and afterwards searched the harbours of *Corunna* and *Ferrol*, where they would have burnt the king's ships, if they had found them. The loss they sustained was great, the dishonour greater; the king felt both, and, with much difficulty, assembled a fleet and army to revenge it, by invading *England*. The high steward of *Castile*, Don *Martin de Padilla*, ^e commanded both; but it was so late in the season before they sailed, that they met with a violent tempest at sea on the 27th of *October*, by which forty sail of ships were destroyed, and the shattered remains of the fleet forced into *Ferrol*^b. In the summer, pope *Clement VIII.* sent his legates, cardinal *Medicis* to *Henry IV.* and father *Bonaventure*, general of the *Observantines*, to king *Philip*, to mediate a peace; and this was the step for which the king had waited, that the negotiation might be opened with greater honour; whereas it might have been ended with much more advantage two years before. In the mean time the archduke *Albert* sustained the reputation which the count *de Fuentes* had acquired in the *Low Countries*, by taking *Calais* and *Ardres* from the *French*, and the island of *Hulst* from the *Dutch*, which afforded some, though but a small, consolation for what had happened in *Spain*^c.

THE peace with *France* would have been sooner concluded by a year, if it had not been for an unexpected piece of good fortune, or at least so it was esteemed, which happened to the *Spaniards*. This was the surprisal of the city of *Amiens* in *Picardy* by *Hernando Tello Portocarrero*, an officer of a small stature, but of a most enterprising genius, accompanied ^f with great firmness of mind, and a perfect knowlege of the military art, as it then stood. The archduke *Albert* put him upon, and supported him in, this expedition; the success of which threw the city of *Paris* into a general consternation, and embarrassed *Henry IV.* extremely, who had still the duke of *Merceur* and other chiefs of the league to contend with, and was but upon indifferent terms with the protestants. The king saw that peace was not to be made upon reasonable terms till that place was retaken, which he caused to be blockaded immediately, besieged it afterwards in form, and commanded there in person. The archduke *Albert* marched with an army of 25,000 men to its relief, and approached it so unexpectedly, that the advanced guards of the *French* army had probably been beat, or at least forced to raise the siege. But taking time to form his own troops, he afforded that leisure to *Henry*

^a HER. VANDER HAMMEN, CAMDEN'S ANNALS, MAYERN. TURQ. CLEMENT XI.

^b CABRERA.

^c La Vie de

which was necessary to remedy this disorder; and then it was thought unadvisable to risk a battle; so that, in *September*, the place was surrendered upon honourable terms; and the negotiations of the peace were in earnest resumed^d. About the same time his catholic majesty made known to the archduke *Albert* his resolution with respect to his marriage of the infanta, and the cession of the *Low Countries*, and sent him full powers to demand in marriage for the prince Don *Philip* the daughter of the archduke *Charles* of *Austria*^e.

Providence
defeats a se-
cond time an
invasion in-
tended upon
England.

THE war with *England* continued as warm as ever. Intelligence had been received there of the invasion that was intended the year before, and that this was still the aim of his catholic majesty. To prevent this, *Elizabeth* equipped a very strong fleet, with a numerous body of troops on board, to block up or burn the *Spanish* armada in their own ports. A terrible tempest having dissipated this fleet almost as soon as it put to sea, the original scheme was laid aside, and the earl of *Essex*, with the best part of the fleet, and as many of the troops as were judged necessary, sent to reduce the *Azores*; in consequence of which it was thought impossible that they should miss the plate fleet. But this fleet was in the first place to visit the coast of *Spain*, which they did in a hasty manner, and then continued their route to the islands: thus Don *Martin de Padilla* had an opportunity to come out of *Corunna* with his ships and forces, which gave the *Spaniards* great hopes, and indeed great probability, of success; but when they were within thirty leagues of the *English* coast, they were so roughly handled by a storm, that the fleet was intirely dispersed; and every ship being obliged to shift for itself, they put back in a most shattered and distressed condition into different ports of *Biscay*; so that, as the *Spaniards* themselves confess, through the immediate and apparent interposition of Providence, all their attempts to the prejudice of *England* were frustrated, and turned to their own loss^f; but if the *Spaniards* were unlucky in their intended invasion, they were very fortunate in repelling the intended invasion of the islands. Don *Gonzalez Vaez Continbo*, who was governor of the island of *St. Michael*, drew the whole force of that island to *Punta Delgada*, where he threw up such strong retrenchments, that the *English* were obliged to leave him, and go to *Villa Franca*, from whence the earl of *Essex* supposed he could have marched by land to *Punta Delgada*, which upon trial he found impracticable. But what was still worse than miscarrying in their conquest, they, through some misunderstanding amongst their officers, suffered the plate fleet to escape almost unhurt, though it fell in with them, by which the *Spaniards* received a supply of ten millions of dollars, which had otherwise gone into their enemies pockets, and would, in all probability, have been employed in military operations against them: these observations are the more certain, since in these the best *English* and *Spanish* writers agree^g.

A. D. 1597.

Peace concluded with the crown of France at Vervins.

THE conferences at *Vervins* for a peace between the crowns of *France* and *Spain* began on the seventh of *February*, under the mediation of the pope's legate, cardinal *Medicis*; but the plenipotentiaries of *Spain* were named by the cardinal archduke, in virtue of the full powers that had been granted him by the king. They demanded that the duke of *Savoy* should be included in that treaty, and, with some difficulty, carried that point; but when they made the like demand in favour of the duke de *Morœur*, it was absolutely refused, which occasioned some delay; but the duke having made a separate peace with the king, that difficulty was removed. Many others were started, but by the firmness and address of the cardinal legate, who knew very well that, notwithstanding the high and harsh language that was sometimes held on both sides, the *French* monarch and the cardinal archduke were equally desirous of peace, it was at length concluded and signed on the second of *May*, to the satisfaction of both monarchs. This famous treaty consisted of 34 articles, which in the main were very near those of the treaty of *Chateau Cambresis*, two only excepted; for, by the first, all places taken were to be restored, which was intirely in favour of *France*; and, by the 23d, *Henry* reserved all his rights to be discussed in an amicable way, or in the course of justice, by which was understood his title to the kingdom of *Navarre*. On the other side, *Philip* preserved his rights, and those of his daughter the infanta *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, to be discussed in like manner; and these were supposed to respect the duchies of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*^h. It is very remarkable, that as all the restitutions were on the side of the *Spaniards*, who were possessed of *Blavet* in *Bretagne*, and of *Calais*, *Ardres*, *Montulin*, and several other places in *Picardy*, the archduke sent the duke of *Arscott*, the admiral of *Arragon*, count *Aremberg*, and Don *Lewis de Velasco*, to be hostages for the evacuation of these places, as well as to be witnesses to the king's swearing to the peace, which he did in the presence of the cardinal legate on the 21st of *June*, and the archduke did the like at *Brussels*, in the presence of marshal *Biron*, on the 27th of the same monthⁱ.

^d AUBERTUS, MIRÆUS.
Annals. ^e CABRERA.
RÆUS, HER.

^e GONZALEZ DE CESPIDES Hist. del Rey Phelipe III.
^h Corps Universal Diplomat. tom. v. p. i. p. 561.

^f CAMDEN'S
ⁱ AUBERTUS, MI-

a THE archduke having received his uncle's orders to go into *Germany*, in order to conduct the archduchess *Margaret* through *Italy* into *Spain*, he in the first place resigned his hat by a letter directed to the pope, which was delivered by the archbishop of *Besançon*. He also resigned the archbishoprick of *Toledo*, which was bestowed on Don *Garcia de Loyasa*, who was preceptor to prince *Philip*; and then, in virtue of the renunciation made by the king, on the sixth of *May*, at *Madrid*, and of full powers granted him by the infanta *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, he received the oaths of the states, and those of the duchy of *Brabant*, who were the first, upon the 10th of *August*. All this was done with a view to conclude his marriage, while the king was yet alive, from an apprehension that some doubts or difficulties might arise on the part of his successor^k. All this diligence, however, was ineffectual in this respect; for the king declining daily, thro' a complication of distempers, caused himself to be removed from *Madrid* to the *Escorial*, not without great difficulty, and against the advice of his physicians, to whose representations the king answered with great firmness, that they would have the trouble of carrying him thither when he was dead, and they might as well do it while he was alive. He was much better after his arrival there for some days; but then he relapsed. Upon his death-bed he gave a paper of instructions to the prince his son, to whom he recommended the infanta, calling her the joy of his heart, and the delight of his eyes. He ordered some state-prisoners to be set at liberty, and, amongst the rest, the wife of *Antonio Perez*, upon condition that she retired to a monastery. At length, with great marks of piety, as the *Spaniards* say, and, in the midst of the most excruciating torments, he breathed his last, on *Sunday* the 13th of *September*, about five in the afternoon, in the seventy-first year of his age, and in the forty-second of his reign^l.

THERE is scarce any character in history that has been more frequently examined, or more severely censured, than that of this prince, who, though magnified by some historians as another *Solomon*, under whose form he is represented in a statue at the entrance of the *Escorial*, where *Charles* the fifth is adorned by the sculptor with the robes and the crown of *David*; yet others have more fitly compared him to *Tiberius*; and, while his panegyrists held him forth as a model for princes, those who criticised his character described him as the mirror of tyrants. Without partiality or prejudice, we will offer the reader a few observations drawn from facts. He was stiled *Philip the Prudent*, and with justice; for he was in all things a politician. Those who magnify his piety, by which they mean his zeal for the church of *Rome*, seem thereby to offer an exception; but they only seem to offer it; for *Philip* was only a political bigot. When *Philip* began his reign, he was only upon bad terms with the court of *Rome*; he was therefore no persecutor in *England*, but shewed rather a compassion for those that suffered here for their sincerity in the faith. He introduced and subjected the *Spanish* church to the decrees of the council of *Trent*, but it was in his own way, and by his own authority; and though, through his whole reign, he was pressed to banish the *Morescopes* for the security of religion, his constant answer was, *You must find some other way; for this is impracticable*. The truth of the matter is, the church was the great instrument in his government, and he made great use of churchmen in his administration; and thus his zeal is accounted for on political principles. In point of system, if ever a modern prince aimed at universal monarchy it was *Philip II.* He was disappointed in his schemes; but those schemes were equally bold and well contrived. He was near being king of the *Romans*; he bid fair for making his daughter queen of *France*; and his projects for the conquest of *England* were defeated by Providence, but by competent judges were never derided. As his plans were very extensive, so he had great fertility of invention, and was never at a loss for expedients to piece them together again when broken, till his treasure and his power were equally exhausted, and then as he began, so he ended, his reign, with endeavouring to establish peace. In his domestic administration, he has been justly commended for encouraging and promoting men of abilities; but he depressed the nobility too much, and therefore he advised his son to a contrary course, that of caressing the grandees, and curtailing the revenue and power of the clergy, and this he did from his observation, that new men were turbulent, and, being raised from nothing, nothing could content them. It is very certain that he had not much affection, and less of pity, in his composition; but it is as certain, that he has been represented as more cruel than he really was; for however severe he might be when his scheme of policy required it, he was never wantonly so, and could not therefore be said to delight in blood.

In private life he was vicious, and therefore his pretences to religion were certainly political; for true piety appears in the conduct of a man's life, and is not to be taken from exterior actions, which may have another motive, and must have it, when, with high pretensions to piety, a person is corrupt in his morals. He had a great haughtiness in his nature; ^{His conduct in domestic affairs, and personal character.}

^k HER. CATHERINOT, AUBERTUS, MIRÆUS, EMANUEL METEREN, GABRIEL CHAPUYS Histoire Generale de la Guerre de Flandres. Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. v. part. i. 573. ^l CABRERA, HER. CAMPANA, BOURDEVILLE, SIEUR DE BRANTOME, MAYERN. TURQ. FER.

and it was said, that though in his person and his complexion he resembled the *Flemings*, his temper and behaviour were intirely of the growth of *Spain*. Those who had audience of him, spoke upon their knees, which he excused from the lowness of his stature, pretending he did it to avoid being overshadowed by those who addressed him. He not only held the nobility in subjection, but at a distance; and, to qualify these apparent signs of pride, he was very easy of access to persons of meaner rank, but without departing from his dignity, unless he might be said so to do in conversing familiarly with peasants. He used the like condescension to churchmen, to his ministers, and to the ladies. He acquired by habit such an equality of temper, that success, or the want of it, made no alteration in his behaviour. He was never reputed brave, but he had a great firmness of mind; and though less active than his father in his person, who executed all his great designs himself, yet he was at least equal to him in abilities; for he gave his enemies more disturbance by the factions and insurrections he excited by his intrigues, than the emperor had ever done by his arms. Upon the whole, his ambition and his policy made him great and terrible during the major part of a long reign; but at the same time it made him odious, and exhausted his power. He saw this when it was too late, subscribed to the advice given by his father, and penned a censure of his own conduct for the use of his son. It is now time to see what effect this had upon a young prince, to whom, with his crowns, his father left the best counsels he could devise, but who with all this could not bequeath him his capacity.

S E C T. XVI.

*The history of the remaining monarchs of Spain, of the house of Austria; viz.
Philip III. Philip IV. and Charles II.*

- T**HE prince Don Philip of Spain, at the time of his accession to the throne, was in the twenty-first year of his age^a. He had received a good education, under the care of Don Garcia archbishop of Toledo, was sincerely virtuous and pious, and, as a noble Italian historian says, exceeded most of his subjects in moral virtues; but was very defective in those great qualities that, because they are necessary too, are generally expected in kings^b. In the last years of his father's life he had assisted in the council for foreign affairs, and shewed somewhat of ambition in demanding the key from Christopher de Mora, the ensign of his office, while his father was yet living, at whose command it was delivered to him, and he gave it immediately to Don Francisco de Rojas y Sandoval, marquis of Denia, his favourite, to whom he not long after gave the title of duke of Lerma^c. It was at first doubted what turn things would take at the new court, where several great affairs seemed to be but half-finished; but it very quickly appeared, that the king and his minister were disposed to moderate measures; in consequence of which the peace with France was ratified, as also the cession of the Low Countries in favour of the infanta^d. The archduke Albert proceeded in his journey to Germany, and with the duchess of Gratz, and the archduchess Margaret her daughter, travelled slowly, and with great pomp, through the territories of the state of Venice, where all imaginable honours were paid to them, into Italy. Pope Clement VIII. being at Ferrara, where, on the 15th of November, by virtue of a procuration from king Philip, he espoused the archduchess, the nuptial blessing was given by the pope; and at the same time the Spanish ambassador, who was the duke of Soffa, acting as proxy for the infanta Donna Isabella, the pope celebrated that marriage also: then taking Mantua and Milan in their way, the archduke brought her to Genoa; where, however, the rough weather detained them till the spring^e.
- In the beginning of the ensuing year died the archbishop of Toledo, which, besides the loss of so great a man, had a great influence on the court, as it put the king intirely into the hands of his favourite, who quickly procured the primacy of Spain for Don Bernard de Rojas y Sandoval, bishop of Jacca, who was soon after honoured with a hat from Rome^f. The new queen, attended by the archduke, landed towards the latter end of March in the kingdom of Valencia, and the king repairing to that capital, the marriage was solemnized and consummated on the 18th of April. Amongst other signals of public joy on this occasion, there were two statues erected, one representing Jupiter, and the other king Philip, with a globe resting on both their shoulders; the meaning of which was obvious enough; but soon after an inscription was pinned upon the god, containing these words, *This Jupiter is the duke of Lerma*; which shewed how early the public envy began against this minister^g. The old ministers and governors of provinces, who had been bred in his father's maxims, excited the duke of Savoy to persist in keeping the marquisate of Saluces from the French king, and promised him the support of Spain, provided he would send his three children thither to be educated, or, as the duke understood it, to serve for hostages. They prevailed also with the king to assemble great forces at Lisbon, and afterwards to bring troops and a fleet to Corunna. He also demanded of Henry the fourth, that his fleet might be received into the harbour of Brest: all which was to alarm queen Elizabeth, as if he intended an invasion; which compliment the queen returned by preparations of the same kind, though there does not seem to have been any real intention on either side^h. The archduke Albert having married the infanta, the king conducted them to Barcelona, where they embarked on the 7th of June for Genoa, from whence they proceeded by land to the Low Countries, where the archduke no sooner arrived, than he acquainted queen Elizabeth, that he had full powers to treat of peace; and commissioners being appointed on both sides, they met at Bologne, by consent of the French kingⁱ. The Dutch sent a strong fleet to the islands, which did a great deal of mischief, being the first time that they had acted at sea alone against the crown of Spain; but, as auxiliaries, they had assisted in taking Calais^k.

^a GONSALES DE CESPIDES Historia del Rey don Phelippe III.

BATT NANI, Procuratore di Santo Marco.

Etrangers.

^d P. DANIEL.

^e Vita CLEM. VIII. GRIMSTON'S Continuation of MAYERNE TURQ.

^f LUIS DE BAVIA.

^g GRIMSTON'S Continuation of MAYERNE TURQ.

^h CAMDEN'S Annals.

ⁱ Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, extracted from the MS. state-papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes, knight, ambassador in France, by T. BIRCH.

^k Sir W.

A. D. 1600. *Attempts unsuccessful against the Moors, and intrigues of the count de Fuentes in Italy.* THE count *de Fuentes*, who had formerly made so great a figure in the *Low Countries*, was having now the government of *Milan*, not only with very full powers, but with a million of pieces of eight at his disposal, raised a great army, which drew the eyes of all *Europe* upon him; but, however, he did little, and what he intended was never perfectly understood. It was apparently designed to support the duke of *Savoy*, and to alarm the *French* king; but there were various secret designs, and one of them the surprising of *Marseilles*, which miscarried¹. At last, that these preparations might at least seem to have some end, a fleet of 70 gallies was sent, under the command of *Doria*, against the *Turks*; but tho' the basha *Zigali's* fleet was much inferior, that of *Spain* did nothing. While the treaty was concluding at *Bologne*, his catholic majesty assisted the rebels in *Ireland*; and it is said that king *Philip* obtained from the infanta, his sister, a resignation of her rights, whatever they were, to the crown of *England*.^b

1601.

The next year *Doria* made another attempt upon *Algiers* with as little success^m. On the 22d of *September* the queen was happily delivered of the infanta *Donna Anna* at *Valladolid*, to the great joy of the *Spaniards*, some doubts having been entertained whether there would be any issue of this marriage. The duke of *Savoy* was so much of this opinion, and so fully persuaded that the infanta *Isabella* would die childless, that he began to relish the proposal that had been made of sending his sons to be educated in a country, to the crown of which they might one day become the heirsⁿ. The count *de Fuentes* still continued his armaments and his intrigues; and tho', in the end, he seized the marquisate of *Final*, and published a pompous manifesto on that occasion, yet the world was now well enough apprised of his true design, by the discovery of marshal *Biron's* conspiracy, in which he was very deeply embarked, and which, as it ruined his own, so it very much lessened his master's reputation, more especially as he still maintained his government, and continued still to pursue the same dark designs^o.

Compliments the king of England upon his accession and concludes a peace with him.

UPON the death of queen *Elizabeth*, the court of *Spain* sent over Don *Juan Baptista Taxis*, count of *Villa Mediana*, to compliment king *James* upon his accession, and, under that pretence, to make some overtures of peace. This was judged to be the more necessary, as they were not ignorant in *Spain* that *Henry* the fourth of *France* was very desirous of engaging the new king in that general confederacy he was forming, in order to pull down the power of the house of *Austria*^p. In the summer, another expedition was made by sea against the infidels without success; and, in the autumn, died the empress *Mary* of *Austria*, who was the daughter, daughter-in-law, wife, and mother, of five emperors^q. She was exceedingly beloved by the people, and respected by the royal family in *Spain*, which was now increased, by the arrival of the prince of *Piedmont*, and his two brothers. The year ensuing his catholic majesty sent Don *Juan Fernandez de Velasco*, constable of *Castile*, his ambassador and plenipotentiary into *England*, to complete the negotiation which was already far advanced. Commissioners being appointed on both sides, the peace, notwithstanding many obstacles that were thrown in the way, was at length concluded, signed, and proclaimed, in the beginning of *August*, to the great satisfaction of the court and the people^r. It was the more acceptable, as the misunderstandings still continued between *Spain* and *France*, which frequently discovered themselves by the imposition of heavy duties on merchandize on one side, and prohibitions of commerce on the other. Besides, it was hoped that this treaty would make way for a peace with the new republic of the *United Provinces*, of which the archdukes were very desirous, and which could not but be pleasing to the catholic king, who paid a monthly subsidy of 300,000 ducats for the support of a war which produced him neither honour or profit.

1604.

As it was requisite to send an ambassador extraordinary to *Spain*, to see the peace sworn to by his catholic majesty, the king of *England* made choice of the earl of *Nottingham* for that purpose, who was so well known to the *Spaniards* by the title of the lord high admiral *Howard*. He was received with all possible demonstrations of respect, and had the good fortune to find the court in raptures of joy on the birth of the prince Don *Philip*, which happened on the 8th of *April*; of the ceremonies of whose christening he was a spectator, the duke of *Lerma* and the infanta *Donna Anna* being sponsors. Soon afterwards the king swore to the due performance of the treaty, the cardinal archbishop of *Toledo* reading the oath, and the king kneeling, with his hands upon the gospel; which we the rather mention, because such ceremonies are now out of use^s. The next year the queen was delivered of the infanta *Donna Maria*, and the first steps were made towards the negotiation of a truce with the states, tho' it did not take effect. The finances were in great disorder, and the measures that were taken to redress this were far from answering the end. In the mean time, those who hated the favourite, and who had pursued him with envy from the very beginning of the reign, multiplied their imputations, and magnified every unlucky accident that happened into a crime. Amongst other things, it was

The prince Don Philip born, to the great joy of the king and all his subjects.

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¹ Historia della Republica Veneta, di BATT NANI.^m CAMDEN's Annals.ⁿ GRIMSTON's

Continuation of MAYERNE TURQ.

^o Historia della Republica de Veneta, di BATT NANI.

P. P.

DANIEL, Memoires de Duc de TULLY.

^q GRIMSTON's Continuation of MAYERNE TURQUET.^r CAMDEN's Annals of King James I. Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. iv. part. ii. p. 32.^s GRIM-

STON's Continuation of MAYERNE TURQUET.

a alleged, that the very duties upon oil and wine had brought in three-and-twenty millions: that the fleets from the *Indies* were more richly laden than in his father's time; and that, notwithstanding this vast income, the king's coffers were empty. All this confirmed the minister in his former sentiment, that the maxims of the last reign were to be abandoned, the sums squandered on spies and pensioners retrenched, and an end put to the war in the *Low Countries* without delay; since, besides the immediate expences supplied to the archduke, it obliged the crown of *Spain* to put annually a strong fleet to sea, and subjected them to losses in the *Indies*, which it was alike impossible to prevent or repair^t.

THIS situation of things made it requisite to call an assembly of the states, which was opened on the 16th of *April*, and continued sitting the best part of two years at *Madrid*, to which city the court was returned on account of the inconveniencies that were felt from their residence at *Valladolid*. There, on the thirteenth of *January*, the infant Don *Philip* was acknowledged heir apparent to his father, and the nobility sworn to his succession^u. In this assembly also the tender point of the duke of *Lerma's* administration was brought upon the carpet; and this was doubling the value of the copper-money, in which without doubt he was ill advised. The famous jesuit *Mariana*, who has rendered his name immortal by his history of *Spain*, shewed himself a judicious politician and an unbiassed patriot, in an admirable treatise upon this subject; but, having drawn the minister's picture in very strong colours, and exhibited his master likewise as an indolent and inactive prince, who looked into nothing with his own eyes, but left all to the discretion of those, or rather to the disposition of him he trusted, he was arrested, and remained a prisoner a full year^v. The states, however, more intent upon finding a remedy for the evil, than the punishment of those who perhaps erred in judgment, passed a law on the 22d of *November*, in which they provided, that the silver which should come from the *Indies* in the two next flotas should be coined in the manner therein prescribed; and that all the silver which came for the future should be likewise coined into such money as should be most expedient; for, upon raising the value of the copper coin, it had been poured in upon them from abroad, and their silver suddenly swept away, as if it had been by enchantment. The duke, however, prosecuting his scheme, procured a truce for eight months to be concluded in the *Low Countries*, which made way for that by which the states of the *United Provinces* were acknowledged as free and independent^x.

d THIS great event was brought about in the succeeding year by the interposition and under the mediation of the kings of *France* and *England*, who were guaranties of this treaty, by which a truce was concluded for twelve years between his catholic majesty, the archduke, and the states general. It was signed on the 9th of *April*, and ratified by king *Philip* at *Segovia* in the month of *June*^y. This produced a new clamour against the duke of *Lerma*, who was certainly the author of this measure, which those who hated him considered as highly dishonourable to *Spain*. We need the less wonder at this, since the *Spanish* ambassadors employed in making the peace with *England* always talked as if they had really believed it in the power of their monarchs to have reduced the seven provinces whenever they pleased by force, if they had not been restrained either by maxims of policy, or their unwillingness to exterminate the inhabitants of their hereditary dominions. To justify this, they compared the countries under the dominion of the states, and their forces, with the vast territories and proportionable power in the hands of their catholic majesties. But, whatever they might say, their statesmen certainly saw and knew that the contest for the *Low Countries* had cost *Spain* infinitely more than they were worth, and was such a continual drain of treasure, troops, naval stores, and ships, as wore out gradually the strength of the monarchy. The duke of *Lerma*, therefore, in all appearance had nothing to answer for in this respect, since he sacrificed only phantoms and chimeras to the real interests of the crown, by taking the single method that could be taken to rescue the *Spanish* nation from a consumption by which she was already brought very low, and by which, in the space of a few years, she must have been utterly undone; whilst most of her neighbours, who bore her no good will, were daily augmenting their strength and wealth, and, as she had good reason to fear, meant, at a proper season, to make her sensible that they had not forgot the injuries they had received from her in the days of her prosperity. But haughtiness, and a high conceit of their own power, are so natural to the *Spaniards*, that, how just soever the minister's motives might be, this step, of all others, was most likely to offend them; nor is it at all improbable that some of those, who best understood the reasons upon which he acted, from their envy to his high fortune, represented his actions in the worst colours.

^t GONSALES DE CESPIDES, Historia della Republica de Veneta di BATT NANI. ^u Idem. ^v BERNARD GERALD. PATAVINUS pro senatu Veneto Apologia, five de Justitia Decreti, quo senatus Venetus adolascens ditioni subitos ad Jesuitarum scholas accedere interdixit; deque conditionibus quibus Jesuitæ reditum at Venetos videntur impetrare posse. Nicolas Antonio Biblioth. Hisp. tom. i. p. 560. ^x Card. BENTIVOGLIO, della guerra di Flandra. ^y Les Negociations de M. le President JEANIN sur la treve des Pays, EMANUEL METEREN, Histoire des Pays Bas, fo. 658. Recueil des Traités de paix, de treve, de neutralité, de confederation, d'alliance, et de commerce, &c. par FRED. LEONARD, tom. v.

The Morefcoes, after much deliberation are expelled out of the kingdom of Valentia;

ALL the measures that had hitherto been taken to secure the tranquillity of *Spain*, notwithstanding the number of *Morefcoes* that were still left, could not dispossess the greatest part of the clergy, and many prelates, of whom the archbishop of *Valentia* was the chief, of their apprehensions, which they represented in the strongest terms possible to the cardinal archbishop of *Valentia*; and he, on the other hand, prepossessed his brother the duke of *Lerma* in such a manner, that, in spite of all the arguments which could be used to the contrary, a resolution was taken to expell them out of that kingdom, and the edict for that purpose subscribed by the king, at the *Escorial*, September the 11th, 1609². In this edict it is said, that the *Moors* had invited the grand signor, and the king of *Fez* and *Morocco*, to make a descent in *Spain* with a great army, promising that they should be received by 50,000 good infantry, who were as zealous *Mohammedans* as any in *Asia* or *Africa*. Some say that they were charged with a conspiracy to massacre all the old Christians on the *Good Friday* following; but this was only a contrivance to give a colour to this barbarous and inhuman expedient, which was vigorously opposed by all the nobility and men of property in the kingdom of *Valentia*, who foretold, and the event justified the prediction, that, with the *Moors*, industry, wealth, and plenty, would be banished from their country. But all methods possible being tried to alter the king's resolution without effect, the decree was put in execution, and the *Moors* at several times transported out of that kingdom into *Barbary*, where however his catholic majesty interposed his interest to procure them a good reception, and the best settlements that could be given them².

and soon after out of all the provinces of Spain in general and without mercy.

AFTER the execution of this decree in *Valentia*, the same method was taken in *Andalusia*, *Granada*, *Murcia*, *Catalonia*, *Aragon*, both *Castiles*, *Estremadura*, and *La Mancha*, not without two rebellions, in each of which the *Moors* chose themselves a king, which were not suppressed without a great effusion of blood, and putting both those miserable pretenders to royalty to death^b. A great number of children under the age of seven years were retained and sold; but his catholic majesty declared they should not remain slaves, but that those who bought and educated them should have their service as many years after they reached the age of twelve as they had bought them under it, and that then they should be free. By this expulsion of the *Moors*, some say that no less than a million of persons were sent out of *Spain*, which is probably beyond the truth; but it seems on all hands agreed, that there were eighty thousand families transported, and, according to the most moderate calculation, this rather exceeded d than fell short of six hundred thousand persons^c. We must, in common justice to the understanding of the king and his ministers, suppose there must have been very strong reasons for so bold and so extraordinary a measure (A). However, the bad effects that were foreseen quickly

² JAIME BLEDA, *Chronica de los Moros de Espana*. History of the expulsion of the Morefcoes out of Spain in the reign of Philip III. by MICHAEL GEDDES, vol. i. p. 115. ^a GONSALES DE CESPIDES, GEDDES's Miscellaneous Tracts. ^b JAIME BLEDA. ^c AMELOT DE LA HOUSSE.

(A) The chief reasons for expelling the *Moors*, or rather *Morefcoes*, by the clergy, and more especially by the cardinal of *Toledo* and the archbishop of *Valentia*, might be reduced to three. First, That they were obstinate and incorrigible infidels, upon whom preaching did no good, and all instruction was cast away; and therefore it was to no purpose to bear with them any longer. Secondly, That they were traitors to the state, rejoiced at the misfortunes of the king's arms, wished well to his enemies, held a constant correspondence with them, invited them to invade the kingdom with a promise of their assistance, and, as often as they had opportunity, sold or betrayed people into the hands of their countrymen the *Moors* of *Barbary*; so that, from a principle of self preservation, it was requisite to remove them. Thirdly, That as they perpetually increased in their numbers, and began in many places to have great interest with their neighbours, there was great risque of their corrupting the manners and faith of the Christians, and no less hazard of their becoming strong enough to attempt recovering their dominion over them. It was therefore absolutely necessary, to prevent these evils, to remove them without delay. To these the barons opposed their answers. They said, that, if most of the *Morefcoes* were *Mohammedans* at the bottom, it was owing to the want of learning and application in the clergy, to the wrong methods they took in converting them, to the impolitic and irreligious distinction between old and new Christians, to the want of

suitable encouragements, and, above all, to the violences and cruelties exercised upon them by the inquisition. As to their treasons, they were at best chimerical; that, for their correspondencies with *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, they were downright falsehoods, equally void of probability and evidence; and that, as to the persons they sold or betrayed to the *Moors*, they would undertake to ransom all captives at the expence of the *Morefcoes*. In answer to the danger and hazard that might attend keeping them, they suggested the immense benefit that arose from their labours, the improbability of unarmed and dejected people rising and conquering a warlike and potent nation, and the dreadful indigence that must follow from expelling a million of industrious people, to gratify the resentment, and still the fears, of avaricious and timid priests, some grudging the pensions they paid out of their revenues to those appointed to instruct them; and others weary of their pastoral functions, and willing to sell their flocks, which in conscience they were bound to feed (1). After all, it must be allowed, that the clergy spoke truth, when they affirmed the bulk of the *Morefcoes* to be *Mohammedans*; and it must be also allowed they spoke sense, in affirming it to be very dangerous to let them remain in *Spain* if they continued so. On the other hand, the nobility were in the right as to the advantages derived from them, and no less so in the consequences they foresaw from the loss of them. Both spoke from their interests, and neither had any thing else in view (2). The king and his ministers, therefore,

(1) *The History of the Expulsion of the Morefcoes out of Spain, among the Miscellaneous Tracts of Dr. Michael Geddes.* (2) *Gonzales de Cespides. Historia del Rey Don Phelippe III. p. 391.*

a quickly discovered themselves; and though the duke of *Lerma* secured by it the clergy in his interest, it lost him the best part of the nobility, and was always considered as the worst action in his whole administration. In the month of *November* the strong and important fortress of *Larach* in *Africa* was betrayed to the *Moors*, thro' the treachery of some *Morescoes*, which, though in itself of great loss, was of some use in allaying that general discontent which had been excited by their expulsion, though it was as likely to have been occasioned by the resentment of that measure as by any other way ^d.

It is affirmed by some, who were present in the *Spanish* court, that the news of the deplorable death of *Henry* the fourth of *France* was very acceptable there; which is the less strange, since there is nothing more certain than that his demise at this juncture concurred precisely with their interests ^c. The *Spanish* ministers, or at least their emissaries, had given this prince perpetual disturbance and repeated provocations ever since the peace of *Vervins*, which was concluded from necessity rather than choice; and it was well enough known, that though he bore this, he bore it with great reluctance; and with a purpose of being revenged as soon as it was in his power. At the very moment he was murdered, he was on the point of taking the field against the house of *Austria* in the empire, and it was believed, had concluded a secret treaty with *Charles Emanuel* duke of *Savoy*, one of the ablest, but one of the most unquiet, princes that age produced, by which he promised him his assistance in conquering *Milan* from the *Spaniards*. If, therefore, the war had broke out in *Italy* as he intended, at the same time that it began to blaze in the *Low Countries* and in *Germany*, the system framed by *Charles* the fifth, and upon which *Philip* the second wrought throughout his long reign, would in all probability have been demolished in a few months, since the deep submission shewn both in *Germany* and in *Italy* was the pure effects of dissimulation, and, upon the first appearance of a force sufficient to protect them, the concealed enemies of the house of *Austria* would in both have thrown off the mask. However, upon the first intelligence of the *French* king's death, the court of *Spain* went into mourning, and a minister was dispatched to *Paris* with compliments of condolance to the queen regent, as well as to put her in mind of the marriages that had been proposed; the flatterers of both courts gave out, that the match of the eldest infant and the young king *Lewis* was intended by Providence, because they were born within a few days of each other; and this embassy was very kindly received, and the proposals of marriage were promised to be brought upon the carpet, notwithstanding the *French* nation appeared in general very much against it ^f. The duke of *Lerma* was extremely satisfied with this, as it fell in exactly with his pacific disposition, and allowed him to proceed at leisure in his scheme of paying the king's debts, and bringing the finances into order, for which he was highly applauded by his creatures, and abused almost by every body else, upon a supposition that old demands could not be satisfied without a proportionable present to the all powerful benefactor by whom they were procured.

QUEEN *Margaret* of *Spain*, who had an extreme attention to this marriage, a great influence over the king, and upon whom the *German* branch of the house of *Austria* chiefly relied, had the satisfaction of seeing herself the mother of three princes and as many princesses, when she was delivered of another son, *Don Alonso*, on the 22d of *September*, at the *Escorial*, which was celebrated with all possible demonstrations of joy; but these soon after were converted into mourning by the unexpected death of this prince on the third of *October* following ^g. A report prevailed some time after that she was poisoned, and very probably those who raised it cast the suspicion on the man in the world least likely to commit such a fact; this was *Don Rodrigo Calderona*, who was favourite at once to the queen and the duke of *Lerma*, and he had a prodigious influence, or rather command, over both; from which it was asserted, by those who had more wit than to believe it themselves, that he had enchanted them both. A certain prelate, however, assures us, that the queen was poisoned by the smell

Death of the French king held a very favourable event for the house of Austria.

A. D. 1610.

The demise of the queen *Donna Margaret* of *Austria*, and the suspicions it occasioned.

1611.

^d GONSALES DE CESPIDES, JAIME BLEDA. DANIEL, GONSALES DE CESPIDES, Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. WINWOOD'S MEMOIRS. ^e GONSALES DE CESPIDES, Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. contenant ce qui est arrivé de plus remarquable en France et dans l'Europe depuis le commencement de son regne jusqu'à la mort de ce prince, par M. LE VASSOR.

^f WINWOOD'S MEMOIRALS, vol. iii. p. 176.

^g P.

ought to have given full credit to neither; they should have employed their thoughts in devising how to make these people true Christians, which would have put an end to the dispute (3). This might have been done by separating them, by establishing an order of monks, whose sole business it should have been to convert them, by erecting schools for teaching their children the *Castilian* tongue, by bestowing upon those children em-

ployments in distant parts of the country, and by sending the apostates into *Barbary*, instead of leaving them at the mercy of the inquisition (4). But the duke of *Lerma* was governed by his brother, and the king by the duke and his own superstitious fears, which were wrought on by pretended miracles and fictitious prophecies (5).

(3) *Las Memorias de Phelipe de Comines, con Esolios propios de Don Juan Vitrian*, ii. 13. *Tracts*, vol. i.

(5) *Justa, Expulsion de los Morescos de España*, del M. F. D. *Fonseca*.

(4) *Goides's*

of certain perfumed pastils thrown into the fire, which the season rendered necessary in the chamber; and the fact is ascribed to the natural aversion which the *Spaniards* have to *German* customs, from which the queen would never refrain^a. Be this as it will; as soon as the king appeared in public, it was given out on one side, that he was desirous of marrying the *English* princess *Elizabeth*, but to others it was pretended that he had thoughts of a princess of *Savoy*, which, with the proposed marriage of the prince of *Piedmont* to one of the infantas, flattered the ambition of duke *Charles Emanuel* extremely.

Reciprocal
marriages
with the royal
family of
France
solemnly con-
firmed.

THE queen regent of *France*, having made the necessary alterations in her council, ventured to avow the double marriage concluded with the court of *Spain*; and sent the duke of *Mayenne* to *Madrid* to demand the infanta, at the same time that the duke of *Pastrana* was sent to *Paris*, to make the like demand of the princess *Isabella*, or *Elizabeth*, sister to king *Lewis*,^b for Don *Philip*, prince of *Asturias*; which ceremonies, though supported with all imaginable splendor, from the natural antipathy of both nations, were not agreeable to either, though the situation of their affairs rendered them very convenient, according to the sentiments of their politicians^c. The *Morescoes*, so hardly dealt with in *Spain*, sustained this year two persecutions from those of their own religion. At *Constantinople* they drove the *Jews* out of the suburb of *Pera*, and attempted the like with respect to the Christians, for which they were chastised by the grand vizir. The city of *Algiers* being afflicted with famine, they turned out thousands of those poor creatures to starve, and put numbers of them to death. The murmurs of the people in *Spain* were in some measure silenced by the arrival of a plate fleet from the *Indies* with eleven millions on board^d.

A. D. 1612.

War in Italy,
and the renew-
al of a propo-
sition for a
marriage in
England.

THE *Spanish* ministry, as much as their parts were slighted by their countrymen, had with great address perfected what the *French* could never perform, that is, the intire subjection of *Italy*. *Charles* duke of *Savoy* could not brook this with patience; the *Venetians* saw it with concern; and the grand duke, though he felt but little of the yoke, was far from being easy under it. Pope *Paul* the fifth affected not to perceive it; and indeed the *Spaniards* occupied themselves rather in forging and rivetting the chains of *Italy*, than in rattling them about people's ears, merely to make them know who were their masters. The death of the duke of *Mantua*, who left an only daughter, produced an explanation of this matter which the *Spaniards* did not expect or desire. Cardinal *Gonzaga*, brother to the deceased duke, laid aside his hat to place a coronet upon his head; and the duke of *Savoy*, having withdrawn the duchess dowager his daughter, surprised on a sudden the best part of the *Montferrat*, of his rights to which he had made a cession upon his daughter's marriage. The duke of *Mantua*, unable to defend himself, called in the assistance of his neighbours the *Venetians*, and the grand duke supplied him from a point of honour; but the governor of *Milan* received express orders from *Madrid* to oblige both princes to disarm, and to prescribe a peace upon certain terms, the most remarkable one of which was the marriage of the cardinal duke to his brother's widow. Both princes were displeased with this, as were indeed all the *Italian* states: but, after all, the cardinal duke wisely submitted, knowing that he had not a power to resist, and upon a presumption that his antagonist, who was stronger, would take the same steps upon other motives; so that he should lose nothing, and procure at the same time the protection of *Spain*; in which he judged right; for the duke of *Savoy*, roundly refused to part either with his troops or his daughter, not doubting that he should be supported by *France*, in which, however, he found himself mistaken^e. At this time the catholic king and his ministers continued to amuse the *English* court with distant and indefinite propositions. The princess *Elizabeth* was married to the elector Palatine, so that nothing more could be said on that head^f. *Henry* prince of *Wales*, whom they had often wished in *Spain* to espouse the infanta *Donna Maria*, was dead; and the loss of this prince put the *Spanish* ministers in mind, that when a match was mentioned between him and the infanta, of the disproportion between their ages. She was said to be a fitter match for the duke of *York*, in which they now concluded the *English* ministers had reason, and were for bringing this negotiation upon the carpet again, though all their purpose was only to amuse, since they knew the marriage was extremely odious in *England*, nor could it be more so there than it was to them.

1613.

Duke of
Lerma's
scheme for sup-
pressing the
power of Spain
in Italy.

THE military preparations of the *Turks* being very great, and no certainty at all upon whom the storm would break, the *Spanish* ministers found themselves under a necessity of providing for the security of their coasts, and fitting out a considerable fleet. By that time this was completed, it was known that the *Turks* had in view the attacking of *Malta*; but, before the *Spaniards* had leisure to regulate the affairs of their succours, the grand signor laid up his fleet, and turned his arms against the *Persians*. Upon this, orders were sent to Don *Lewis Faxarado*, who commanded the *Spanish* fleet, to make a descent on *Barbary*, and to build a

^a PAULI PIASECII Chronica gestorum in Europa singularium.
memorials, GONSALES DE CESPIDES.
NANI.

^b CANTEMIR.

^c WILSON'S History of King James I.

^d LE VASSOR, WINWOOD'S Me-

^e Historia della Republica Veneta di BATT

a strong fort upon the gulph of *Marmora*, to prevent the pirates from taking shelter there; and disturbing from thence as they had done the coasts and the commerce of *Spain*. This, in the month of *August*, was happily effected; and, tho' it would scarce have deserved notice in the days of *Charles* or *Philip* his son, it was one of the most considerable successes of this reign^a. The troubles of *Italy* still continued, though the duke of *Savoy* professed upon all occasions the most profound deference for his brother-in-law, and actually sent his son, the prince of *Piedmont*, into *Spain*; but, having a secret understanding with the governor of *Milan*, it was sometimes war, sometimes peace, between them, notwithstanding very precise and clear orders were sent from *Madrid*. The great point he laboured to evade was, the disbanding his troops; especially when he found the queen regent of *France* would not embark in this quarrel, out of respect to the house of *Mantua*, with a branch of which in *France* she had some measures to keep. On the other hand, the duke of *Lerma*, who was believed to have a personal prejudice against the duke of *Savoy*, and who, from the intire influence he had over his master, hindered him from proceeding farther than some general discourses in a scheme of marrying a princess of that house, resolved to ruin all his projects by sending a new governor into the *Milanese*, who should pursue his instructions punctually, and by making the *Venetians* feel the resentment of *Spain* for the succours they had privately given the duke, though they had taken part against him in the beginning of the quarrel. The sole view of the *Spanish* minister was, that an end should be put to these disputes by the interposition of *Spain*, without admitting the shadow of the emperor's authority, or allowing the *French* to interfere in the negotiation. In this respect he was jealous of his master's honour, but took care to second his dictates with the princes of *Italy* by an army of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, which he judged the most probable means of having them obeyed. Though he was not reputed the most subtle statesman, yet even his enemies allow, that this plan was well drawn, and conducted throughout both with prudence and spirit^b.

A. D. 1614.

He was prevailed upon, however, to trust *Mendoza*, the old governor, with the conduct of the campaign for this year, from various motives, of which this was none of the least, that, the double marriages being to take place, it was not so convenient that things should be carried with a high hand in *Italy*. He abated, however, nothing in his instructions, but left that intirely to the temper of him who was to execute them, and who, notwithstanding his superiority, having to deal with a prince of consummate capacity, made a confused kind of war, which he concluded as soon as he could by a perplexed peace^c. In the mean time his catholic majesty went to *Burgos*, where, on the 18th of *October*, the marriage was celebrated by proxy between prince *Philip* of *Spain* and Madame *Isabella*, sister to the king of *France*. The same day was likewise celebrated the marriage of *Lewis* the thirteenth with the Infanta of *Castile*, who two days before had renounced all her rights to the succession, in case her brothers died without issue, not only to her father's kingdoms, but even to the *Low Countries*. On the ninth of *November* the two princesses were exchanged on the river of *Bidasso*. Affairs were at this time in such confusion in *France*, that the queen regent was forced to bring her son with an army to meet his bride, whom he received at *Bordeaux*, and was afterwards obliged to conclude a peace with the malecontents, in order to open a safe passage back to *Paris*; which peace proved very soon fatal to the marshal *de Ancre*, who had the chief hand in the marriage, and to the queen herself, who was exiled to *Blois*. As for his catholic majesty, he remained with the prince at *Burgos* till the arrival of Madame *Isabella*, and soon after returned with the court to *Madrid*. There the treaty of *Asti*, which had been concluded by the governor of *Milan*, was disclaimed, and a resolution taken to send Don *Pedro de Toledo*, marquis of *Villa Franca*, to replace him in that government; a man of high spirit and great talents, who it was not doubted would re-establish the superiority of *Spain*, and give law to the princes and states of *Italy*. This the duke of *Lerma* thought indispensably necessary for the honour of his master's crown, and for the credit of his administration^d, which he knew was decried by the common people, at the same time that his authority was undermined by those who were under all the ties and obligations that either the laws of nature or of society could establish, for the foundation of trust and confidence amongst men. He bore up against them, however, with courage, and opposed great prudence and long experience, as well as the interest he still had in his master, to the arts and intrigues of men who attacked him without any just cause, and were guided solely by the dictates of their ambition.

Both the marriages solemnized with great pomp and splendor at *Burgos*.

1615.

Don *Pedro de Toledo*, the new governor of *Milan*, quickly gave the duke of *Savoy*, and all who were interested in the treaty of *Asti*, to understand, that it was not to be the rule of his actions, farther than it was consistent with the glory of the *Spanish* crown, of which he took

Don *Pedro de Toledo*, marquis of *Villa Franca*, made

^a MARIANA, GONSALES DE CESPIDES, AMELOT DE LA HOUSSE. Veneta di BATT NANI, MARIANA.

^b Historia della Repubblica

^c Historia della Repubblica Veneta di BATT NANI, MARIANA, LE VASSOR, PAUL PIASECII.

^d GONSALES DE CESPIDES, LE VASSOR, PAUL PIASECII.

governor of
Milan.

himself to be the sole judge. He applied himself with such vigour and diligence to augment his troops, and to dispose all things for the continuance of the war, that, notwithstanding he forbore committing hostilities, yet he perplexed the duke of *Savoy* much more than his predecessor had done at the head of a numerous army. The *French* king at first sent thither Monsieur de *Bethune*; and after him the marshal de *Lesdiguières* was sent to *Turin*, where he served the duke of *Savoy* effectually by his advice, and saved him by his assistance, which enabled him to resist Don *Pedro* when he came to attack him openly, as well as to defeat that back blow by which the governor of *Milan* expected to have undone him; for understanding that the duke of *Nemours*, who was of the house of *Savoy*, and who had been but indifferently used by the duke, was notwithstanding raising forces on his behalf in *France*, he, by promising him the investiture of *Savoy*, engaged him to change sides, and, when admitted into his country, to fall upon the duke with that army which had been raised partly with his money, and intirely for his service. But this treachery was discovered in time, and prevented. It was upon this that the governor of *Milan*, who had dissembled, to give the duke of *Nemours* time to penetrate into *Savoy*, discovered his real intentions, and began the war, in which his superiority gave him some success; but the great courage and conduct of duke *Charles* of *Savoy* prevented his doing any thing that could be accounted decisive. The duke of *Osuna*, at this time viceroy of *Naples*, attacked the duke likewise by sea; and made some impression¹. The *Spaniards* had also another quarrel with the *Venetians*, as auxiliaries of the archduke *Ferdinand*. This contributed to excite a general distaste to them and to the house of *Austria*, which was greatly augmented by the private views and bad designs of some great men, whose wickedness rendered a crown and administration odious, though they had not the least concern in their intrigues, and must have suffered more by them than any other state whatever.

A. D. 1616.

Strange designs and daring practices of the Spanish ministers in Italy.

THE flame of war blazed higher this year in *Italy* than ever, and spread much farther than ever the court of *Spain* intended, if the intrigues before-mentioned had not been discovered. There was at this time a triumvirate of ministers in that country, capable of embarrassing all *Europe*, and of sacrificing it too, for their own private and pernicious purposes. This triumvirate was composed of Don *Pedro Gironne*, duke of *Osuna* and governor of *Naples*, the marquis de *Bedmar*, who was ambassador at *Venice*, and the marquis de *Villa Franca*, governor of *Milan*. The first of these, under pretence of arming against the *Turks*, carried on a secret correspondence with them, at the same time that he held another equally dangerous with the marquis de *Lesdiguières*, the design of which was to seize the kingdom of *Naples*, and to render himself independent. The second conducted those dark projects that were to have ended in the destruction of the city and republic of *Venice*, if they had not been discovered and prevented. The third seemed to meditate the conquest of *Savoy*, and actually made himself master of the strong fortrefs of *Vercell*, by which the duke was constrained to enter into an accommodation, upon terms that were far from being agreeable to him. This, however, raised his character with the court of *Madrid*, who disavowed the conduct of the other two, and recalled the marquis of *Bedmar* immediately². In the *East Indies* the war continued between the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, subjects of the same crown, of which we have treated in another place; and of which all we have here to say is, that Don *Juan de Ronquillo* having, on the 15th of *April*, gained a signal advantage at sea, the news of his victory were no sooner received in *Spain*, than it was celebrated with great demonstrations of joy, the duke of *Lerma* pretending, upon this foundation, to take such measures as should effectually secure the *Moluccas*; in which, however, himself and his successors were exceedingly disappointed; neither did the rejoicings that were now made contribute to support, as he was in hopes they would, his credit with the king, or restore him to the general good opinion of the *grandees* and of the people.

1617.

His catholic majesty renounces his claim to the succession of Austria, in favour of Ferdinand.

As soon as it was known at the court of *Madrid* that the duke of *Savoy* was inclined to peace, it was very quickly concluded, even upon such terms as were approved, if not dictated, by the court of *France*; and express orders were sent to the marquis de *Villa Franca* to carry this treaty punctually into execution; which he obeyed, tho' with all the solemnity of a *Spaniard*, obliging the duke to take always the first step in the setting prisoners at liberty, in disbanding troops, and in the restitution of places; but *Charles* gave himself no pain about that, when he found the marquis was to be depended upon, and that he performed things honourably, though he would perform nothing but in his own way³. The disputes with the *Venetians* were also composed: and the eldest branch of the *German* line of the house of *Austria* being on the point of failing in the emperor *Matthias*, his catholic majesty, out of regard, and in order to support the grandeur of the family, consented to a general renunciation of all his rights to the succession of any part of the dominions belonging to that branch; and though some say that, in consideration of this resignation, it was agreed, that the king should have a full and ample

¹ LE VASSOR, GREGOIRE LETI, Histoire du Duc d'Osune, GONSALES DE CESPIDES, MARIANA.
² Historia della Republica Veneta di BATT NANI. ³ GONSALES DE CESPIDES, LE VASSOR.

a cession made to him of the whole country of *Alsace*, yet it does not appear that any such grant was ever made, or at least it is very certain that he never received any benefit from it: we may therefore justly assert, that his conduct in this respect was equally prudent and disinterested; for if he had insisted upon these possessions, they would have added nothing to his power, and would have lessened that of the archduke very much. But we must now pass to the domestic concerns of his catholic majesty, and relate as succinctly as we can the fall of the duke of *Lerma*, who had hitherto governed his vast dominions with unrestrained authority, the king seeming to have no other will than that of complying with his minister.

It is generally agreed, that consummate prudence, rather than any sublimity of genius, *The measures taken by the duke of Lerma, to secure his administration, prove ineffectual.* was the characteristic of the duke of *Lerma*. It was this that rendered his administration peace-
 b able and stable, and yet it is owing to this that he fell at last into disgrace. He discerned clearly, that the abilities of the duke of *Uzeda* his son were below the level of his own, but he had the manners and the polish of a court; he therefore intended that he should succeed him as the king's favourite, and he instructed him so well, and managed his design with such address, that it succeeded beyond his wish. His aim was, that his son should manage the court; but, for the cabinet, he made choice of his sister's son, the count *de Lemos*, a man of true parts, and every way fit for the great employment for which he was intended. But as he was himself in no hurry to retire, he placed the count *de Lemos* in the bed-chamber of the prince, that he might contemplate the rising sun, and rise with it. In this too he succeeded, for the count *de Lemos* gained the affections of his young master in a
 c supreme degree. The duke's foresight went still farther; he cast his eyes upon *Lewis Aliaga*, a monk, of whose probity he had a great opinion, whom he made the king's confessor. The consequence of all this care and skill was, that his son and the priest conspired against him, and became his bitterest enemies: the duke of *Uzeda* could not pardon the contempt his father had shewn of his talents; the priest thought he had more to expect from a minister of his own making, than from the minister who had made him. The count *de Lemos* might have secured himself at least, if he would have joined in this scene of ingratitude, but he disdained it; he loved, he revered his uncle, and therefore removing him was the first step towards the fall of that great minister. The king signified to the count, that he should not pass his evenings at the prince's bed-side; and, his commands not being very punctually
 d obeyed, he was forbid his presence, and removed from his employment*.

THE duke *de Uzeda* and the confessor, as is usual in courts, cloathing their private views with *He is disgraced, and for his own security, obtains a hat from the pope.* the specious pretence of concern for the public, carried all the popular complaints against the duke of *Lerma* into the king's closet; in consequence of which a committee, or, as they call it in *Spain*, a junta, was appointed to consider of the state of the nation; and they made a long and laboured report, in the very first paragraph of which they told the king, that *Spain* was on the point of falling to the ground, and ascribed all these misfortunes to the duke of *Lerma* and his administration; and yet a very able and a very impartial judge assures us, that there never was a favourite more mild and moderate than this duke; and that, while he held the reins of government, the public resembled his private conduct; it had not in it any thing striking or
 e surprising, but it was without war, without taxes, and without oppression. The king, however, upon this report, by a short letter, dismissed the duke from his employments, and ordered him to retire; which he did on the 4th of *October*^r, which was the feast of his patron *St. Francis*, and which, from the superstitious practice of those times, he had regarded as fortunate and propitious. He made some struggles to remain, that were unworthy of so great a man; but his prudence in procuring a hat from the pope a little before his disgrace, though he did not receive it till afterwards, was very commendable, since it covered him from those pursuits which the malice of his enemies, who had gone so far, would otherwise have carried farther². On the 7th of *December*, the same year, died his brother the cardinal archbishop of *Toledo* suddenly, and, as some think, of the grief conceived at his brother's disgrace, which he
 f had laboured all that was in his power to prevent³. The king determined immediately to give that important preferment to the Infant *Don Ferdinand*; but as that prince was very young, this design met with great opposition at the court of *Rome*, and it was not without a long and troublesome negotiation that it was at length brought to bear^b. The duke *de Uzeda*, who succeeded his father, advised the king to shew himself to his subjects; and proposed, in hopes it would render his administration popular, that he should make a tour into *Portugal*, as the most effectual means of quieting the discontents of that nation, which were both general and great, but occasioned chiefly by the degeneracy of their nobility, who consumed in folly and luxury the vast revenues derived to them from the virtue and industry of their ancestors, which this visit of the king's was much more likely to increase than to cure.

A. D. 1618.

* GONZALES DE CESPIDES.

† Anecdotes du Ministère du Comte Duc d'Olivarez, Historia della

Repubblica Veneta di BATT NANI, VITTORIO SIRI, Memorie recondite.

2 GONZALES DE CESPIDES,

GEDDES'S Miscellaneous Tracts, LE VASSOR.

* Anecdotes du Ministère du Comte Duc d'Olivarez,

GEDDES'S Miscellaneous Tracts.

b GONZALES DE CESPIDES.

The rise, fortune, and fall of Don Rodrigo Calderon, favourite to the duke of Lerma.

IN a short time after the disgrace of the duke of *Lerma*, his favourite Don *Rodrigo Calderon*, a count of *Oliva*, was seized and imprisoned. The fortune as well as the fate of this man was very extraordinary. He was the son of a poor soldier and of a *Flemish* woman, neither of whom would ever have been heard of but for this son of theirs, who was a youth of pregnant parts; the duke, then marquis of *Denia*, took him under his protection, and afterwards into his favour. In the beginning of his fortunes, the young man was ashamed of his birth, and would have disowned his father; but he quickly effaced this fault, by receiving him into his house, and treating him there with the utmost respect and veneration. It has been remarked, as peculiar to the duke of *Lerma*, that he advanced his favourite as high as if he had been the favourite of a king: for he not only enabled him to raise an estate of an hundred thousand crowns a year, and procured him titles and honours, but he even allowed him to hope for a viceroyalty. These favours could not fail of exciting envy, which the haughtiness and impetuosity of his temper quickly swelled into malice, according to the prediction of his father, who frequently told him, that, his bark having so little ballast, if he continued to croud sail at that rate, it would be overset by the first storm. The death of the queen and of prince *Philip Emanuel of Savoy*, with many other enormous offences, were charged upon him, as the instrument of his master; but, after sifting for two years these accusations, they were found to have nothing in them. However, he was continued in prison, and, as we shall see hereafter, became the victim of that resentment which the abuse of his master's kindness had excited. It is supposed that this prosecution was drawn out into so great a length, partly to prevent his escape, and partly to keep up the odium that had been raised against the duke his master, and hinder his being restored to the king's favour.

His majesty makes a tour into Portugal, and a public entry into Lisbon.

ON the 22d of *April* the king Don *Philip* set out from *Madrid*, with the prince his son, and the infanta Donna *Maria*, for *Portugal*, and, from the hour he entered that kingdom, saw nothing but splendor, joy, and obsequiousness. On the feast of St. *Peter* he made his public entry into the city of *Lisbon*, where the river was covered with vessels of all sorts, decorated with the most glaring and costly magnificence. There were no less than thirty-two arches of triumph in the streets; and such an amazing display of gold and jewels, that the king was obliged to prolong this shew for two days, that he might have time to behold all. He paid the *Portuguese* by his courteous and affable behaviour, and by saying, that he never thought himself so great a king before. He caused an assembly of the states to be held, in which the nobility swore to his son as heir apparent, and himself likewise swore to maintain their privileges, and to govern according to law. He remained at *Lisbon* for some months; and when he left *Portugal*, to return into *Spain*, he seemed to do it with reluctance. Yet the nation in general was not satisfied with his behaviour, for he did not appear so much in public as they desired, neither did he give so explicit an answer to their demands as they expected. The first was in reality owing to the principal motive of his coming thither, which was, a declining state of health; and the other to the influence of his new ministers, who were much afraid that the *Portuguese* would insinuate themselves into his affections; and were not at all pleased, that, in representing their grievances, they more than once insinuated to the king, that they did not in the least impute them to his majesty, but to those who had his ear, and who abused that confidence which he placed in them; circumstances that contributed not a little to heighten that distemper which the king had upon him, and which in fact was a deep melancholy, occasioned by the memorial which had ruined the duke of *Lerma*, and which had opened the king's eyes with respect to the miseries of his subjects, and to his own incapacity of relieving them.

Embarrassed state of affairs, by which the Spanish ministry is much perplexed.

A. D. 1619.

THE affairs of *Europe*, which had been tolerably serene during this reign, began now to be overcast. The affairs of the empire were fallen into great confusion; the *Bohemians* had thrown off the yoke, and elected *Frederick* prince palatine for their king; even the *Austrians* wavered in their fidelity, and *Ferdinand* found himself besieged without and within *Vienna*. In short, the assistance of *Spain*, which had always been expedient, was now necessary, to the German branch of the family; and that which had been an uneasy burden became a heavy load; and, what rendered it the heavier, it was impossible to be laid down. In *Italy*, the duke of *Feria*, who was sent to replace the marquis of *Villa Franca* in the government of *Milan*, found a league upon the carpet for circumscribing the power of the *Spaniards*; and, to defeat this, he set on foot such intrigues in *Switzerland*, as rendered his nation more odious and more insupportable to the *Italians* than ever. The designs also of the duke of *Osuna* became so apparent, and the nature of his connections so generally known, that the only question at *Madrid* was, not whether he should be removed (for in that all the ministers agreed) but whether he would submit to be removed, or how another governor should be introduced,

^a DON JUAN VITRIAN, AMELOT DE LA HOUSSE.

^c WILSON'S History of King James I.

SALES DE CESPICES.

^d GONSALES DE CESPICES, FARIA Y SOUSA.

^f Historia della Repubblica de Venetia, di FANT NANI. GON-

a. in case he was not disposed to give him place ^e. The *Turks* also had a powerful fleet at sea, which heightened the perplexity of this scene not a little. The honour of the crown of *Spain* required her having a fleet at sea likewise; but prince *Philibert* of *Savoy*, who commanded it, following his instructions very punctually, fought it with great earnestness, and, with equal dexterity, avoided fighting when he had found it ^h.

As the *Spanish* ministers found the concerns of the monarchy in such a situation, that, *As with* without exerting themselves, they must necessarily fall into confusion, a spirit of vigour ap-^{spirit, and} peared, very unusual in their councils. Under colour of assisting the archduke *Albert*, great ^{find their} supplies were sent into *Germany*, and a numerous body of veteran troops under the marquis ^{efforts attend-} *Spinola*, who acted however in the name of that prince, and not of the king of *Spain*; which ^{ed with con-} timely succours enabled *Ferdinand* to get the better of his competitor, and to over-run his ^{ed} dominions ⁱ. In order to assist him still farther, the old treaty of marriage was revived with the king of *England*, and mighty advantages proposed to recommend the match of the infanta *Donna Maria* with *Charles* prince of *Wales*; an alliance which king *James* had no one reason to wish, by which *Spain* alone could have been a gainer, and in which they were notwithstanding, from first to last, but very insincere ^k. The duke of *Feria* was encouraged and applauded, which induced him to spirit up the popish inhabitants of the *Valteline* to revolt from the *Grisons*, and, which was much worse, to massacre the protestants. This being per-^{A. D. 1623.} formed, the *Spaniards*, as protectors of the catholic religion, erected several forts in that country, not so much to serve the interest of their new allies as their own. The situation of this narrow track rendered it of infinite importance, as it facilitated the correspondence be-
c. tween the two branches of the house of *Austria*, shut the *Swiss* out of *Italy*, kept the *Vene-*
tians in awe, and perfected the plan laid down by the count *de Fuentes* for holding the *Italian* princes and states in a dependence that differed very little from subjection ^l. Cardinal *Francis Borgia*, being appointed viceroy of *Naples*, was introduced with silence and secrecy into the castle, which is one of the three fortresses that commands the capital, and by the thunder of the cannon from thence the morning after, the duke of *Offuna* had the first notice that his successor was arrived. He was a man of courage and abilities, as well as boundless ambition; but this stroke so surprised him, that, though he made some overtures, he was afraid to venture upon open resistance; and therefore resigned, though with a bad grace, what it
d. was not in his power to keep ^m. The cardinal infant Don *Ferdinand*, the consent of the pope being at last obtained, took this year possession of the see of *Toledo* by proxy, the primacy of *Spain* being committed to a child of ten years old; which, whatever pleasure it might give the king as a father, could not be well reconciled to that character, of which alone he seemed ambitious, of being esteemed the most pious prince of his time ⁿ.

WHATEVER satisfaction might result to the ministers from the success of the last year, they were far from reviving, as it was hoped they might, the spirits of the king. He grew worse ^{Died of} in the winter, and, at the coming on of the spring, he became so weak, that he clearly per-^{Philip III.} ceived he could not last long. He now expressed a great concern for that indolence and inap-^{and circum-} plication which had been the disgrace of his reign, which his father had predicted, and to ^{stances attend-} which in truth he had contributed by an austere education, and which this very prince had copied in regard to his own son. He disapproved the seizing the *Valteline*, and gave orders upon his death-bed that it should be restored. In imitation of his father, he left in writing some notes and observations for the use of his son; but he left him, what made a stronger impression, his example of never being his own master, into which he was already fallen, and in which he persisted to his life's end. The king was given over by his physicians near thirty days before he died, which occasioned a variety of intrigues. Some of his ministers, either repenting of what was past, or through fear of what was to come, desired him to recall the duke of *Lerma*; to which he readily consented. Upon this, the count *de Olivares*, who was the prince's favourite, put his master upon a very extraordinary and a very hazardous
f. action; for he engaged him to send an order to the duke of *Lerma*, requiring him to return to his own house as soon as it came to his hands, and where-ever it might find him. This, though he might have declined it, the duke obeyed, saying, with his usual prudence, that *he was glad to be honoured with the first order of his master, that he might give his subjects an early lesson of submission to all his commands* ^o. *Philip III.* expired in his palace at *Madrid* on the last day of *March*, in the forty-third year of his age, and in the twenty-third of his reign. He expressed much less firmness in his last moments than his father had done; which was so much the more strange, as his life was incomparably more innocent, since an indolent

^e GREG. LETI Histoire du Duc d'Osone.

ⁱ WILSON's History of King James I.

^m GREG. LETI Histoire du Duc d'Osone.

ⁿ GREG. LETI Histoire du Duc d'Osone.

^k FRANC. CASTAGNINI della Vita del Principe Filiberto

^l Historical View of the Negotiations be-

^o Hist. della Repubblica de Venna, di FATT. NANI.

^h GONZALES DE CESPIDES.

^g Anecdotes du Mi-

love of quiet was his great and almost only fault. He had by his queen, the archduchess *Margaret* of *Austria*, seven children, four sons and three daughters. Of these, *Philip*, who succeeded him, the infant *Don Carlos*, the cardinal infant *Ferdinand*, the queen of *France*, the infanta *Donna Maria*, who was afterwards queen of *Hungary*, survived him; but, notwithstanding this numerous posterity, he is said to have had no better prospect with regard to his family than in reference to his dominions, the thoughts of which embittered his last moments, and occasioned some complaints, which it is needless to repeat ^p.

His son Philip IV. succeeds, and is intirely governed by count Olivares.

PHILIP the fourth, like his father, remained the subject of his favourite, after he became the sovereign of his people. This favourite, as we observed before, was *Don Gaspar de Guzman*, count *de Olivares*, a man of great parts and boundless ambition. He followed, tho' as we have seen it was not necessary, the orders sent by the prince, with another signed, the moment he became king, to the duke of *Lerma*, whom it overtook upon the road, and served only to convince him, that, in his first resolution, he had acted with prudence. The king discovered at first some sparks of spirit and genius, that were not long supported, and which, if they were afterwards remembered, served only to persuade his subjects, that indolence, and not incapacity, was his principal failing. The count, by a dexterous management, raised a great outcry against the late ministry, and, under colour of inquiring into it more strictly, the duke *de Uzeda* was removed, and his friend the confessor remanded to tell his beads in his own monastery. In this there was not much amiss, the world in general approving these sacrifices; but it was not so with another victim. *Don Rodrigo Calderone*, after being acquitted of all the great charges brought against him, was condemned for having knowledge of the death of two *Spanish* gentlemen, not over-clearly proved. He suffered on the scaffold; but he suffered with so much constancy, and yet with so much humility and resignation, that he attracted universal compassion. Great changes followed in the cabinet and the court. About the person of the prince the count scarce suffered any that were not his own relations; and, except his nephew *Don Lewis de Haro*, none of them were distinguished by their shining abilities. The minister had a great genius, and he did not care to be controuled ^q.

A new scheme of politics introduced, which has long and lasting bad effects.

In regard to foreign affairs, things were conducted in a manner not very conducive to the honour of the new king. The late monarch, by a clause added to his will, had commanded the prince his son to restore the *Valleline*. In compliance with this, a treaty was concluded at *Madrid* with *Monsieur de la Bassampiere*, in which all the proper stipulations were made for the restitution of that country, and orders for that purpose were to be sent to the duke of *Feria*, who knew how to execute, or rather not to execute, them, so as to keep the country; pretending a good will to restore it, if the catholic inhabitants might be preserved in the free enjoyment of their religion. But by this time the new system of the count *de Olivares* began to display itself; for having brought into public odium, and even under a kind of prosecution, the late ministry, for their pusillanimity in the management of affairs, it was become requisite at least, if not necessary, that new methods should be entered upon. These consisted in the concluding a strict league with the emperor, that, by his assistance, while *France* was torn with religious wars, and *England* amused with the false hopes of a marriage, the war in the *Low Countries* might be revived, upon the conclusion of the truce, and both there and in *Italy* the authority of the crown of *Spain* rendered not only respected, but in a manner absolute ^r. A great design, and not ill laid out, if all things had happened according to the apprehension of its author; but Providence disposing otherwise of events, his schemes were not attended with that success he expected. On the contrary, they produced a spirit of jealousy, which, in process of time, brought the *Spanish* monarchy to the brink of ruin.

Resolution taken to renew the war with the states, and to bridle Italy.

THE count *de Olivares*, who, under the veil of extraordinary modesty, concealed a self-sufficiency, that equalled, in his own opinion, the talents of *Ximenes*, would not seem to do any thing out of his own province; and therefore put his uncle *Don Baltazar de Zuniga*, who had been the king's governor, at the head of foreign affairs. He was in reality the very opposite of his nephew; for he had that genius to which the other pretended, but with all the modesty which the duke only affected. With all this merit, however, he suffered himself to be carried away with the count's notions, and concurred with him, against the sense of all the rest of the council, to renew the war with the *Dutch*, notwithstanding they had shewn a great disposition to prolong the truce, or even to convert it into a solid peace ^s. This strange measure, in direct opposition to the representations made by the archduke *Albert*, and most of the council, was far from being acceptable to the people. But they were better pleased, at least at the beginning, with the count's causing a new court to be set up, for squeezing those who had been in the management of the finances during the former reign, by which a great

^p *Historia della Republica Veneta*, di PATT NANI, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE VASSOR, DON JUAN VITRIAN, AMELOT DE LA HOUSSE. ^q *Historia de Don Phelipe IV. Rey de las Españas*, por DON GONSALEZ DE CESPIDES Y MENESES. ^r *Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES*. GADLES'S Miscellaneous Tracts. ^s *BATTNANI*. ^t *Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES*.

a sum was brought into the treasury, and by the count's declaring, that, for the future, the public revenue should be applied only to public uses, and no gratifications or pensions granted upon any terms¹. In *Italy*, the people of the *Valteline* were still protected in their revolt, and the marquis *Spinola*, with the *Spanish* troops under his command, assisted the emperor against the protestants, while the negotiation of the infanta's marriage remained still on the carpet. By this doubleness in its behaviour, the *Spanish* court, by degrees, wore out the patience, and at length excited a resentment in all the great powers of *Europe*². A. D. 1622.

In order to repay the obligations they were under, or at least to acknowledge them, the *German* branch of the house of *Austria* did every thing that could be desired by the crown of *Spain*; the emperor, in particular, granted to king *Philip* the investiture of *Milan*, *Final*, *Piombino*, and other lesser fiefs in *Italy*, which heightened the jealousies of the princes and republics to such a degree, in conjunction with the conduct of the duke of *Feria*, then governor of *Milan*, that, under the protection of the crown of *France*, they formed a confederacy for the recovery and preservation of their freedom³. The war went on in *Germany* and the *Low Countries*, and consequently the treaty of amusement with *England*, notwithstanding the infanta had declared clearly to the count *de Olivares*, that, if it was concluded, she would retire into a monastery, and the king himself had sworn that he would never give the princess his sister to a heretic⁴. However, appearances were carried so far, that the *English* ambassador extraordinary, the earl of *Bristol*, and the *Spanish* ambassador, count *Gondemar*, seem to have been both deceived; so that, upon their assurances, *Charles* prince of *Wales*, attended by the marquis of *Buckingham*, arrived at *Madrid* on *Friday* the seventh of *March*, very unexpectedly; and their presence, in such a situation of things, must have been very unwelcome. To cover this as far as it was possible, all imaginable honours were paid him. The king, in all public places, gave him the right hand; all criminals not condemned, and all prisoners for debt, were set at liberty, the king paying their creditors in honour of this visit. The intentions of the court were so well dissembled, though his royal highness saw his mistress but seldom, some say but once, that, after seven months stay in that court, he departed, under such a persuasion of their being in earnest, that, having left full powers with the lord ambassador *Bristol*, he deposited a private act of revocation, to be delivered to him when the bull from *Rome* should come, which, if he had been apprised of the true sentiments of the court, was altogether needless. However, the two favourites quarrelled to such a degree, that *Buckingham* told *Olivares*, he would serve the king of *Spain* in *England* at the risk of all that was dear to him, but for himself, he should always find him his greatest enemy; to which the count answered, without the least emotion, that he hoped he would keep his promise; and that, how far soever he went in the execution of his threats, he would forgive him with all his heart⁵. The pope too, that he might shew an equal strain of sincerity, after giving all imaginable proofs of his approbation of the match, directed a brief to the count *de Olivares*, in which he thanked him for his steady attachment to the catholic cause, so clearly manifested by his defeating a measure so inconsistent with it as this marriage would have been. The whole transaction, when it came to be thoroughly understood, added *England* to the number of those great powers which studied to find out means for effectually humbling the pride, and lessening the authority and influence, of the house of *Austria*. Such were the first effects of this minister's refined politics!

The court of *Madrid* had reason to be well satisfied with the promotion of cardinal *Barberini* to the papal throne, under the title of *Urban VIII.*; but though he espoused their interests heartily, and was allowed to have managed them with great dexterity, they proved nevertheless ineffectual. The *French* ministry, for various reasons, but more especially on the score of giving some assistance to the *Hugonots*, had conceived a very high dislike for the conduct of *Spain*, which they discovered by pressing the pope, who held the *Valteline* in a kind of sequestration, to render the forts, according to the treaty of *Madrid*; and this being long protracted, the marquis *de Coeuvres*, with the forces of the league, made a great progress in the dispatch of it, by a shorter method than that of negotiation⁶. The pope likewise interfered, to prevent the king of *England*, *Charles* the first, from marrying the *French* princess *Henrietta Maria*; and in this he likewise failed, tho' his nuncio at *Paris* went so far as to declare his master would not grant a dispensation. But *Richlieu*, who was rising to the head of the ministry, told him, that this would break no squares with the *English*; they would conclude it without⁷. It was easily discerned from this, that those crowns were embarked in the same designs. In the *Low Countries*, the war was carried on, but at a vast expence, though, at the time the truce was broken, the great argument for that measure was, that peace or war in those parts would not create a difference of 50,000 crowns a month. We may form

¹ BATT NANI.² Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES. BATT NANI.³ LE VASSOR.

BATT NANI.

⁴ BATT NANI, Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES.⁵ WILSON'S History of

James I. Sir RICHARD WYNN'S Account of the Journey of Prince Charles's Servants into Spain in the Year 1623.

⁶ LE VASSOR, BATT NANI,⁷ P. DANIEL.

some idea of the character of *Philip* and his minister from what happened upon the marquis *Spinola's* remonstrating against the orders that were sent him concerning a siege, which, for many reasons that he assigned, he judged in a great measure impracticable. The king's answer was in these words, *Marques, sumais Breda, Yo El Rey*; that is, *Marquis, take Breda, I* A. D. 1624. THE KING^b. The *Dutch* this year made themselves masters of the capital of *Brazil*; but *Don Lewis de Andrada* had, on the other side, some some success against them at sea, as well as against the *Moors*. The archduke *Charles*, brother to the emperor, whom the king invited into *Spain*, with an intention, as was believed, to bestow upon him the government of *Portugal*, was taken sick soon after his arrival at *Madrid*, and died in three weeks; and this year also deceased the famous duke of *Offuna*, formerly viceroy of *Naples*^c.

The Spanish dominions suddenly attacked on all sides by the English, French and Dutch.

THE deep policy of count *Olivares* had hitherto done no remarkable service to the crown^b of *Spain*, but, on the contrary, provoked all her neighbours; so that, without the ceremony of a general alliance, they concerted to attack her this year on all sides: the republic of *Venice*, and the duke of *Savoy*, in conjunction with the crown of *France*, were to prosecute the recovery of the *Valteline*; and the two latter agreed farther to conquer the city and state of *Genoa*; the states were to make great efforts by land and sea; count *Mansfield* was to be furnished with an army sufficient to keep the emperor employed, and the *English* were to invade *Spain* by sea. These schemes were not only constructed, but executed; however, the *Conde de Olivares* lost no credit by that; and though this was a year in which the strength of the monarchy was put to very severe trials, it acquired fame that more than balanced some little loss. The *Venetians* would not concur in the expedition against *Genoa*; the *French* and *Savoyards* attempted it^c with great force, and with some degree of success at first; but the *Spaniards* supported their allies with men, money, and a fleet; and the duke of *Feria*, invading *Piedmont*, quickly constrained the enemy to abandon all the conquests they had made. The *English* fleet and army came to *Cadiz*, which they might have taken with great ease, if they had gone about it with vigour; but their general, the lord viscount *Wimbleton*, spent so much time in fortifying at the *Puntal*, that *Don Ferdinand Girome* transported in his sight a reinforcement to *Cadiz*, which saved the place. Notwithstanding this, they might certainly have taken the whole plate-fleet, if they had continued where they were; but several advice boats being dispatched from the coast of *Spain*, with orders to sail to *Corunna*, one of them fell into the hands of the *English*, who thereupon directed their course thither, and the very next day that fleet, having missed all those^d boats, arrived safely in the port of *Cadiz*^e. This appeared an event of such consequence to the king, who would have gone in person to the relief of that place, if *Olivares* had not prevented him, that he ordered anniversary rejoicings, on the 20th of *November*, to perpetuate the memory of this mark of the divine favour^f. The quarrel of *Buckingham* with *Olivares*, as it brought this mischief on *Spain*, so the jealousy between that favourite and cardinal *Richlieu* disappointed the measures that had been concerted for the recovery of the *Palatinate*; and, to crown all, the marquis *Spinola* took *Breda*, and *Don Frederic de Toledo* had great success against the *Dutch* in *Brazil*. This year died the cardinal duke of *Lerma* at *Valladolid*.

Olivares gains an advantage over Richlieu in making the peace.

THE necessity of opposing so many enemies at once by sea and land, and in so many different parts of the world, had constrained his catholic majesty to raise, which had not been done^e in his reign, some extraordinary taxes upon the people; and this excited some discontent. The count *de Olivares* proposed that the king should make a tour into *Catalonia*; which journey had other political reasons. In the last campaign he had been in a manner compelled to abandon the *Valteline*; and finding the war on that side very troublesome, he resolved, if possible, to put an end to it by peace. He acted in this matter with great address, and caused the *Spanish* minister at *Paris* to insinuate to cardinal *Richlieu*, that, in a general treaty, the princes and states in *Italy* would be able to prescribe laws to the two crowns, which it was equally unfit and dishonourable that they should receive; but that, if they treated secretly, they might adjust all things to their own interests. His propositions were listened to, and an ambassador sent into *Spain*, under pretence of complimenting the queen lately delivered of an Infanta, by whom^f a treaty for the restitution of the *Valteline* was concluded at *Moncon*, and ratified at *Barcelona*, intirely in favour of the *Spaniards*, and in which the *French* not only treated without the privity, but even sacrificed the interests, of their allies, which disoblged the *Venetians* extremely, and irritated the duke of *Savoy* to the last degree. Upon this the duke of *Feria* was recalled from the government of the *Milanese*, which was committed to *Don Gonfales de Cordova*, and all the proper measures were taken to repair the naval force of *Spain*, and to afford what succours were necessary to the emperor. Besides, to strengthen the interests of the *German* line, the infanta *Donna Maria*, on whose account the war with *England* had happened, was married to

1626.

^b Hist. Gen. d'Espagne.

Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES.

du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA.

^c BATT NANI, EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, La Vie du Duc d'Offune,

^d Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts.

^e Anecdotes

a *Ferdinand*, afterwards advanced to the imperial throne; which, if possible, drew the knot of their alliance still faster ^f.

Few minds escape uncorrupted by prosperity; *Olivares* having disappointed in war the views of those who were stiled the allies of *Avignon*, and having succeeded since in a negotiation with *France*, while the emperor had in a manner rendered himself absolute in *Germany*, and pursued schemes that seemed to manifest a resolution to become quite so, he thought the opportunity was to be improved, and no means rejected, that might exalt the grandeur of the crown of *Spain*. A little incident had in this respect too much weight with him. He had induced his master, soon after his accession to the throne, to assume the title of *Great*, and he afterwards considered himself as under an obligation to make him so. The spirit of independency had been checked in *Italy* by the treaty of *Moncon*; but the *Valteline* was by that treaty restored to the *Grisons*; so that the end of the war, which was shutting up in *Italy*, was defeated, which he could not bear. The fortress of *Cazal* in the *Montferrat*, erected and fortified by princes who could not maintain it, immediately presented itself to his view. It is true it belonged to the duke of *Mantua*, who was under the protection of *Spain*; but as it was foreseen that a dispute must arise about this succession, as the branch of the house of *Gonzagua* was settled in *France*, where they had the title of *Nevers*, was nearest in blood, and the house of *Gustalla*, being of the same family, pretended preference, as being *Italians*, he thought it very practicable, whenever the duke died, to seize all, till the emperor should settle the rights of the contending princes, and then to keep *Cazal* as a reward for restoring the rest. Into this project, by making it his interest, they drew the old duke of *Savoy*, and troubled not themselves about *France*, supposing that the intestine broils in that kingdom, to which they lent some assistance, would keep it in a state of distraction till their projects were brought to bear. In all this they were soothed by assurances from *Cordova*, governor of *Milan*, that all might be easily brought about, if he was well supplied with money. But *Vincent* duke of *Mantua*, commiserating the state of his country, upon his death-bed sent for the young duke of *Rhetel*, eldest son to the duke of *Nevers*, in order to marry him to his niece, that he might have a title equally clear to *Montferrat* and *Mantua*; which marriage, commanded by his last words, was solemnized in his palace, while he was yet warm. The duke of *Nevers* endeavoured to open a peaceable entry to his just rights, by testifying the most obsequious submission to the crown of *Spain*; notwithstanding which, by the ascendancy that *Olivares* had over his master and his councils, the war of *Mantua* was resolved upon; from which resolution we are to date the declension, if not the ruin, of *Spain* ^g.

The war of Mantua resolved upon by Olivares contrary to the sentiments of other ministers.

A. D. 1627.

As the *Spaniards* in general are politicians, the resolution of kindling a new war in *Italy* excited great discontent; but the count, who had procured to himself the title of duke *de St. Lucar*, which, by resignation, he meant to bestow upon a bastard son of his, was so persuaded that success must attend his measures, that he gave no great attention to these murmurs, which were not at all lessened by the crying down copper money, on the hopes of a large supply of silver from the *West Indies*. In *Italy*, the war being begun, *Cordova* and the duke of *Savoy* endeavoured to divide the *Montferrat* between them; but the former, failing in surprising, was forced to besiege *Cazal*, which was obstinately defended. On the other hand, the duke of *Savoy* demanding assistance to shut the *French* out of *Italy*, the *Spaniards* were forced to weaken an army that was before scarce equal to the siege. The correspondence also held with the duke of *Rohan* and the protestants in *France*, not having been able to save *Rochelle*; and cardinal *Richlieu*, after the surrender of that place, having prevailed upon the king his master to go in person with a numerous army to the assistance of the duke of *Mantua*; raised the spirits of the *Italians* to such a degree, that *Cordova* was neither able to take *Cazal*, nor to keep the duke of *Savoy* in that degree of subjection which was expected by the court of *Madrid*. Add to all this, that the *Dutch* admiral, *Peter Adrianson*, beat a *Spanish* fleet in *America*, of which they burnt part, and brought a great booty home. On the 8th of *September*, *Peter Heyn* took the galleons in the neighbourhood of the *Havannah*, and acquired thereby for his masters, the *West India* company, eight millions of florins in silver at least, which, as it proved of very great advantage to the affairs of the republic, so, in many other respects, besides the immediate loss of such a treasure, it was highly detrimental to the concerns of *Spain* ^h.

Fortune declares against Spain almost every-where at once.

1628.

THE arrival of the *French* king with his forces on the frontiers of *Piedmont*, and forcing the pass of *Suza*, obliged the duke of *Savoy* to a treaty, and constrained the governor of *Milan* to raise the siege of *Cazal*; but the disorders of *France* obliging the king to return, revived the *Spanish* hopes, and gave them time to bring a body of *Germans* into *Italy*. They likewise sent the famous marquis *Spinola* to restore their affairs on that line, and furnished him so plen-

The birth of prince Don Balthazar happened very luckily for the minister.

^f FREDERIC LEONARD, tom. iv. Corps Diplomatique, tom. v. p. ii. p. 487. ^g Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES, Histoire du Ministère du Duc d'OLIVARES, avec des Reflexions Politiques. BATT NANI.

^h Hist. Gen. d'Espagne. Anecdotes du Duc Comte d'OLIVARES. Hist. d'Hollande, par M. DE LA NEUVILLE.

tifully with money, that the inhabitants of the *Low Countries*, still in obedience to his catholic majesty, looked upon themselves as abandoned, and actually sent an agent to *Madrid*, to make strong remonstrances for assistance, since otherwise it was impossible for them to defend themselves¹. These disappointments gave the conde duke some disturbance, heightened the popular distaste against him, and might have had worse effects, if the queen had not been delivered, on the 27th of *October*, of the prince Don *Balthazar*, to the infinite joy both of the court and nation, and to the great benefit of the house of *Austria*. The conde duke, for so he was pleased to be called, as affecting a kind of singular behaviour in every thing, might have taken opportunity, from this incident, to have made some propositions of peace; but, instead of doing that, he entered into a new treaty with the duke of *Roban*, promising him mighty things, if he would revive the troubles in that kingdom; but this had not the desired effect; and the *German* soldiers perishing in great numbers in *Italy*, together with the dispositions made by the *Swedes* to succour the protestants in *Germany*, who were driven to the last extremity, kindled the flame of a general war, which, by a kind of unanimity little known to politicians, all *Europe* ascribed to the ambition and obstinacy of *Olivares*².

Cardinal Richlieu penetrates through Savoy, and changes the face of affairs in Italy.

1630.

ALL hopes of succeeding in the project for bridling *Italy* were now devolved upon the marquis *Spinola*, who had orders to besiege and to reduce *Cazal* almost in the same terms with those he was commanded to take *Breda*, and this notwithstanding it was one of the best fortifications in *Italy*, with a numerous garrison, composed mostly of *French* troops, commanded by marshal *Thoiras*, and well supplied with provisions. It was supposed that the *French*, by their intestine distractions, would be with-held from any new irruption, and that the correspondencies held in *Mantua*, and even in the family of the new duke, would suddenly produce great effects. There is no doubt but *Spinola* did all in his power to execute his commission, but was foiled notwithstanding by a most obstinate resistance. The duke *de Richlieu*, vested with the title of generalissimo, and followed by a gallant army, penetrated into *Piedmont*, and was very near seizing the duke of *Savoy* and his son, which, with other disgraces and disappointments, affected the mind of the duke to such a degree, that he died of discontent³. *Mantua* was indeed surprised, the duke and his family expelled, and the city and palace plundered, which only served to increase that hatred against the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, that was but too strong already; for the marquis *Spinola* dying of resentment of the reproofs he received from *Spain*, and *Ferdinand* taking upon him to make a peace at *Ratisbon* with the *French*, *Cazal* was saved out of their hands, and the outlines of a peace drawn, which did no honour to the councils at *Madrid*⁴. The infanta Donna *Maria*, queen of *Hungary*, was this year sent into *Germany*; but the promises made by *Philip IV.* to his subjects in the *Low Countries*, that he would come to redress all their grievances in person, proved a mere delusion, and excited that distrust, which afterwards was heightened into an absolute contempt of the declarations that came from *Spain*⁵.

The treaty of Querasque, and great respect paid to the cardinal both at home and abroad.

1631.

In order to prevent the restoration of peace, or at least a tranquillity, in *Italy*, *Olivares* sent *Feria* again into *Milan*, depending on the temper and abilities of the man, who was naturally an enemy to quiet. He laboured to seduce the duke of *Mantua* from his allies by magnificent promises, to bring *Victor* duke of *Savoy* into a closer dependence upon *Spain* than ever his father had been, to create jealousy in the *Venetians*, and new commotions in the *Valtelline*; but without effect. The treaty of *Querasque* settled the peace of *Italy* for the present, and not only procured the best part of his dominions, with the emperor's investiture for the duke of *Mantua*, but, contrary to the expectations, as well as to the interest of the *Spaniards*, the strong fortress of *Pignerol*, by purchase from the duke of *Savoy*, in the hands of the *French*, and an army of *Grisons* and *Switzers* under the command of the duke of *Roban*, now reconciled to *France*, for the defence of the *Valtelline*; so that all the schemes of *Olivares*, and all the intrigues of *Feria*, were totally defeated⁶. In *Germany*, the power of the emperor, on which *Spain* had so much depended, was in a great measure broken, and new complaints and demands brought from all quarters to *Madrid*. To satisfy, as far as possible, the desires of the people, the infant Don *Carlos* was sent viceroy to *Portugal*, the cardinal infant appointed to the government of the *Low Countries*, and the marquis *de Sante Croce* sent thither to command the forces⁷. At sea Don *Antonio de Oequendo*, with a strong fleet, equipped with great difficulty, and on board which multitudes had perished by a contagious sickness before it sailed, proceeded to the coast of *Brazil*, where attacking a *Dutch* squadron, commanded by admiral *Pater*, of sixteen sail, of which ten fled without fighting, because they had the good luck to sink one ship, and blow up another, which carried the flag with the admiral on board, medals were struck

¹ BATT NANI. Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES. CESPIDES.
Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES.

² LE VASSOR, BATT NANI. Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par M. LE CLERC.

³ BATT NANI, LE VASSOR. Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES.

⁴ LE CLERC.

⁵ Histoire Gen. d'Espagne, BATT NANI.

⁶ LE CLERC, Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES.

⁷ LE CLERC, Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES.

- a in honour of the victory, with the king's head on one side, and *Sampson* rending the lion on the reverse^a. But this success was quickly qualified by the loss of no less than sixty vessels in the *Low Countries*, and fourteen others burnt and destroyed, with the loss of many thousand men, and a prodigious quantity of military and naval stores^r. This year, though they were very little able to bear the expence, the *Spaniards* received the queen mother of *France*, and her son the duke of *Orleans*, into their protection, fully persuaded that this would contribute to the ruin of cardinal *Richlieu*, whom his master thereupon created duke and peer of *France*; and the senate of *Venice*, by an unanimous vote, received him into the number of their nobility, to the no small mortification of *Olivares*, who considered him very justly as his implacable enemy^s.
- b KING *Philip* concluded this year a treaty with the emperor, to enable him to defend himself the better against the *Swedes*; and, for the security of the *Italian* provinces, entered into negotiations with the duke of *Savoy*, and the *Genoese*. Don *Gonsales de Cordova* was sent to command the auxiliaries in the *Palatinate*, and the infant Don *Carlos* declared generalissimo by sea, for the relief of *Tangier*, which was besieged by the *Moors*. Don *Antonio de Oquendo* had some degree of success against the *Dutch* in *Brazil*; but, on the side of the *Low Countries*, both the states and the *French* were very successful^t. In the mean time the infant Don *Carlos*, brother to the king, died at *Madrid*; the prince *Balthazar* was acknowledged heir apparent of the *Spanish* monarchy, and the cardinal infant began to prepare for his journey into the *Low Countries*, where he was to succeed the infanta *Isabella Clara Eugenia* in the government of those provinces^u. A new tax, though laid upon persons in easy circumstances, added to the general distaste which prevailed against *Olivares*, already so unfortunate as to have every thing that happened amiss attributed to him, and particularly the death of the infant, a prince of a restless and active spirit, whom it was given out the conde duke had removed by poison, in order to secure himself from such aspersions^v.
- c THE supreme council was revived in the kingdom of *Portugal*, the security of which was thought to be promoted by the duke of *Braganza's* marriage with the daughter of the duke of *Medina Sidonia* at *Madrid*^w. The infanta *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, daughter to *Philip II.* died, on the first of *December*, at *Brussels*. The cardinal infant, being come to *Milan*, found his progress stopped in the route he intended to have taken; to open which the duke of *Feria* marched with an army of 12,000 men, who performed indeed what he was sent for, and relieved the city of *Constance*; but it was so late in the year, that the cardinal found himself obliged to continue where he was; and it may be he did this the more willingly, as it gave him an opportunity of promoting the intrigues in *Italy*, which began to be under some apprehensions from the *Swedes*. At sea and in *Brazil* the *Dutch* had various advantages; and, in the *Low Countries*, affairs were daily falling from bad to worse; for the forces and the treasures of *Spain* were employed in such a degree for the service of the emperor, or rather in support of the common interests of the house of *Austria* in *Germany*, that they were not in a condition to look after their own concerns^x. Into this they were at first led by a fond hope, that when the emperor should, by their assistance, have triumphed over the protestants, and all other opponents in *Germany*, he would concur with them in the reduction of the *Low Countries* to the state they were in at the death of the emperor *Charles* the fifth.
- d AFTER endeavours had been used in vain to bring the duke of *Savoy* back to his former connections, persuasions, with better success, were tried with his two brothers; insomuch, that prince *Thomas*, having sent his wife and children into *Spain*, retired himself to *Brussels*, while cardinal *Maurice* at *Rome* declared openly for the emperor and the king of *Spain*^y. On the other hand, the republic of *Genoa*, resenting highly the decision, which, in his brother's name, the cardinal infant Don *Ferdinand* had made in respect to the disputes between them and the duke of *Savoy*, put themselves under the protection of *France*, and acted with a vigour and dignity becoming a free state. In the mean time, his catholic majesty's minister at the imperial court, count *de Ognate*, by the instructions of *Olivares*, first accused, before the privy-council, the famous general *Wallenstein*, and afterwards proposed his assassination; which being effected, gained great applause to a measure that would otherwise have been universally condemned^z. The duke of *Feria* being dead at *Munich*, the marquis *de Leganez* took the command of the army till the arrival of the cardinal infant, who, in conjunction with the king of *Hungary*, his brother-in-law, engaged and defeated the *Swedes*, and their confederates. The marquis *de Aytona*, who governed the *Low Countries*, till the cardinal's arrival, with great spirit, had, under colour of a conspiracy, arrested some of the principal

^a Hist. Metallique des Pays Bas, par GERARD VAN LOON, tom. ii. p. 192.

^r Hist. de Hollande, par

Monfieur DE LA NEUVILLE.

^s BATT NANI, CESPIDES.

LE CLERC, P. DANIEL, CESPIDES.

^t Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES. Histoire de Hollande, par Monfieur DE LA NEUVILLE.

^u Hist.

Generale d'Espagne.

^v Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES.

^w LE VASSOR. Histoire de

Hollande, par Monfieur DE LA NEUVILLE. BATT NANI.

^x Histoire General d'Espagne. LE CLERC.

^y BATT NANI. Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES. LE VASSOR.

nobility, and forced others to fly; while the king Don *Philip* and the conde duke, having first very roughly interrogated the duke of *Aremberg*, who had been sent as deputy from the nobles to the court, as to the same conspiracy, because he would not accuse himself and his friends, caused him to be arrested in their presence, and sent to a close prison ^b. In this situation the cardinal infant took possession of the government, where, notwithstanding these bold steps, the town of *Dunkirk* refused to admit a garrison that he sent thither. *Gaston* duke of *Orleans*, after making several treaties with the crown of *Spain*, for the invasion of his native country, and the disturbance of his brother's government, which were indifferently performed on both sides, finding himself become inconsiderable in the eyes of strangers, and being sold, as he commonly was, by one of his favourites, returned privately into *France*, and thereby saved the *Spaniards* a great expence, which had never answered their purpose ^c. The conde duke, however, forming new designs, assembled a great naval force, of which having given the command to the marquis of *Santa Croce*, the *Genoese*, as he accepted it without their leave, ordered his name to be struck out of the list of their nobility ^d.

The crown of France declares war against the cardinal infant Don Ferdinand.

ALL these enterpizes of the crowns of *France* and *Spain* against each other, as they were in reality the fruits of that animosity which reigned between *Richlieu* and *Olivarez*, were carried on without a war declared. But the cardinal infant, governor of the *Low Countries*, having surprised *Treves*, and made the elector prisoner, sent him to *Vienna*, to answer to the emperor for having admitted a *French* garrison; upon which *Lewis XIII.* having demanded him from the cardinal infant, rejecting his excuses, declared war in form. This declaration was followed by an army, which having defeated that of the *Spaniards*, commanded by prince *Thomas of Savoy*, threatened great things, but, through the interposition of a variety of accidents, performed little ^e. On the side of *Italy* things were in great confusion; the duke of *Roban*, having received considerable reinforcements, secured the *Valtelline* for the *French*, who, entering through *Piedmont* with an army commanded by the duke of *Crequi*, invaded the *Milanese*. There they were joined by the duke of *Parma*, and brought with them the duke of *Savoy*, whose inclinations, however, were thought to be on the other side; and therefore, though this irruption promised fair, yet the event was not equal to those promises. This was chiefly owing to the conduct of the *Venetians*, who maintained that neutrality which their interest dictated, with a firmness and dignity worthy of that prudence for which they have been always famous ^f. The *Spanish* fleet, upon which *Olivares* much relied, as being composed of many large ships, with seven thousand *Spanish* troops on board, sailed at length for the coast of *Provence*, under the command of the duke of *Ferandina* and the marquis of *Santa Croce*; but in their passage met with a storm, by which they were dissipated, and seven galleys lost, with all that were on board them. Being, after much loss of time, once again brought into order, they attacked the islands of *Hieres*, and reduced them, for which the marquis of *Santa Croce* was rewarded with the viceroyalty of *Catalonia* ^g.

1635.

Spain would be thought to desire peace, and yet arrogantly refuses passports for a treaty.

In *Italy* the *Italian* princes had this year good reason to repent their having entered so far into the jealousies of the two crowns, as to make their own country the seat of war; for the duchies of *Parma* and *Modena* were grievously spoiled, as well as the *Milanese* ruined, by the irruption of the *Spaniards* into the *Milanese*, though, after a battle, the marquis of *Leganez* drove them out, and then with his cavalry ravaged *Piedmont*, so that destruction was spread on every side, without any great advantage to either party ^h. In the *Low Countries* prince *Thomas of Savoy*, with the assistance of the emperor's generals, pushed the war with effect; and, having taken some places in *Picardy*, struck such terror into the inhabitants of *Paris*, that the cardinal once advised the king his master to retire to *Orleans*; but prince *Thomas* being in no condition to maintain his conquests, they were, when the *French* had recovered their spirits, very speedily retaken ⁱ. The *Spanish* fleets, attempting to put into the harbours of *Genoa*, were refused licence, upon certain suspicions, which heightened the hatred they had conceived against that republic. The conde duke, to display his power, and to shew his influence over his master, caused his relation, the duke de *Medina de la Torres*, to be declared viceroy of *Naples* for eight months; that, while he held this dignity, he might espouse the princess of *Stigliano*; after which, the count de *Monterey* resuming that government, the duke had the viceroyalty of *Sicily* bestowed upon him ^k. In the winter both sides seemed inclined to peace, and the city of *Cologne* was appointed for the conferences; but when passports were required for the plenipotentiaries of the protestants of the empire, and of the states general of the *United Provinces*, they were refused by the emperor and the king of *Spain*, the former affirming, that he looked upon those princes as his vassals, and the latter avowing, that he considered the *Dutch* in no better light than that of rebels ^l.

1636.

^b CESPIDES, BATT NANI. Histoire de Hollande, par Monsieur DE LA NEUVILLE.

LE CLERC.

^d BATT NANI. Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES.

NANI.

^e Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES, CESPIDES.

VASSOR, LE CLERC.

^k Anecdotes, &c.

^l CESP. & al. sup. citat.

^c LE VASSOR.

^f LE VASSOR.

^h BATT NANI.

ⁱ BATT

^j LE

- a EXPERIENCE having taught the duke of *Parma* with how little advantage princes of his rank embark in the quarrels of great monarchs, finding himself blocked up in one of his capitals, and his dominions surrounded by the *Spaniards*, he made his peace by the surrender of *Sabionetta*, and put an hundred thousand crowns into his pocket, under pretence of repairing his fortifications. By a proper use of soft persuasions, accompanied with a dexterous distribution of money, the *Grisons* were prevailed upon to expel the duke of *Rohan*, and resume their sovereignty of the *Valtelline*, under the protection of a perpetual league with *Spain*. But, to balance these successes, the *French* recovered the islands of *Hieres*, and made some progress in the *Low Countries*, under favour of which the prince of *Orange* recovered *Breda* in nine weeks, in reducing which the marquis *Spinola* had spent nine months ^m. The conde duke, hoping to set all right, invaded *Languedoc* with a numerous army, commanded by the duke of *Cardona* and count *Corbelon*, who besieged *Leucat*; but duke *Schomberg*, who was governor of that province, with a small army, and that composed chiefly of militia, forced their trenches in the night, and obliged them to abandon the siege with the loss of all their cannon ⁿ. This year died the emperor *Ferdinand* the second, *Victor* duke of *Savoy*, and *Charles* duke of *Mantua* ^o. The famous imperial general *Picolomini*, by the consent of his master, entered into the service of *Spain*, and the duke of *Medina de la Torres*, by the influence of his protector *Olivarez*, was removed from the viceroyalty of *Sicily* to that of *Naples* ^p. The Grisons are prevailed upon to drive out the duke of Rohan, and resume the Valtelline. A. D. 1637.
- c THE situation of things in *Italy* was certainly favourable to *Spain*, and her ministers and generals lost no opportunity of improving them. The marquis *de Leganez* took several places in *Savoy*, where the marshal *de Crequi* was killed, and all the endeavours of the cardinal, *de La Valette*, to restore the affairs of that country baffled; while, on the other hand, the princess dowager of *Mantua* was persuaded to change sides, and to commit the protection of herself, her son, and her dominions, to the emperor and the crown of *Spain* ^q. In *Germany* the affairs of the house of *Austria* went prosperously; in the *Low Countries* they were unusually successful, the cardinal Infant Don *Ferdinand* routing the young count *William* of *Nassau* with great loss, and making a capture of seventy barks laden with naval and military stores; to revenge which, his father the prince of *Orange* having besieged *Guelldres*, the cardinal forced him in his intrenchments, and gained a complete victory ^r. The prince of *Conde*, with the duke *de la Valette*, having laid siege to *Fontarabia*, an army was speedily assembled for its relief, under the command of the amirante of *Castile*, who, with great spirit and bravery, attacked the *French* in their lines, beat, and forced them to raise the siege with considerable loss, and with equal shame and confusion ^s. There happened also a fight at sea, in which both sides claimed the victory, though neither with any great reason. But, what was esteemed of more consequence, there happened this year an insurrection in *Portugal*, in which some proclaimed the duke of *Braganza* king, of which that prince was so far from making any advantage, that he withdrew himself far enough out of their reach, as if he had been afraid of having the crown forced upon him ^t. Such an unusual turn of good fortune could not but be extremely welcome to the *Spanish* nation; and it would have been much more so, if the king had not persuaded himself that it was so intirely due to the councils of the conde duke, as to heap upon him all the rewards which the generality of his subjects thought due to other men's endeavours. In accepting these, the minister himself was much to blame, as well as in treating with the contempt he did not only the far greater part of the *grandees*, but also the people of certain provinces, which were once kingdoms, whose privileges he considered as fetters on the royal authority. He made no difficulty of avowing, that the great object of his wishes was to emancipate the crown from these chains, from a persuasion, that till the king was absolute at home, he could not dictate as the conde duke desired he should to the other powers of *Europe* ^u; a notion he avowed, though he could not effect; and which *Richlieu* concealed when he had actually atchieved it. Unexpected good fortune renders the conde duke more insolent than ever. 1638.
- e to heap upon him all the rewards which the generality of his subjects thought due to other men's endeavours. In accepting these, the minister himself was much to blame, as well as in treating with the contempt he did not only the far greater part of the *grandees*, but also the people of certain provinces, which were once kingdoms, whose privileges he considered as fetters on the royal authority. He made no difficulty of avowing, that the great object of his wishes was to emancipate the crown from these chains, from a persuasion, that till the king was absolute at home, he could not dictate as the conde duke desired he should to the other powers of *Europe* ^u; a notion he avowed, though he could not effect; and which *Richlieu* concealed when he had actually atchieved it.
- f THE two princes of *Savoy*, supported by the emperor's authority, and the assistance of the *Spaniards*, pushed things very far in *Piedmont*, under colour of their having a title to the regency of their nephew; and at length prince *Thomas*, who was a gallant man, and a great general, surprised the city of *Turin*, the duchess dowager escaping half-naked into the citadel. But the prince becoming jealous of the marquis of *Leganez*, and fearing he would put a *Spanish* garri'on into the place, did not press that fortress so much as he might have done, and at length prevailed upon him to consent to a truce for some months, which gave great advantage to the *French*; while, on the other hand, *Olivares*, who never departed from a point he had proposed, sharply reprov'd the marquis for not reducing *Cazal*; telling him, that he regarded nothing as done in *Italy* while that was left undone ^v. At length the count *de Har-* He persists in his resolution of having Cazal, and sends orders accordingly to M. de Leganez.

^m Histoire de Hollande, par Monsieur LE LA NEUVILLE, LE VASSOR, CESPIDES.

^o BATT NANI, LE CLERC.

^p Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES.

^q Histoire de

NANI, &c.

^r Aust. sup. citat.

^s Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES.

^t Supple-

ment to Faria y Sousa's History of Portugal, by Captain JOHN STEVENS.

^u La Storia del Conte d'OLIV.

Anecdotes, &c.

^v BATT NANI, Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES.

court, advancing with a very small force into *Piedmont*, renewed the war with advantage. In the *Low Countries*, *Picolomini* forced the lines of *Tbionville*, and obliged the *French* to decamp. An armada from *Spain*, commanded by *Oequendo*, consisting of upwards of threescore sail, passed through the *English* chanel, towards the coast of *Flanders*; but were attacked in their passage by the *Dutch* admiral *Van Tromp*, notwithstanding their having all the protection they could expect from the *English*. This fleet had a very large sum of money on board, which, with the largest ships, arrived safe in *Dunkirk*, but many others being taken, sunk, and destroyed, the *Dutch* with good reason celebrated this as a great victory ^a. The duke of *Modena* being now in *Spain*, his catholic majesty bestowed upon him the order of the *Golden Fleece*, and gave him the title of *Highness*, with which he was extremely pleased. The marquis of *Leganez* was likewise raised to the much envied honour of grandee of *Spain*, as well in regard of his services, as because he was descended from the then favoured house of *Guzman*, and his posterity in our times inherited the duchy of *St. Lucar* ^b.

That enter-
prize unac-
countably de-
feated, and
the Spanish
army beaten.

A. D. 1630. THE war in *Italy* which had so long occupied the attention of the conde duke, was at length, in his opinion, on the point of terminating to the advantage of *Spain* by the reduction of *Cazal*, in which the *French* had but a thin garrison; and the *Spaniards*, having concluded a treaty with the dowager princes of *Mantua*, derived from thence some intelligence in the place, which had no succours to expect, as the *French* had no troops in the field. The governor, *M. de la Tour*, an old and experienced officer, prepared to make the best defence possible; and the method he took suggested hopes to the *Spaniards*, that he would scarce make any defence at all. His forces being weak, he made no sallies; and the *Spaniards* being left at liberty to fortify their camp without disturbance, did it much at their leisure, and with a view chiefly of cutting off all provisions from the place, but without attending much to their line of circumvallation, persuaded on that side they had nothing to fear. The count *de Harcourt*, however, who commanded in *Savoy*, having exact intelligence of the situation things were in, collected all the forces he could, though their number was but small. With these he advanced towards *Cazal*, brought the first news of his own march, and attacked the *Spaniards* so vigorously, that, after the loss of three thousand men upon the spot, they quitted their lines, and for the most part disbanded, leaving their tents, baggage, and artillery, to the conquerors ^c. At his return into *Savoy*, the count, with an army smaller than would be now thought requisite for its garrison, invested *Turin*, which was bravely defended by prince *Thomas*: yet, notwithstanding several attempts made by the marquis of *Leganez* for its relief, but without success, it was surrendered towards the close of *September* ^d. Soon after this, prince *Thomas* reconciled himself to the *French* by a treaty, negotiated with great secrecy by the famous cardinal *Mazarine*. In the *Palatinate* the *Spanish* troops had some advantages; but in the *Low Countries* they lost the important city of *Arras*, notwithstanding the cardinal infant made a generous attempt to relieve it, which very much raised his reputation, though it was not in his power to save the place. On the side of *Spain* itself, the *French* had taken *Salses*, and some other places in *Roussillon*, which the *Spaniards* easily recovered; but the consequences of this were fatal to them, beyond all the losses they had sustained in the course of the war ^e; a thing that must appear strange to the reader, and which therefore we shall immediately explain.

Olivares forms
a design of de-
priving the
Catalans of
their privi-
leges.

We have before observed that the conde duke was by no means pleased with the distinct privileges of certain provinces, and meditated the reduction of all *Spain*, under what he styled one form of government, which was generally suspected to differ little, if at all, from a despotic monarchy. It is no wonder, therefore, that, to a minister with these notions, the *Catalans* should be in a particular manner odious, since they were the freest of all his catholic majesty's subjects. He had, the very last time the king was at *Barcelona*, prevailed upon him to leave that city while the states were sitting in it, abruptly, and induced him from that time to treat whatever applications they made by their deputies very roughly ^f. The *Catalans*, indeed, instead of stooping to him, had behaved on their side very cavalierly, refusing not only to make any application, in order to recover his favour, but refusing to have any correspondence with him whatever, and, in all their remonstrances, told the king plainly, that they looked upon *Olivares* as their declared enemy, and for that reason unworthy of his majesty's confidence. This, without doubt, heightened his resentments, of which they would have felt the effects, if they had not been protected by the situation of their country, covered on every side by almost inaccessible mountains, except where it is bounded by the sea; and, besides, so contiguous to *France*, that the inhabitants might be easily supported from thence, if they should ever be driven to demand the protection of that crown. But the expedition

^a Histoire de Hollande, par Monsieur DE LA NEUVILLE, Histoire Metallique des Pays Bas, par GERARD VAN LOON, tom. ii. p. 244, 245. ^y Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES, CESPIDES. ^z LE VASSOR, CESPIDES. ^a BATT NANI. ^b LE CLERC, & al. ^c Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES.

a into *Roussillon* had removed these difficulties, and had carried an army into that country, to which the *Catalans* contributed a corps of their own troops, who quitted it before the end of the campaign, being persuaded that they were sacrificed by the king's forces, whose duty it was to have supported them ^d.

AFTER the reduction of *Salles*, the army had orders to take their winter quarters in *Catalonia*, The Catalans revolt univer- in direct breach of their privileges; and, as if this had not been enough, they were allowed sally, and murder their vice- to live there with such licence as would scarce have been excusable in an enemy's country. Murders were common, rapes more frequent, robberies practised daily with impunity, complaints made to their officers produced no relief, and remonstrances at court were received with a coldness that differed little from contempt ^e. This produced an universal discontent, which b was blown into a flame by the inconsiderate conduct of the count *de St. Coloma*, who was then viceroy. He, under pretence of wanting money to pay the troops, seized a large sum belonging to the city of *Barcelona*, and upon one of their magistrates going to expostulate with him, sent him to prison, from whence the people in general, taking arms, quickly delivered him. The viceroy, whose courage was just as great as his prudence, fled immediately to the arsenal, where not thinking himself safe, notwithstanding all the assurances the magistrates could give, he ordered a galley, which he had long kept upon the coast, in case of falling into such an extremity, to anchor as near the arsenal as possible; yet, though the passage was not very long, he fell into the hands of the populace, who, in the first transport of their fury, murdered him, and then, despairing of pardon, made themselves masters of *Barcelona*. In a few days c the revolt became general, the *Spanish* soldiers were every-where driven out, and glad to escape with their lives. Some attempts were made by the interposition of the old duchess of *Caldona* and the pope's nuncio to pacify the people, with promise of a general pardon; but these had no effect, an army was quickly raised of thirty thousand men, under the command of the marquis *de los Velez* himself, a *Catalan*, but hated by his countrymen, as a creature of the minister's ^f.

AT the time he put himself at the head of this army, the marquis received a private order from *Olivares* to proceed with the utmost severity, as well as with the greatest expedition. The marquis de los Velez sent to extinguish the revolt, and inflames it by severity. He did not fail in either; which, however, had no other effect, than to make those desperate who were already exasperated. He advanced directly to *Barcelona*, taking with little resistance d several places in his way, which he destroyed without mercy ^g. The *Catalans* were in the utmost consternation, and, if mercy had been then promised, would certainly have submitted; for though they had offered themselves to *France*, yet, as it required some time to settle the terms, they had received very slender supplies, under the command of Mr. *St. Paul* from thence. Yet even these encouraged them to defend themselves with spirit, since they had to do with men from whom victory alone could procure them safety. The marquis made three attacks on the fort *Montjuic*, which commands the city, and was, though with great difficulty, repulsed, chiefly by the courage and conduct of the *French* officers; for the *Catalans*, having been purposely kept from the use of arms for many years, discovered but little of their antient bravery, which, however, interest and discipline quickly restored, and, before e the end of the winter, the enemy were obliged to abandon a great part of their conquests ^h. This was very mortifying to *Olivares*, who, with some difficulty, had prevented the king from marching against them in person, from an apprehension that the king might have received informations no ways suitable to his interests. The sense he had of this, and of the immediate necessity of subduing this people before they entered into a settled connection with foreigners, added to the natural rigour and violence of his own temper, put him upon those measures, which produced still greater calamities; and, while he was intent upon extinguishing one flame, lighted another that never could be brought under. Great part of the army then in *Catalonia* was composed of *Portuguese*: the conde duke resolved to draw his reinforcements from the same country, for, hating the *Portuguese* as much as he did the *Catalans*, he weakly f imagined that he might make them reciprocally the instruments of his resentment, or at least was desirous of bringing the principal nobility of *Portugal* to serve in an army at a distance from their own country, that, at the same time that they were incapable of doing hurt themselves, they might serve as hostages for the obedience of those they left at home. He was misled in this by that constant submission which he saw paid to his orders in the court, and he vainly fancied that he was to be implicitly obeyed where-ever his orders reached: himself and his master felt the contrary ⁱ.

WE are, in the succeeding section, to explain the motives and management of the revolution in *Portugal*; and therefore we shall content ourselves with observing here some other Revolution of Portugal, through the

^d Histoire du Ministère du Comte Duc d'Olivares, CESPID.
Histoire generale d'Espagne.

Duc d'OLIVARES.
CESPIDES.

^e CESPIDES, BATT NANI, LE VASSOR.

^f Vide auct. supra citat.

^g Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES,

^h Anecdotes du Comte

ⁱ Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES,

obstinate ri-
gour of the
conde duke's
conduct.

instances of the pains taken by the conde duke to facilitate the ascent of the duke of *Braganza* to the throne, while he was so infatuated to believe that he should allure that prince to *Madrid*, where, if he had once arrived, he had never been permitted to return to *Portugal*. In order to take away all grounds of suspicion, *Olivares* had declared the duke general of the forces in *Portugal*, and had weakened most of the *Spanish* garrisons, that he might seem to repose all upon his loyalty; and yet, if he had visited any one fort upon the *Tagus*, he had been surprised, and sent prisoner into *Spain*. At the same time that he dissembled with the duke, he drove the rest of the nobility into despair, requiring of them what it was not in their power to perform, and threatening the severest chastisements if they refused to obey. The instruments upon which he relied were two natives of *Portugal*, mean in their birth, infamous in their characters, insolent to the last degree in their behaviour; one of these residing at *Madrid* with the title of secretary of state,; and the other, who had the minister's secret, resided as secretary to the vice-queen at *Lisbon*. The person honoured with this empty title was the infanta Donna *Margaret* of *Savoy*, duchess dowager of *Mantua*, and grand-daughter to *Philip* the second; a princess very capable of governing that kingdom, but whom, notwithstanding her birth, *Olivares* treated with contempt, and suffered to be still worse treated by the engine of his intrigues, her secretary. The nobility in general, seeing themselves condemned to exile and slavery, believed it impossible to escape the punishment of rebels, but by raising a rebellion: the weakness of the *Spanish* government persuaded them this was easy; the behaviour of the *Catalans* encouraged them; they wanted only a proper head, and the duke of *Braganza*, who had a fair title to the crown, was continually in their sight. They made him an offer of it, and, by the advice of his duchess, he accepted it. The design was managed with prudence, vigour, and secrecy, yet the vice-queen had some intelligence, or rather, some suspicion, of it; she gave advice to the conde duke, but her advices were neglected and despised. The confederates gained some lights in their turn, and this obliged them to act sooner than they intended, but with so much unanimity and courage, that *Lisbon* was surprised, Don *Juan* the fourth proclaimed, the vice-queen made prisoner, the fleet seized, the fortresses reduced, the *Spaniards* driven out, and a new government settled, in less than a month's time ^a (B).

The death of
the cardinal
infant, gover-
nor of the Low
Countries and
archbishop of
Toledo.
A. D. 1641.

In *Italy* the affairs of *Spain* went backwards; the count *de Harcourt* and Monsieur *de Turenne* performed great things in *Savoy*, though they had but a small army. The marquis *de Leganez* did what he could, but that was little, being stinted in supplies, and suspected by his friends. The prince of *Monaco* whom the *Spaniards* had long treated as their slave, revolted, and put the place into the hands of the *French*¹. In *Spain* itself, where they had the war on both sides, the minister determined to push *Catalonia*, where the marquis *de los Velez* reduced *Tarragona*, and did all that could be expected towards taking *Barcelona*; but the terror, distress, and confusion of the *Catalans*, having obliged them to submit to cardinal *Richlieu*'s terms, the *French* sent marshal *de la Mothe Houdancourt*, with more puissant supplies, and made also some diversions in their favour, so that by the end of the year the marquis was less able to complete the reduction of the province than he had been at the beginning. The projects of *Olivares* were always out of the common road. When he gave the king notice of the revolution in

^a STEVENS'S Supplement to Sousa's History of Portugal.

¹ BATT NANI.

(B) The grand source of that long train of grievances, which in the end produced the revolution of *Portugal*, was the disposition of the minister, who had conceived an aversion to the people, because they set up their privileges against his absolute orders, and, after having been courted by *Philip* the second, and flattered by *Philip* the third, did not consider it as an honour to be trampled on by the favourite of *Philip* the fourth (6). He thought it very practicable to break the spirits of these people, in order to fit them for that change he meditated, which was converting their kingdom into a province of *Castile*. He was encouraged in these notions by two of the most infamous men of that nation, into whose hands, and for this reason, he put the affairs of their country. The first was *Diego Suarez*, who resided at *Madrid*, and acted as secretary for the affairs of *Portugal*; he was a cunning, subtle, and artful fellow, who had amassed an immense fortune by his great interest with the minister, and the ill use he made of it. He was rapacious, vindictive, and insolent, in a supreme degree. The other was his brother and son-in-law, his name was *Michael Vasconcellos*, and the place

he held that of secretary to the vice-queen at *Lisbon*, but in reality he had the sole direction of all things, corresponding with, and receiving directions immediately from the minister (7). He was very dextrous and adroit in the affairs committed to his management; he interfered in the disputes between the nobility, and, by browbeating some, and countenancing others, increased and inflamed them. He understood the dangerous science of inventing taxes, and had an army of mercenary creatures at his devotion to levy them: he had spies in all families of any distinction, and was never at a loss for expedients to answer any of the conde duke's purposes (8). In short, he daily inflicted wounds on the bosom of his country, and made a merit to his patron of that dejection and poverty which were the result of his own arts. These men had served him so long and so effectually, that the conde duke thought the *Portuguese* so exhausted, that he had nothing to apprehend from them; but experience taught him, that men dare to hope all things, when they have nothing to fear (9).

(6) Stevens's Supplement to Emanuel de Faria y Sousa's History, Historia de Don Phelipe IV. Rey de las Espanas, por Don Gonfalo de Cespedes y Meneses. (7) Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares, p. 301. (8) Vertot, Revolution de Portugal.

(9) Stevens's Supplement to Emanuel de Faria y Sousa's History.

Portugal,

a *Portugal*, he wished him joy of the duke of *Braganza's* large forfeiture, as if it had been as easy to reduce *Portugal* as it had been to raise a rebellion there^m. Yet during this year he attempted little or nothing, only he appointed the duke of *Medina Sidonia* to command on the frontiers, whose sister the new king had married, which occasioned many speculations; but in truth he depended on a conspiracy which was very near succeeding. This being discovered, he threw some imputations upon the duke, and sent for him to court, where he justified himself so well as to escape punishment, though some have thought, that if the people of *Andalusia* had been as well disposed as himself, he would have attempted, with the assistance of the *French* fleet in the *Mediterranean*, to have established an independent sovereignty in that fair and fruitful province. But the most fatal event was in the *Low Countries*, where the cardinal infant recovered *Aire*, a place of great importance, with many circumstances of honour. Yet he did not live to take possession of the town; for, falling ill of a fever in the camp, and his distemper being mistaken by his physicians, upon his removal to *Brussels* it appeared to be the small-pox, of which he died on the 9th of *November*, in the thirty-second year of his ageⁿ. His character appears, from a medal struck in *Holland*, in the clearest light, the inscriptions of which were to this purpose; that, the *Spanish* sun being set, they promised to themselves a fair day^o. He was succeeded for the present by Don *Francisco de Melo*; and though, in hopes of some disturbance, *Lewis* the thirteenth appeared in person on the frontiers, yet nothing of that kind happened, and Don *Francisco* took possession of *Aire* on the seventh of *December* following^p.

c THIS series of ill fortune, which ought to have opened the eyes of the catholic king and his ministers, seemed to infatuate both. The great secret by which *Olivares* had governed his master was being the companion, or at least the confidant, of his pleasures; and, while he affected to deceive the world with a specious appearance of religion and piety, he was not only immersed in vice himself, but encouraged and promoted it in his prince, to the scandal of his subjects, and the prejudice of his affairs. At this time, of all others the most improper, *Olivares* produced a bastard of his, hitherto called *Julian*, of whom he had taken so little care, that, not able to subsist in *Spain*, he had passed over to the *Indies*, where, in very mean stations, he had scarce got bread, on whom he now bestowed the name of Don *Henrico de Guzman*, and, bringing him with great pomp and splendor to court, either flattered or forced the constable of *Castile* to give him his daughter, in consideration of which he was to devolve upon him his duchy of *St. Lucar*^q. In the beginning of his administration, by some accident or other, he presented to the king a memorial, in relation to an affair, upon which his majesty had already received one from Don *Balthasar de Zuniga*; upon comparing them, they contradicted each other flatly. The king ordered a person of great quality to inquire thoroughly into this business, in consequence of which Don *Balthasar's* memorial appeared to be the truth, and that of *Olivares* the reverse of it. The king, upon this, was very angry; but the count regained his favour, by procuring for him the fair actress *Calderona*. By this woman he had a son, of whom no great notice was taken; but now, to obscure the folly of the conde duke, this youth, scarce in the 14th year of his age, was produced, with the title of Don *Juan* of *Austria*, and declared generalissimo of the army against *Portugal*, while the heir apparent to the crown, Don *Balthasar*, was left under the tuition, or rather in the custody, of the countess of *Olivares*, at which the queen was chagrined, the people enraged, and the world in general astonished^r.

f IN *Italy* the fear of *Spain* was wore away, and the profound respect that had been paid to her began to follow it. Things would even have proceeded farther, if the growing power of *France* had not engaged the prudent politician, for which that country was always famous, to prop that structure which they might easily have pulled down. King *Philip* was resolved to go in person against the *Catalans*; the conde duke dissuaded, but was not able to prevent it; however, the king went no farther than *Saragossa*, and that with such numerous attendance, and with so great an expence, that, instead of hastening, it retarded the campaign^s. The conde duke attended, and provided all possible amusements and diversions in the course of the journey, which, however, proved none of the most pleasant. Cardinal *Richieu* had brought the king his master from *Paris* with a numerous army under the command of the marshal *la Meilleraie*; but whether with an intent to pass into *Italy*, or the frontiers of *Spain*, was not known. At length the storm burst upon *Roussillon*, where the army attacked *Coliva*, in order to open a passage to the siege of *Perpignan*. *Olivares* understanding that it was ill provided, ordered it to be relieved by a body of three thousand horse. Persons who were well versed in military affairs, assured him the thing was impracticable; he heard them, and repeated his orders. The forwardness always shewn to fulfil the desires of a powerful favourite, engaged

^m STEVENS'S Supplement, Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES.

ⁿ LE CLERC, CESPIDES.

^o Histoire Metallique des Pays Bas, par GERARD VAN LOON, tom. ii. p. 255.

^p LE VASSOR, BATT

NANI. ^q Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES.

^r CESPIDES, BATT NANI.

^s Anec-

dotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES, CESPIDES.

many officers, and some persons of distinction, to offer themselves as volunteers, though they knew the expedition was exceedingly hazardous, as they were to march amongst high mountains, and to traverse a part of *Catalonia* then in open rebellion. They did, however, all that was to be done; they attempted it, and, being entangled in an impassable country, from which the peasants had conveyed every thing that was eatable, with enemies on every side, without having the power either of fighting or flying, they were obliged to deliver up their arms, their colours, and horses, and to render themselves prisoners of war, to prevent being starved¹. *Coliva* taken, *Perpignan* was invested, in which the governor, the marquis *Flores d'Avila*, made a long, a gallant, and prudent defence; but it was to little purpose, for tho' the minister spared not either for treasure or trouble, he was not able to assemble an army till the place was lost². These strokes of ill fortune were doubled by his preventing any advantage from being made of great and unexpected success. The *French*, who had not then so great armies as they have had since, in order to strengthen that which went with the king, had left only two small corps of troops on the frontiers, towards the *Low Countries*, the one commanded by the count *de Harcourt*, and the other by the count *de Guiche*. Don *Francisco de Mello*, a very prudent man, and a good officer, had assembled an army of twenty-five thousand men, with which he recovered several places; and then, dividing it, pretended to make two inroads into *France*, but suddenly uniting his troops again, fell upon the count *de Guiche* so unexpectedly, that, having routed him totally, he opened a clear passage to *Paris*; but, receiving positive orders from *Olivares* not to hazard his army in any undertaking of danger or difficulty, the opportunity was lost³. The reason of this order was, that *Olivares* had concluded a new treaty with *Caston* duke of *Orleans*, and was in the secret of a deep contrivance against the cardinal's life. Those who were embarked in it were the king's favourites, who carried their point so far, that the cardinal was disgraced, and was forced in a manner to fly, though in a dying condition⁴. In this critical conjuncture came the news of *Guiche's* defeat, and the danger of *Paris*; which so alarmed the king, that he followed the cardinal, who in the mean time had discovered his brother's treaty with *Spain*. Upon this, *de Thou* and *Cinquemars* were arrested, the duke of *Orleans* forbidden the king's presence, and the cardinal taken into higher favour than ever⁵. These advices following that of the loss of *Perpignan*, disconcerted *Olivares* so much, that, embracing the king's knees, and falling at his feet, he besought his leave to retire, to give him some command where he might have an opportunity of losing his life, with other incoherent speeches, which scarce, with the strongest assurances, and fairest promises, *Philip* could pacify, who, when he learned the reason of these transports, joined in deploring their common misfortune, and the lamentable disaster of being undone by their own arts; for if either the money spent in the secret treaty had been employed against the *Catalans*, or Don *Francisco de Mello* had not been restrained, this campaign had ended much otherwise than it did⁶.

Disgraced by the queen, the emperor, the grandees, and people, declaring at once.
A. D. 1643.

At the king's return to *Madrid*, it was discerned that his affection was not so strong as formerly to *Olivares*, either wearied with ill fortune, alarmed with what he had seen and heard in his progress, or touched with the thinness of his court, from which almost all the grandees retired, and the silence of the people when he appeared in public. The queen, perceiving this alteration, declared her sentiments first, ascribing all the mischiefs that had happened to the refined and romantic politics of *Olivares*, to whom she likewise imputed some private discontents of her own. The ice being broke, the marquis *de Grana* presented the king with a letter from the emperor his master, who charged the conde duke with abasing the glory of the house of *Austria* by his ill conduct and intrigues. When the king began to stagger, the queen presented the infanta Donna *Margaret* of *Savoy*, whom she had sent for privately from the place where *Olivares* had banished her; and, as if this had not been enough, the king's nurse, who had felt the minister's displeasure, was likewise brought to court, who, falling at *Philip's* feet as he passed from one apartment to another, with tears streaming from her eyes, in her plain and artless language represented the miseries of his subjects in so pathetic a manner, that the king was very much moved. He took advantage, therefore, of a hunting-match, and, before his departure, sent a billet to the minister, by which he directed him to retire to *Loches*⁷. The conde duke obeyed, and was forced to disguise himself, to avoid the insolence of the populace, or perhaps something worse. He seemed to bear his disgrace steadily, and some have thought that he might have surmounted it; for the king, being new in business, and having to do with ministers as new as himself, was quickly disgusted, and seemed to wish for his old minister again. But the conde duke, ever able and ever unfortu-

¹ BATT NANI. ² Histoire du Ministère du Comte Duc d'Olivares, avec des Réflexions politiques, CESPIDES. ³ Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES. ⁴ LE VASSOR. ⁵ P. DANIEL. ⁶ Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES, LE VASSOR. ⁷ Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES, Histoire generale d'Espagne. ⁸ Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES, La Storia del Conte Duca d'Olivares, Histoire du Ministère du Comte Duc d'Olivares, avec des Réflexions politiques.

a nate, drew up an apology for himself, full of wit and spirit, and masterly reasoning, as in truth his politics look best upon paper, in which some maxims were acknowledged which should have been concealed, some things avowed that could not have been proved, and various persons treated in such a manner, that so loud and general a clamour was excited, as not only obliged the king to lay aside his former design, but induced him likewise to banish him to Toro^b. The Catalans having received marshal *de la Mothe*, in the quality of viceroy of France, gained some advantages; the Portuguese were successful by sea; and Don Francisco de Mello was beat at Rocroi by the duke of Enguien, then but a boy, styled afterwards the great Conde, on the 5th day of Lewis XIV.'s reign; so that, notwithstanding the return of the grandees to court, and the offers received of men and money from various provinces, his catholic majesty remained still uneasy and perplexed, sensible of the great burden that lay upon his shoulders, and at a loss on whom to deposit a load which he was every day more and more convinced was altogether insupportable^c.

THE disasters of the next year did not by any means contribute to reconcile the king to business. In Italy, where the house of Austria had been lately predominant, they were excluded from having so much as a share in the negotiations for reconciling the duke of Parma to the pope, the treaty being concluded by the guaranty and under the mediation of France, and the military operations in Savoy went as untowardly as these negotiations^d. In Germany the imperialists were every-where beaten, and lost several very considerable places. In the Low Countries the French became masters of Gravelin, and the Dutch of Sas van Ghent^e. In Catalonia the Spanish army prospered, and, after succouring Tarragona and Lerida, was reduced. But, on the side of Portugal, the marquis of Torrecusa was routed at Badajoz by the duke of Albuquerque, with great loss; and the Spanish fleet was likewise beat in fight of Carthagena by the marshal de Brezé^f. Yet what afflicted the Spaniards more than all these losses, was the death of the queen, on the sixth of October, in the flower of her age, and when she was become infinitely beloved by the people. She had gained intirely the confidence of the king her husband, who, after her decease, committed the management of public affairs to Don Lewis Haro de Guzman, nephew to the conde duke de Olivares, and yet no way attached to him, and who, after his elevation, pursued quite different measures^g. He is generally allowed to have had less abilities, but withal was less assuming, of a pacific temper, whose affability, if it did not render him more respected, at least made him more beloved.

THE war still continuing on all sides, served to increase the miseries of the nation, and the perplexity of the king and his ministers. On the side of the Milanese something might have been done against Savoy, where the French were embarrassed with a very troublesome treaty; but the marquis de Serra, who commanded for the Spaniards, wanted men, money, and allies; for the Italian princes, seeing the two crowns wasting their wealth and strength, without any prejudice to them, scarce assisted either party, or took any great pains in adjusting disputes^h. However, prince Thomas of Savoy, who had now declared for France, laboured hard in procuring a force that might be able to make a figure the next year; and it may be would have done this with more vivacity, if the French had not sent an officer of note to command under him. In Germany, the house of Austria met with many disadvantages; in the Low Countries, they had the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange at once to deal with: the former took Mardyke, and some other places; the latter besieged Hulst, which was well defended; and, while he remained before it, the Spaniards recovered most of the places which had been taken by the Frenchⁱ. On the side of Portugal, the marquis de Leganez commanded the Spanish army, but did nothing of importance the whole campaign. In Catalonia, the count de Harcourt came to Barcelona, and was received as viceroy from the French king; the marquis du Pressis Praslin took Roses, and, being made marshal of France, was sent to assist prince Thomas of Savoy^k. The Spanish army was commanded by Don Andrea Cantelmo, who was very inactive during the summer; for it seems the Spanish ministry depended upon a conspiracy formed in Barcelona, where an insurrection was to have been favoured by the appearance of their fleet, and to have been supported by the sudden march of the army. It was discovered just at the point of execution, which cost the lives of some of the lay conspirators, and the perpetual imprisonment of the ecclesiastics, that were concerned in it^l. The count de Harcourt attacked Don Andrea on the banks of the Tegro, and,

Public affairs at home and abroad grow rather worse on all sides than better.

A. D. 1644.

The torrent of ill-fortune continues to bear down all before it.

1645.

^b CESPIDES. ^c QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. ii. & suiv. Hist. de Conde, p. 27. STEVENS'S Supplement to Sousa's History of Portugal. ^d BATT NANI. Histoire de la vie & du regne de Louis XIV. par M. BRUZEN DE LA MARTINIERE. ^e Hist. de Hollande, par Monsieur DE LA NEUVILLE. BATT NANI. ^f STEVENS'S Supplement to Sousa's History of Portugal. LA MARTINIERE. ^g Hist. Chronologique du dernier Siecle. ^h BATT NANI. ⁱ LE CLERC. Hist. de Hollande, par Monsieur DE LA NEUVILLE. LA MARTINIERE. ^j STEVENS'S Supplement. MARTINIERE. ^k BATT NANI.

having defeated him, took *Balaguer*. The conde duke *de Olivares*, worn out by his infirmities, or rather devoured by his despair, died in the place of his banishment, at a juncture when, in the opinion of many, if restored to his power, things might have gone better; which notion proceeded, it may be, from a certainty that things could not go worse^m.

Civil diffen-
sions in France
give the Spa-
niards leave
to breathe and
hope.

A. D. 1646.

WHEN things were in so strange a situation, we may excuse the *Spanish* ministers for recurring to the old practice of attempting to facilitate by intrigues what they were not able to accomplish by force. The then pope *Innocent X.* was inclined to their interests: they had some partisans in *Holland*, and in *France* they touched every string. They laboured to excite divisions in the *French* councils; they proposed a separate peace to the *United Provinces*; nay, they went so far as to offer their mediation to the queen of *France*, professing that his catholic majesty would be content to make her the supreme judge between her brother and her son; but it was in vain; so that the war continued on every sideⁿ. As cardinal *Mazarine* was desirous of making a figure in *Italy*, prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, and the marshal *du Plessis Praslin*, besieged *Orbitello*, and, to assist in taking it, the *French* fleet sailed under the command of the duke *de Brezé*. The place was in a bad condition; it could only be relieved from *Naples*; and a body of troops advanced from thence, but it was so small a body that they could do nothing. In the mean time the *Spanish* fleet, commanded by admiral *Pimentel*, appeared; the *French* engaged and beat them, but, towards the end of the action, the duke *de Brezé* had his head carried away by a cannon-ball. His vice-admiral, for some political reasons, returned as soon as possible to *France*^o. This happened on the 14th of *June*; and admiral *Pimentel*, taking advantage of his absence, landed a body of troops, which, being joined to those of *Naples*, forced prince *Thomas* to raise the siege; upon which he fell into disgrace with the court of *France*: and another fleet of theirs, arriving on the coast of *Elba*, took several places^p. In the *Low Countries*, the *French* and *Dutch* took several fortresses, though the *Spanish* army was commanded by prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, *Picolomini*, and other great officers, who, for want of troops, were able to do little, except discovering their abilities, by obliging the enemy to pay dear for what they obtained. On the side of *Portugal* there happened nothing of consequence; and yet the campaign did not pass without bloodshed on both parts^q. In *Catalonia* things took another turn; the marquis *de Leganez* commanded for his catholic majesty, with an army not numerous enough to act offensively. The viceroy monsieur *de Harcourt* besieged *Lerida*, which had no great garrison, and was not in a very good condition. The governor had the address to make the besiegers believe that his state was worse than it really was; and, under persuasion that famine would oblige him to surrender, they did not press the siege so vigorously as they might have done. The marquis *de Leganez*, who knew exactly how things stood, caused a great convoy to be provided, and, when it was near ready, advanced towards *Lerida*, as if he meant to relieve the place. After lying some time within sight of the *French* army, he decamped, as if he had abandoned his design, and having retired to the same distance from *Lerida* that the place was at on the other side, through which the convoy was to proceed, he marched directly back again, and appearing very unexpectedly on one side of the *French* camp, in order of battle, while the count *de Harcourt* prepared with some hurry to receive him, the convoy, with a strong reinforcement, entered safely on the other side; upon which he was obliged to raise the siege, which chagrined him so much that he quitted the command. This small piece of good fortune was far from consoleing the court of *Madrid* for the loss of the prince *Don Baltasar*, who died on the ninth of *October*, to the great grief of the *Spanish* nation, who flattered themselves with a change of fortune under his reign^r.

Sign a peace
with the states
general, and
gain some ad-
vantages in
Catalonia.

AFFAIRS in *Italy* had a melancholy aspect at the beginning of the year, when the duke of *Modena*, with the title of generalissimo, and having two good *French* officers under him, invested *Cremona*; but, misunderstandings arising amongst these chiefs, the enterprize failed, and the duke returned into his own dominions^s. The unexpected and unexampled revolution at *Naples*, stiled commonly the rebellion of *Massaniello*, threw all things once more into confusion; more especially after the duke of *Guise* had entered that city, and taught sedition to wear the appearance of a regular government^t. Don *Juan* of *Austria*, declared general by sea, came and blocked up the place with a fleet; notwithstanding which the inhabitants remained in arms, and, if *France* had succoured the duke of *Guise*, *Naples* might have been gained for her, or at least had been lost to *Spain*. In the *Low Countries*, the *Dutch* statesmen were prevailed upon, in the beginning of the year, to sign a provisional treaty with *Spain*, till that of peace could be intirely adjusted. The archduke *Leopold William* was declared

^m Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'OLIVARES. MARTINIERE.
ⁿ Idem.
^p Idem.
^q STEVENS'S Supplement to Soufa's History of Portugal.
^r MARTINIERE.

^s BATT NANI. LE CLERC.

^t MAR-

^u BATT NANI.

^v GABRIEL TONTALI il Massaniello

a governor of the *Spanish Low Countries*, with the same extensive powers that the archduke *Albert* and the cardinal infant had enjoyed. He brought with him a reinforcement of troops from the emperor, conducted the war with prudence and valour, and with some degree also of success, which was principally owing to his being earlier in the field than the *French*; a circumstance not very common with the *Spanish* armies ^u. The campaign on the side of *Portugal* afforded no event worth mentioning, only a base design that some of the *Spanish* ministers entered into, for assassinating the king *Don Juan*, was discovered and punished ^v. In *Catalonia* the marquis of *Aitona* commanded for his catholic majesty, and the young prince of *Conde*, already famous for many victories, succeeded the count *de Harcourt* as viceroy of *Catalonia*. He resolved to distinguish his entrance on the administration, by reducing *Lerida*, in which his predecessor had failed. He found the lines of the count *de Harcourt* so little injured, that they were repaired, and the place invested in two days; after which, in a fit of gaiety, he caused the trenches to be opened with a concert of violins. The old governor *Don Antonio Brito*, a *Portuguese* by birth, and well supplied with every thing, had a garrison of 3000 men. His conduct was the very reverse of what it had been before, harrassing the enemy with continual sallies, and disputing with obstinacy every inch of ground. The *French* ascribed this to their being sensible that they made their attack in the right place, and that he would be obliged to surrender as soon as they were masters of the outworks. In the midst of these expectations, the engineers found their trenches stopped by a rock: it was impossible to go on, it was too late to begin again, the army was diminished, the heats were coming on, the *Spanish* general advanced to its relief, and the prince of *Conde* was obliged to raise the siege ^x. The rest of the campaign was spent in marches and countermarches; so that there happened nothing of importance, his catholic majesty having expressly commanded the marquis *de Aitona* not to risk any thing against the prince, of whose good fortune he is said to have been afraid. The *French* fleet, however, had some success at sea, the *Spaniards* having the best part of their naval force on the coasts of the kingdom of *Naples* ^y.

A. D. 1647.

AFTER having wasted for so many years both troops and treasure, the two crowns found themselves almost equally exhausted in *Italy*. The marquis *de Carracena*, who commanded for the catholic king in the *Milanese*, had, however, the superiority this spring, and seemed disposed to make a right use of it, by attacking the *French* troops under the marquis *de Navailles*, who were but very unhappily posted. As he executed this resolution slowly, the mar- A conspiracy discovered, intended to bring about a marriage between the infanta and the prince of Brazil.
shal *du Plessis Praslin* had time to join him, and the duke of *Modena* then arriving in their camp, they resolved to attack the marquis, though he was strongly intrenched under the cannon of *Cremona*, in which they were successful; but forming the siege of that city in the midst of summer, it held out to *October*, and their army being by that time ruined, they were forced to raise it ^z. In *Naples*, the duke of *Guise* was taken prisoner, and an end put to that rebellion by *Don Juan* of *Austria* ^a. In the *Low Countries*, the archduke had the satisfaction of seeing the peace signed between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*, on the 30th day of *January*, in spite of the opposition of the young prince of *Orange*, and against the will of the *French* ^b, who, having withdrawn the prince of *Conde* from *Catalonia*, sent him to open the campaign on this side, in which, at the beginning, he had no great success, the archduke taking *Courtray* by a short siege, and *Lens* by assault; immediately after which the prince attacked and defeated the *Spanish* army, with the loss of 8000 men, notwithstanding the most obstinate resistance, and the archduke's giving all possible testimonies of courage and conduct. There happened also in the course of this campaign some little misfortunes on this side, which the archduke studied to repair. In *Spain* the people were afflicted both with a plague and famine. There was but little done on the side of *Portugal*, and that not to the advantage of king *Philip*. Marshal *Schomberg*, who replaced the prince of *Conde* in *Catalonia*, attacked *Tortosa*, and took it by storm. It was very indifferently provided, and worse fortified; but it was very gallantly defended, the bishop and the best part of his clergy being killed in the breach. The *Spanish* army being reinforced soon after, hindered any greater progress being made. The king, being pressed by his subjects to a second marriage, resolved to espouse the archduchess *Mary Anne*, daughter to the emperor by the infanta *Donna Maria*, and consequently his own niece ^c. Before we close the history of this year, it will be requisite to say something of the true reason which induced the king to resolve upon a second marriage. As the intrigues, supported by money from the ministers, maintained a *Spanish* party at *Lisbon*, so there wanted not a *Portuguese* faction amongst the nobility of *Spain*, who, in their own sentiments at least, acted intirely from public spirit. Of these the chief was the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, brother to the queen of *Portugal*, who had spoke so advantageously of his nephew *Don Theodosius de Braganza*, prince of *Brazil*, that some, who were very desirous of seeing *Portugal* once more united to the territories of *Castile*, had begun to figure to themselves that the thing was not at

1648.

^u LE CLERC. ^v STEVENS'S Supplement. ^x MARTINIERE Hist. Gen. d'Espagne. ^y CIS-
PIDES. ^z BATT NANI. ^a MARTINIERE. ^b Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit
des Gens, tom. vi. p. i. p. 429. LE CLERC. ^c STEVENS'S Supplement.

all impossible, if a marriage could be brought about between this amiable prince and the infant *Maria Teresa*, now the presumptive heir of the *Spanish* monarchy. As this was a project that never could be rendered so much as communicable, much less acceptable, to *Philip IV.* they were driven into consultations and practices, criminal in appearance at least, if not in their nature, and as such are seldom long concealed, the king and his ministers obtained such informations, that the principal persons embarked in this design were seized. The duke *de Medina Sidonia* is said to have preserved his life by discovering all who were engaged with him. The duke *de Híjar*, of the house of *Silva*, and, by his mother's side, of the royal family of *Arragon*, was put to the question ordinary and extraordinary, which he bore with patience and with silence, but perished nevertheless by a long and severe imprisonment. The marquis *de Ayamonte*, *Don Carlos de Padilla*, and some other persons of distinction, paid with their heads for this irregular instance of their zeal for the tranquillity and welfare of their country, and taught the king how much it imported him to have issue male, to prevent his dominions from falling into some other house; the fear of which continued to embitter the remaining part of his life, even when the contingency seemed to be no longer probable ^d.

The king marries the archduchess Mary Anne of Austria, daughter to the emperor.

THE peace of *Münster*, which, after so many years of war, had restored quiet to the empire, served only to augment the chagrin of the court of *Madrid*, where the terms on which *France* would have concluded peace were rejected, and all the share that *Spain* took, after so long a negotiation in that transaction, was insisting upon her protest. The principal motive to this conduct was that confusion to which *France* has been ever liable under a minority, and where, at this time, the malecontents were able to cover their designs with the specious pretence that the queen regent was a *Spaniard*, and the cardinal minister an *Italian*. But these strangers had the interest of *France* so much at heart, that the *Spaniards* chose rather to treat with the parliament of *Paris*, by which they exceedingly embarrassed the court, where, notwithstanding all their victories, they found it extremely difficult to form and maintain an army; and, when this was done, they were again embarrassed to find a general. The archduke *Leopold William* gave out that it was in his power to make considerable conquests in *France*; and, to render this probable, he ravaged it; which, in truth, was all that he had in his power. However, he recovered *Ipres* and *St. Venant* by the 10th of *May*; but at last the *French* army appeared under the count *de Harcourt*, who invested *Cambray*, and having intercepted a letter from the archduke to the governor, promising relief by a day fixed, he caused it to be published, as the shortest way to prevent it; notwithstanding which, the archduke presented himself before the place, performed what he had promised, and forced the *French* to raise the siege; after which they took *Conde*, but were forced to abandon it again almost as soon as it was taken ^e. In *Italy*, the *Spaniards* compelled the duke of *Modena* to change sides; for *France* could do nothing in *Catalonia*. *Don Juan de Guaras*, who commanded the troops of his catholic majesty, took several places in the neighbourhood of *Barcelona*, and would probably also have become master of that capital, if marshal *de Marfin* had not brought into it a *French* garrison, which prevented any commotion, and thereby saved the place, till *France* should be in a condition to do more. On the 3d of *September*, prince *Edward of Portugal*, brother to the king, ended his days miserably in the castle of *Milan*, where he was kept prisoner by the *Spaniards*, for no other crime than that of his birth, unless we should add his having qualities equal, and a spirit even superior, to it. In the month of *October* arrived the new queen of *Spain*, to whom the king had been married by proxy. The contagious distemper, with which the kingdom had been afflicted, ceased in the winter ^f.

Affairs take a very unexpected turn in Catalonia in favour of the Spaniards.

THE dissensions that raged in *France* afforded king *Philip* and his ministers all the advantages they could desire in all the countries where the war was carried on. In *Italy*, *Don Juan of Austria* took *Piombino* by assault, and afterwards besieged *Porto Longone*, into which, in spite of all the opposition given him by the *Spanish* fleet, the chevalier *de St. Paul* threw supplies; which, however, did not hinder the place from being reduced ^h. On the side of *Portugal* there passed as usual but little of importance; and, as some say, time has discovered that *Don Juan* had a secret correspondence with some of the *Spanish* ministers, which occasioned that inactivity, favourable to him in some respects, upon the whole perhaps necessary, but which at the time was far from being acceptable to his subjects. The reception of prince *Maurice* and prince *Rupert* in *Portugal* induced king *Philip* not only to acknowledge, but to make court to, the new government in *England*, in order to engage them to send an *English* fleet against the *Portuguese*; which they did; and, in process of time, *Philip* was severely chastised by that very power which he now flattered. In *Catalonia*, affairs took a strange turn: the *French* general *Marfin* was but weak, and therefore could not hinder the retaking of some places of no importance; but, being a creature of the prince of *Conde's*, he no sooner heard of his imprisonment than he began to promote what was not in his power to prevent ⁱ. The

^d Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE, tom. ii. p. 359, & suiv. Supplement. Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle.

^e BATT NANI.

^h BATT NANI.

^f STEVENS'S Supplement.

- a. *Catalans*, finding themselves pushed by their old masters, and betrayed by their new ones, entered into a variety of intrigues, as their interests, their inclinations, or their necessities, directed. By these means the *Spaniards* recovered *Flix* upon the *Segro*, *Tortosa*, and some other places, and very probably had recovered the whole province, if, in this critical conjuncture, the kingdom of *Valentia* had not revolted, which obliged the *Spanish* ministers to turn their eyes on that side, where, not without difficulty, things were appeased^k. The duke *de Mercœur*, arriving at *Barcelona* with the title of viceroy, secured that city, after having caused *Marfin* to be arrested, and sent prisoner to *Perpignan*; notwithstanding which, the *Spaniards*, being masters of the whole plain of *Urgel*, most of the *Catalan* chiefs, who had been faithful to the *French*, thought it prudent to retire into *Roussillon*; by which, as it was extremely natural, their party was exceedingly discouraged^l.

We deferred speaking of the affairs on the side of *Flanders*, because they require somewhat more room. The archduke *Leopold William* saw, with some surprise, an intire change in the affairs of *France*, his old friends closing with the court, and the duke of *Orleans* concurring in the measure of arresting the princes of *Conde* and *Conti*, and the duke of *Longueville*. This did not at all trouble him, since the new malecontents threw themselves immediately into the arms of *Spain*; and, in consequence of a new treaty, concluded between madame de *Longueville* and the archduke, the famous viscount *de Turenne* (for he was already famous) joined the archduke as soon as he took the field, and, after reducing *Aubenton* and *Irson*, took *Capellet* on the 15th of *June*; notwithstanding which, the archduke was obliged by the marshal *du Plessis Praslin* to raise the siege of *Guise*, on the first of *July*. His army, however, being reinforced, took *Capelle* on the 3d of *August*; after which the viscount *de Turenne* sent a strong detachment to deliver the princes out of the castle of *Vincennes*, which was prevented by transferring them to *Marcouffi*. The archduke, however, made himself master of *Monson*, after a vigorous defence; and, under colour of having full powers from *Spain*, set on foot a new treaty, as dangerous to the court as his victories. At length the marshal *du Plessis Praslin* having retaken *Reikel*, the archduke and the viscount *Turenne* gave him battle on the 15th of *December*, and were beat with great loss: in this engagement *Turenne* very narrowly escaped being killed or taken, which put an end to the campaign, but not to the intrigues on this side^m.

The viscount de Turenne enters into their service, and is beat by marshal du Plessis Praslin.

New discontents in France, upon which the prince of Conde joins with Spain.
A. D. 1651.

- d As the confusions in *France* were at the greatest height, their finances exhausted, the persons of the king and his mother scarce in safety, and their minister on the point of seeking shelter in *Germany*, we cannot have a more convincing proof of the weakness of *Spain* than arises from the small advantages she was able to make from circumstances so much in her favour. We cannot charge this with justice either on the ministers or the generals she employed; for they were certainly able men, and indefatigable in their endeavours; but the length of the war, the great distance of the different scenes of action, and, above all, the prodigious sums that were given from time to time to the *French* malecontents, were such as could not be supplied without impoverishing the people, who were at the same time consumed by pestilence and famine. On the whole, therefore, king *Philip* and his ministers knew not how to act, even in places where they were sure of meeting with little or no resistance. In *Italy*, to save expences, and to prevent jealousies, they withdrew their forces out of *Piedmont*, and contented themselves with securing the *Milanese*. On the side of *Portugal* they were able to do nothing; on the contrary, their forces were so weak, that they might have suffered extremely, if they had not had two things in their favour; first, that their frontiers were so ruined that the enemy had nothing either to tempt or to subsist them; and next, that the *Portuguese* were in a worse state than themselves. In *Catalonia*, they exerted themselves under the command of the marquis *de Mortara*, and with success in the spring: in the autumn, the count *de Marfin*, who was again at the head of the *French* troops, marched away with the whole army to join the prince of *Conde* in *Guienne*, leaving the *Catalans* to defend themselves as well as they couldⁿ. Upon this, Don *Juan* of *Austria*, recalled from *Italy*, on purpose to command on that side, formed the siege of *Barcelona*. In the *Low Countries*, through which cardinal *Mazarine* passed in his way to *Cologne*, the archduke, with the assistance of his great minister the count *de Fuensaldagna*, proposed some great exploits; which, however, in spite of all their efforts, produced only the conquest of *Furnes*, *St. Winoc*, and some other little places, which opened a passage to the reduction of *Dunkirk*, the siege of which the advance of the season would not permit them to undertake. To all their other cares the *Spanish* ministry had now added a new scene of war in the very heart of *France*, in consequence of a treaty made between his catholic majesty and the prince of *Conde*, to whose assistance a squadron of seventeen large vessels, filled with troops, stores, and money, was sent from *St. Sebastian* to *Bordeaux*. King *Philip*, however, had the consolation of seeing his young queen brought to bed,

^k BATT NANI.
Le Siècle de Louis XIV. BATT NANI,

^l MARTINIERE.

^m LE CLERC.

ⁿ Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

on the 12th of July, of the infanta Donna Maria Margareta, who became afterwards the consort of the emperor *Leopold*, and the grandmother of the reigning empress queen^a.

Vast advantages that accrued to that nation from those intrigues and discontents. It is generally allowed, that Don *Lewis de Haro* was much inferior, as a politician, to his uncle the conde duke; but it is certain that he managed his intrigues with greater success, and drew much higher advantages from the troubles he fomented in *France*. In *Italy*, some impression was made by the marquis *de Carracena* upon *Piedmont*; and *Cazal*, which *Olivares* could never get into his hands, was surrendered, the town through treachery, the citadel from famine, to the *Spaniards*, who restored it immediately to the duke of *Mantua*, upon his promise to preserve it by a garrison of his own troops only^p. On the side of *Bordeaux*, the prince of *Conde* received all the succours that were in their power to give, and when he traversed the kingdom, to throw himself into *Paris*, they furnished the expence, and received him with open arms, when resentment, and the want of any other resource, compelled him to seek shelter in their armies. They had, to say the truth, great reason; for *Gravelines* had surrendered to the archduke, after sixty-nine days siege; other places of less consequence were taken with less trouble; but, even in the midst of their confusion, the *French* did all that was in their power to save *Dunkirk*, in which there was a good garrison, commanded by the count *d'Estades*^q. The duke *de Vendosme* was sent with a good fleet to relieve it; but the *English* met with them in their passage, and, except three ships that escaped to *Flushing*, took them all, under colour of reprisals. This was the only service king *Philip* received from the parliament, in return for the extraordinary step he had taken in their favour, or, which is more probable, because it was believed to be rather the interest of *England* to have *Dunkirk* in the hands of *Spain* than of *France*. However that might be, the place was surrendered on the 16th of *September*, after a siege of thirty-nine days^r. The prince of *Conde*, having joined the *Spanish* army, took, though it was late in the season, *Rethel* and *St. Meneboüde*; but the design he had of giving their forces winter-quarters in *France* was prevented by *Turenne*. The campaign, however, was very fortunate, and the recovery of so many and so important places did no small honour to the archduke^s.

Barcelona surrendered to Don Juan of Austria, and the greatest part of Catalonia recovered.

THE *Spaniards* did little this year against the *Portuguese*; and the king of *Portugal*, according to his old maxim, persisted in putting his kingdom into a good state of defence, in every respect, rather than run any unnecessary hazards for the present^t. In *Catalonia*, Don *Juan of Austria* besieged *Barcelona* with a small army, and kept it blocked up by a squadron of galleys at sea. The *French* marshal *la Mothe* penetrated through his quarters with a reinforcement of between six and seven hundred men, which raised the spirits of the besieged for the present; but increased the scarcity of provisions. The *French* fleet attempted its relief without success; and at length, after a siege of fifteen months, *Barcelona* surrendered; on the 11th of *October*, the *French* garrison having good terms given them, and the inhabitants, who really compelled the surrender, had a general pardon, and their privileges secured. The whole country; except *Roses*, followed the fate of the capital^u. His catholic majesty held an assembly of the military orders, and afterwards of the states of the kingdom, at *Madrid*, in which some necessary resolutions were taken, and some good laws were made^v. His ministers also took care to circulate in *France* their manifestoes, in his catholic majesty's name, setting forth his earnest desire of peace, his abhorrence of contributing in any manner to the disturbance of his neighbours, and the purity of his intention of supporting the princes of *France* against the open violences and secret artifices of an *Italian* politician, who, to maintain his own greatness, and to promote his private views, trampled upon the laws of *France*, and kept her involved in war with her neighbours^w.

1653. The *Spaniards* lose the advantage of making a diversion from *Bordeaux*.

THE marquis *de Carracena* had some advantages in the beginning of the year, which, however, did not hinder him from consenting to a short cessation of arms; a circumstance that was highly advantageous to the *French*, who sent the marquis *du Plessis Belliere*, with a small corps of troops to secure *Piedmont*, and to harass the *Spaniards*. The marquis *de Carracena*, with superior forces, brought him to a battle, on the banks of the *Roquette*, where both sides claimed the victory; but the marquis being wounded, and able to make no progress during the rest of the year, we may venture to affirm his claim was not extremely well founded^x. In *Guienne*, the prince of *Conde's* faction began to crumble to nothing; and tho' the *Spaniards* had a garrison in *Bourg*, the *French* sent a squadron to *Bordeaux*, by which the place was blocked up at sea. The marshal *Marfin*, who commanded for the prince in those parts, was able to do nothing of consequence; and at length the duke of *Vendosme* appearing with a superior naval force, the *Spaniards* were constrained to retire. *Bourg*, in which they had a garrison, was taken, and the people of *Bordeaux* made their peace upon the best terms they could^y. In the *Low Countries*, this campaign was by no means so favourable as that of the preceding

^a Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle.

RENDON's History of the Rebellion.

NANI.

^w Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

de Louis XIV. Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

^p MARTINIERE.

^q MARTINIERE.

^x MARTINIERE.

^z MARTINIERE.

^r BATT NANI.

^s STEVENS's Suppl.

^t CLA-

^u BATT

^y QUINCY Hist. Militaire

a year. The prince of *Conde* did indeed make himself master of *Rocroy*, and some other places ; but monsieur de *Turenne* prevented him from doing any thing of consequence ; and the count de *Fuensaldagna* having hindered him from fighting, because he thought the risque too great, produced a difference between them that could never be composed ; more especially after the archduke *Leopold* arrived in the army, where, by the express directions of the court of *Madrid*, he was constrained to treat the prince as his equal, and be content at last to act upon the defensive, the young king *Lewis XIV.* coming in person to encourage his troops, and bringing with him such supplies as rendered them superior in every respect ^a ; which the vicinity of his dominions, in comparison of those of *Spain*, made the thing extremely easy.

There passed little of consequence between the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, and, in the few skirmishes that did happen, the advantage was, generally speaking, on the side of the latter. In *Catalonia*, the *Spaniards*, having for some time blocked up *Roses*, proposed to besiege it ; but their army being very weak, the *French*, who were also far from being numerous, compelled them to retire. This success engaged the marshal de *Hocquincourt* to penetrate through *Roussillon* into *Catalonia*, where he laid siege to *Gironne* on the 27th of *July*. He remained before it two months, when the place, being reduced to the last extremity, was relieved by Don *Juan* of *Austria*, who forced one of the quarters of the *French* camp, and compelled the marshal to retire into *Roussillon* with great precipitation ; but, notwithstanding this advantage, Don *Juan* was forced to do the very same thing before *Roses*, partly through the rigour of the season, and partly thro' the eagerness of the *French* marshal to recover his reputation, and to keep such of the *Catalans* as were still inclined to *France* from falling into absolute despair ^b. In both the vigilance and vigour he shewed on this occasion answered perfectly his intent.

The court of *Madrid*, at the request of the prince of *Conde*, had released from his imprisonment the duke of *Guise*, who gave them so much trouble at *Naples*, and he made them very magnificent promises in return ^c. He went into *France*, and, during these troublesome times, behaved himself so much to the satisfaction of the court, that he was promised the command of a fleet for the execution of a certain secret expedition of his own contriving. This provoked the *Spanish* ministers, but the duke was out of their reach ; and this, it is thought, made them treat another prince more severely that was in it. Charles duke of *Lorraine* had a strong affection for the house of *Austria*, which induced the *French* to deprive him of his dominions. He retained however a considerable corps of troops, with whom he served the crown of *Spain*, but in so capricious a manner, and with such an apparent jealousy of the prince of *Conde*, that his catholic majesty's orders were transmitted to the *Low Countries* to put him under arrest. He was enterprising, and yet suspicious and cautious ; however, ways and means were found to deceive him, and to separate his troops ; after which he was arrested, and sent prisoner to *Brussels*, transferred from thence to *Dunkirk*, afterwards conveyed to *Spain*, and confined in the castle of *Toledo*, till, upon the treaty of the *Pyrenees*, he was set at liberty ^d. The archduke, who would take no share in this business, was obliged to lend his name to a manifesto published in vindication of it. Prince *Francis* of *Lorraine* took the command of his brother's troops, and continued in his catholic majesty's service. The archduke accompanied, or rather directed, by the prince of *Conde*, very early this year, and unexpectedly, besieged *Arras*, while the *French* besieged *Stenai*. However, monsieur *Turenne* forced the *Spanish* camp before *Arras*, and obliged the archduke and the prince to raise the siege on the 25th of *August* ; notwithstanding which, the *Spaniards* reduced several places this year, and still kept up a very troublesome party in *France* ^e. All the respect, however, that could be paid to the prince of *Conde* was far from giving him content : he complained that the *Spanish* troops were not complete ; that the sums assigned for their pay were too little, and those not punctually issued ; that they had not the necessary trains of artillery ; that ammunition was frequently wanted, and most of their fortresses poorly garrisoned, and out of repair. They answered with fair promises ; but, as these were not kept, the prince began to grow weary of his situation, more especially when he found that *Cromwell* was negotiating with *France*, from whence he foresaw that the *Spaniards* would feel many inconveniences ; and be gradually less able to support him and his designs, which induced him to think of making his peace at home ; of which the *Spaniards* having some intimation, it augmented their jealousy, and contributed not a little to embarrass and perplex their affairs ^f.

The *Portuguese* this year took and plundered the town of *Oliva*, and broke the agreement that had subsisted for some time with the *Spanish* generals, of not disturbing the country-people on either side ; which induced, or rather compelled, the latter to make incursions likewise : notwithstanding which there happened little of moment. Don *Juan* of *Austria* was not able to do any great matter on the side of *Roussillon*, where the prince of *Conti* commanded. But the attempt made by the duke of *Guise* with a fleet to reduce *Naples*, proved altogether ineffectual, Affairs in Spain in a very declining condition, which disposes the court to peace.

^a Hist. du Vicomte de Turenne, Marechal General des Armées du Roy, par M. DE RAMSAY.
NANI. ^c CESPIDES. ^d Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vi. p. ii. p. 264.
TINIÈRE. ^f CESPIDES.

^b BATT
^e MAR-

and exposed both him and cardinal *Mazarine* to ridicule ^g. His catholic majesty caused his daughter the infanta to be acknowledged the heirs of all his dominions, and finished the fine chapel at the *Escorial* at a vast expence, notwithstanding the affairs of his government suffered every-where for want of money, most of his revenues being anticipated, and his subjects every where in a manner exhausted; so that peace became every day more necessary, and at the same time seemed to be farther off than ever ^h. Endeavours were used to set on foot a negotiation by the pope's mediation, which was very coldly received in *France*.

Many reasons
conspire to
make the arch-
duke desirous of
quitting the
Low Coun-
tries.

A. D. 1655.

In *Italy*, as there was little done the last year, the marquis *de Carracena* had taken the necessary precautions to be in a condition to act with greater vigour at the entrance of this. He had intelligence of the duke of *Modena*'s having entered into a treaty with *France*, and of his concluding a marriage for his eldest son with the niece of cardinal *Mazarine*; upon which ^b he demanded one of the best places in his dominions, by way of security for his conduct, and advanced with all the forces he could draw together towards *Reggio*, where the duke then was; but the duke quickly found him other employment, by putting himself at the head of his forces, and marching directly towards *Pavia*, before which place arrived at the same time prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, with the *French* troops, and the marquis *de Villa*, with those of *Piedmont*. The place was invested on the first of *August*; but the governor count *Trotti*, having a good garrison, made so gallant a defence, that he gave the marquis *de Carracena* time to expect reinforcements from *Naples* and from *Germany*, and with their help he obliged the allies to raise the siege. The duke of *Modena*, however, retired to *Casal*; and so low was the credit of the *Spaniards* fallen in *Italy*, that, notwithstanding this advantage, the duke of *Mantua* declared for the *French*, and actually went to *Paris* to settle the terms upon which he was to enjoy the protection of that court ⁱ. In the *Low Countries*, the archduke and the prince of *Conde* flattered themselves with great hopes; but when they came to take the field, they found themselves much disappointed; for monsieur *Turenne* besieged and took *Landrecy*, and afterwards *Quenoi*. The *French* king was himself in the field; and the superiority of his arms so great, that, notwithstanding all the opposition the archduke and the prince could give, without running the hazard of a battle, *Conde* and *St. Guelan* were added to his conquests ^k. In the winter the archduke received still greater mortifications. The court of *Spain* had concluded a new treaty with their prisoner the duke of *Lorraine* at *Toledo*, which was transmitted to the archduke, and both he and the prince of *Conde* flattered themselves, that, a new oath of fidelity being exacted from these troops, they might be safely employed in an enterprise which they had concerted. Duke *Francis*, however, having sent his second son, who was a child, to *Breda*, escaped with the eldest into the territories of *France*, and all the *Lorraine* troops, that had not deserted before, followed him thither, where they took an oath of fidelity to the *French* king, till their sovereign should be set at liberty ^l. At this very time, that is, in the beginning of *November*, it was known that the protector *Cromwell*, in spite of all that could be offered by ministers both from *Madrid* and *Brussels*, had concluded a treaty with *France*; with which unacceptable news the archduke acquainted the people of the *Low Countries* by a manifesto, and at the same time issued commissions to privateers ^m. These mortifications, added to those which he daily received from the count *de Fuensaldagna*, who had in reality the confidence of the *Spanish* court, engaged the archduke to press his catholic majesty so warmly for his leave to quit the *Low Countries*, where he was able to do so little for his majesty's service, and still less for his own reputation, that at length he obtained it, and an assurance that a successor should be sent him in the spring ⁿ; a measure by no means acceptable to the nobility or people in the *Spanish* provinces, where the archduke was generally and deservedly beloved.

His catholic
majesty resolves
to make some
changes in the
persons who
hold commands.

THE war with *Portugal* furnished this year no incident of importance, except we may account so the proceeding of the *Portuguese* governor of *Salvaterra*, whom the *Spaniards* would have corrupted by the agency of Don *Alonso de Sande*, a *Castilian* officer, with whom he lived in great friendship, the *Portuguese* having carried on the negotiation till he had obtained a letter under the hand of Don *Lewis de Haro*, consenting to admit the person with whom he treated, and ^f thirty men, at a postern; which he performed, and caused every man's brains to be beat out as soon as he was within. As for the unfortunate Don *Alonso*, he tied him to the mouth of a cannon filled with gunpowder, and shattered him all to pieces; an action so barbarous, that it tarnished the reputation he would otherwise have acquired from his fidelity ^o. Don *Juan* of *Austria* was early in the field on the side of *Roussillon*, where he took some small places, and would have made greater progress, if the prince of *Conti* had not been the cardinal's nephew, who took care to furnish him with a numerous army, and sent likewise the duke of *Vendosme* upon the coast with a strong fleet. With his assistance he took *Quiers* and *Castillon*, after a

^g STEVENS'S Continuation of Soufa's History of Portugal.

^h NANI, MARTINIERE, CESPIDES.

ⁱ NANI, MARTINIERE, CESPIDES.

^k Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. DE RAMSAY, MARTINIERE.

^l Corps Univ. Diplomatique, tom. vi. P. ii. p. 121 MARTINIERE,

CLARINDON'S History of the Rebellion, BATT NANI.

^m of Soufa's Hist. of Portugal.

ⁿ BATT NANI, MARTINIERE.

^o MAR-

^p BATT

^q MARTINIERE,

^r STEVENS'S Continuation

^s CESPIDES.

a siege of twenty days. He then prepared to penetrate into *Catalonia*; but Don Juan, though much inferior in strength, had so well secured the passes, that he found it impracticable; however, the town of *Solsona* revolted, and received a *French* garrison. The siege of *Palamos* was next resolved on; but Don Juan threw in such a reinforcement, as would have made the reduction a work of time; and this put the prince of *Conti* so much out of humour, that he quitted the command to the count *de Merinville*^p. Don Juan, desirous of punishing *Solsona* for its revolt, besieged it soon after the prince's departure; but the count *de Merinville* surprised one of his quarters, and relieved the place. Don Juan, however, took *Berga*, and, after a long campaign, forced the *French* to retire into *Languedoc*, where they took up their winter quarters. After their departure he reduced *Solsona*, and gave its inhabitants cause to remember their having been so ready to receive a *French* garrison^q. There happened also this year a naval engagement, of which neither side had much reason to boast. Some *French* historians claim the victory; but, from what happened through the whole campaign, it is easy to see that their title was none of the best. His catholic majesty resolved to make some changes in his governors and general officers the next year; his son Don Juan of *Austria* he appointed governor of the *Low Countries*, with a plenitude of power never granted to any of his predecessors^r. He made choice of the marquis *de Carracena* to serve under him, in hopes he might prove more successful there than hitherto he had been in *Italy*. The count *de Fuensaldagna*, with whom the ministry were well satisfied, had the government of the *Milanese*, for Don Juan did not affect a servant who had held his former master in leading strings. The *Spanish* privateers gave already a great deal of disturbance; the treaty with the duke of *Lorrain*, signed on the 9th of *November* proved of no use, as has been already shewn. However, a medal was struck by order of the court of *Madrid*, with the bust of the king and his titles on one side, and a drawn sword and branch of olive on the other, with this inscription, *Prepared for either*^s. It was thought, however, that this medal rather spoke a wish than a fact.

THE count *de Fuensaldagna* found the affairs of the *Milanese* in no very promising situation. The army was weak, the revenue anticipated, the inhabitants of the capital extremely displeased with the accidental burning of the ducal palace, and all the papers of state contained therein. He set himself to repair every thing, and he made a great progress in what he undertook; for though without doubt he was very assuming, yet he was a great man in the cabinet and in the field, and very few ministers were so assiduous^t. The duke of *Modena* had made a tour to *Paris*, in order to be present at his son's marriage; and, as this procured him some advantages, it turned likewise to the account of *Spain*; for the duke of *Mantua*, jealous of the honours paid him, gradually reconciled himself to his old friends^u. Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* being dead on the verge of fourscore, the duke of *Merceur*, at the request of the duke of *Modena*, was appointed to command in *Italy*, and, with a flourishing army, besieged *Valenza*, a strong place in the *Milanese*. It was defended by Don *Augustino de Signado*, and defended with equal capacity and courage. The count *de Fuensaldagna* did all in his power to relieve it, and was once very near carrying his point; but at length the place was reduced to such extremity, that the governor demanded to capitulate. The two dukes answered, that, according to the rules of war, he had no terms to expect; but that, out of pure regard to his courage and conduct, they were ready to grant him what terms he pleased; and thus, to the great regret of the *Spaniards*, *Valenza* was lost, after seventy-three days open trenches. This was looked upon as one of the best conducted enterprizes during the whole war; and though no blame could with any foundation be laid upon the count *de Fuensaldagna*, it proved notwithstanding a great mortification to him, more especially as it happened at his entrance on the government, and as he very well knew they had formed at *Madrid* great expectations of seeing their affairs in *Italy* restored by a person of his known courage and capacity^w.

THE situation of affairs in the *Low Countries* requiring the presence of Don Juan, he resolved to pass by sea into *Italy*, and from thence by land into the *Netherlands*. We cannot desire a clearer proof of the great change in the circumstances of *Spain*, than this short voyage will afford us. Instead of the numerous squadrons of the *Doria's* or *Mendoza's*, which attended every motion of *Charles* the fifth and *Philip* the second, Don Juan put to sea with only four gallies. These were soon attacked by privateers of such force, that three of them were quickly taken, and the fourth, with the prince on board, had been taken likewise, if Don Juan had not promised the slaves their liberty, and one hundred ducats apiece, if they landed him safe. Thus encouraged, they exerted themselves in such a manner, that with great difficulty they merited their reward^x. The prince no sooner debarked than he continued his route to *Milan*, where, notwithstanding the highest honours were paid him, he staid but a few days, and spent the best part of his time in conferring with the count *de Fuensaldagna*, whose informations he re-

Mortification of count Fuensaldagna at the loss of Valenza in the Milanese.

Success of Don Juan of Austria and the prince of Conde in the Low Countries.

^p BATT NANI.

^q LE CLERC, BASNAGE, NEUVILLE.

^r CESPIDES.

^s Histoire

Metallique des Pays Bas, par GERARD VAN LOON, tom. ii. p. 396.

^t BATT NANI.

^u CESPIDES.

^w MARTINIERE, QUINCY.

^x PARIYAL, Siecle de Fer, tom. i. p. 135.

ceived very thankfully, and heard his advice with much attention. As soon as he arrived in the *Low Countries*, the archduke *Leopold William* went to wait upon him, and, having met him at some miles distance, in a most triumphant manner carried him to *Brussels*, where he was received with universal applause; soon after which the archduke set out for *Cologne*, Don *Juan* accompanying him as far as he came to meet him^r. These ceremonies were not without a meaning, for it was known that the prince of *Conde* pretended to the precedency; but the archduke, who was both the son and the brother of an emperor, having given Don *Juan* the right hand, the prince made no difficulty of following his example. However, these forms took up so much time, that the *French* were in the field before them; and the viscount *Turenne*, having left the cardinal with the court at *la Fere*, tho' his army was not very numerous, had invested *Valenciennes*, a large and well-fortified place, in the midst of the *Spanish* fortresses. It was defended by Don *Francisco de Meneses*, who had the precaution to lay the adjacent meadows under water; so that the *French* were constrained to lay a bridge, or rather to construct a dike, over them, to unite their quarters, the viscount *de Turenne* commanding on the one side, and marshal *de la Ferte* on the other. About the beginning of *July* Don *Juan*, the prince of *Conde*, and the marquis *de Carracena*, advanced to its relief, and encamped at a small distance from the quarter of the *Lorrainers*, which it was expected they would have attacked; but, having caused bridges to be thrown over the *Scheld*, they passed it in the night between the 15th and 16th, and attacked the quarter of the marshal *la Ferte* so briskly, that in a quarter of an hour the line was forced, and the marshal taken prisoner^z. At the very instant of this attack, the governor opened the sluices, which carried a barge laden with stones with such rapidity against the *French* dike, that it forced a passage; so that Monsieur *Turenne*, finding it impossible to succour his colleague, retired with his baggage and part of his artillery under the cannon of *Quenoi*. The princes would have pursued him, and in all probability would have rendered their victory complete, if unluckily the gate of *Valenciennes* on that side had not been walled up, and, before it could be opened, the viscount was out of their reach^a. As it was, a marshal of *France* taken, with four thousand foot, with as many killed, and all the artillery and baggage falling likewise into their hands, gave a new lustre to the *Spanish* arms. This was not a little augmented by the taking of *Conde*, after a siege of twenty-five days, in which there was a garrison of four thousand men, who were indeed suffered to march out, but upon the hard condition of not serving against *Spain* for four years. These successes were somewhat qualified by their being obliged to raise the siege of *St. Guilain*, in hopes of preventing Monsieur *Turenne* from recovering *la Capelle*, in which they likewise failed^b. However, the events of this campaign were apparently in their favour, and this revived the spirits of the *Flemings*, and in some measure abated the chagrin of the prince of *Conde*.

The propositions of peace made by M. de Lionne are rejected by the court of Spain.

If the former campaigns had been at all more vigorous, we might have imputed the little progress made in this on the side of *Portugal* to the declining health of the king Don *Juan*, who died in *November*; but in truth they were all the effects of his wise policy, who, having a broken state to repair, and wars in different parts of the world to maintain, thought it best to save expences on that side where the weakness of his enemy was as great as his own. In *Catalonia* the marquis *de Montana*, who commanded after the departure of Don *Juan*, had but a very small army, with which he took several little places; and the duke *de Candale*, grandson to the great duke of *Epernon*, who commanded the *French*, neither attempted any thing himself, nor gave the *Spanish* general much disturbance. Pope *Urban* the seventh having solicited the *French* bishops to interpose with their king, in order to facilitate a peace, *Lewis* afforded them but a rough, not to say a rude answer. Upon reflection, however, cardinal *Mazarine* thought it expedient to let the world see that *France* did not intend, or at least would not avow the intention, of making a war without end; therefore, at the beginning of the campaign, Mr. *de Lionne* was dispatched to *Madrid* with full powers, comprised in about six lines, to conclude a peace; and, to prevent any doubt about the king's signature, a gentleman, who had been in the service of the count *de Fuensaldagna*, in whose presence the *French* king delivered those powers, and told him what they were, accompanied him^c. This minister plenipotentiary had several conferences with Don *Lewis de Haro*, but they ended in nothing. An account of this negotiation was published, as is generally supposed, by *Lionne*, in order to justify his court; and in this it is affirmed, that the point upon which they differed was the restitution of his places and governments to the prince of *Conde*, to which it is said his catholic majesty inclined to add the sovereignty of some places on the frontiers, in consideration of the services which, as the *Spanish* ministers phrased it, he had been compelled to render their master: whereas *Lewis*, though he was content the prince should return, would by no means allow that he should return

^r AITZEMA, Zaaken van staat en oorl, iii deel, fo. 1314. PARIVAL, tom. ii. p. 234.

COURT, Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 274—276. Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. DE RAMSAY, QUINCY.

^a AITZEMA, Zaaken van staat en oorl, iii. deel, fol. 1314.

^b QUINCY, Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, MARTINIÈRE.

^c STEVENS's Continuation of Sousa's History of Portugal, Histoire de la Paix des Pyrennes, Cologne, 1667. pag. 15. QUINCY, tom. i. p. 217.

- a. in triumph. It has been however thought, and indeed it is more probable, that the true reason why this negotiation ended so abruptly was, the proposition, or at least the intimation, of a marriage between the young king and the infanta, to which *Philip* was exceedingly averse, as foreseeing the consequences, and being desirous to marry her to a prince of his own family^d. The *Spaniards* were made thoroughly sensible this year of the consequences of a war with *England*; for besides the news of the attempt upon *St. Domingo*, and the conquest of *Jamaica* in the *West Indies*, they had the misfortune of seeing the admirals *Blake* and *Montague* sink three and take two rich galleons upon their own coast, in which prizes they found three millions of pieces of eight, besides which the *Spaniards* lost a greater sum in those that were sunk^e. A misfortune so much the more intolerable, as they knew not what provocation had brought this war
- b upon them, and consequently knew as little how to extricate themselves from it, or to revenge the mischiefs they sustained.

THE duke of *Mantua*, though he had contributed exceedingly the year before to the taking of *Valenza*, was prevailed upon by his wife to go to *Milan*, where he was quickly reconciled to the interests of *Spain*; and, having discovered this by acting openly, the duke of *Modena* and the prince of *Conti* began to commit hostilities in his dominions. As they had visibly a superiority, they proceeded to invest *Alexandria della Paglia*, a strong place, and well defended. The count *de Fuenfaldagna* assembled all the forces he was able, and marched with them to the relief of the place; in order to which he attacked the enemy in their lines, but without effect. However, having taken a strong intrenched camp very near them, and the governor continuing to make frequent sallies, they were obliged at last to raise the siege on the 18th of *August*, after having lain before the place thirty-three days^f. The count, however, was not strong enough to prevent the allies from taking quarters in the dominions of the duke of *Mantua*. On the side of *Flanders*, through the industry and activity of the prince of *Conde*, the army was very early in the field, so that *St. Guilain* was invested, and reduced by the twenty-second of *March*. Marshal *Turenne*, to repair this affront, having deceived the *Spanish* generals, began to invest *Cambray*, in which there were not above three hundred men; and had certainly taken it in a few days, if the prince of *Conde* had not marched thither with incredible diligence, at the head of four thousand five hundred horse and dragoons, and, under the cover of a thick fog, penetrating the *French* line, got into the place; upon which Monsieur *Turenne* drew off his troops, to cover the siege of *Montmedi* by marshal *la Ferte*, which was taken on the 6th of *August*. In the mean time Don *Juan* of *Austria* and the prince of *Conde* attempted to surprise *Calais*, and actually gained possession of the lower town; but the upper was so well defended that they were forced to retire. *Turenne* afterwards took *St. Venant*, and came time enough to oblige the *Spaniards*, who had laid siege to *Ardes*, to raise it; but they were so lucky as to surprise his rear-guard, and, with it, the military chest. This did not hinder him from besieging and taking *Mardyke*, which surrendered on the 3d of *October*. The garrison, being made prisoners of war, were sent over to *England*, and the place delivered to general *Morgan*, who commanded the auxiliaries sent by the protector, which had served in the *French* army all this campaign^g. The emperor *Ferdinand* dying in the spring, the archduke *Leopold*, formerly governor of the *Low Countries*, might have succeeded him, if he had not declined it in favour of his nephew of the same name, who, notwithstanding, through the opposition excited by the *French*, was not elected till the following year. Don *Juan* laboured assiduously to improve a misunderstanding between the states general and the crown of *France* into an open rupture; but the former, apprehending the consequences, and knowing the inability of the *Spaniards* to perform their promises, adjusted it upon the best terms they could^h.

As the *Portuguese* suspected their enemies might be encouraged by the death of their king, and the minority of the prince his son, they determined to begin the campaign early, and with vigour; but, miscarrying in their attempt to surprise a *Spanish* fort, they drew upon themselves the mischief they sought to avoid; for the duke *de St. Germain*, an *Italian* nobleman of great merit, who commanded the *Spanish* army, being sent for to *Madrid*, received instructions to exert himself to the utmost, and was at the same time promised great supplies and considerable reinforcements, which were accordingly sent him. Towards the close of *April* he took the field, and soon after invested *Olivenza*, the strongest place in *Portugal* except *Elvas*. The count *de St. Lorenzo*, with the army of *Portugal*, made several attempts to relieve it, but without success; so that after a long defence it surrendered on the 30th of *May*, for which the governor Don *Manuel de Saldanha* was banished. The inhabitants, to shew their antipathy to the *Spaniards*, though permitted by the capitulation to stay, quitted the place to a man. The

^d Memoires de LIONNE, CESPIDES. Historiques & Chronologiques.

^e Lord CLARENDON'S History of the Rebellion, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques.

^f Histoire du Prince de Conde, REINDOURT. Histoire de Louis XIV. QUINCY, Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. DE RAMSAY.

^g Lord CLARENDON'S History of the Rebellion, PARIVALL, Siecle de Fer, tom. ii. p. 381.

^h Histoire du Cardinal Mazarine, QUINCY, LE CLERC, BASNAGE, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par M. VOLTAIRE.

duke next invested the town and castle of *Moron*, which he likewise took ; so that this was the most active and successful campaign since the beginning of the war ¹. The marquis *de St. Abreo*, who commanded in *Catalonia* in the absence of the duke of *Candale*, forced the *Spanish* troops, who were employed in the blockade of *Urgel*, to retire ; and, as their forces were very weak, and such great efforts made on the side of *Portugal*, there was nothing more done. But the most fatal event of the whole year was the burning the *Spanish* galleons by the *English* fleet under the command of admiral *Blake*, in the island of *Teneriff*, by which many millions were lost, as well as a great number of good ships, which the *Spaniards* could very ill spare ². These misfortunes, however, seemed to be all buried in oblivion at *Madrid*, on the queen's being delivered on the 28th of *November* of a prince, who was baptized by the name of *Philip Prosper*, to the general satisfaction of the king and his subjects ³.

The affairs of Spain, instead of mending, grow worse in Italy.

A. D. 1658.

THE count *de Fuenfaldagna* had spent the whole winter in contriving to block up *Valenza*, with a full intention to besiege it as soon as the season would permit ; but, before that time came, he met with a new mortification by the duke of *Mantua's* declaring himself neuter, in consequence of a negotiation that had been carried on under the mediation of the republic of *Venice*. The duke *de Navailles* served under the duke of *Modena* this year, the differences between the two princes having lessened very much the success of the last campaign. Before the count was in any condition to execute his project against *Valenza*, the two dukes marched directly towards him, while the *Spanish* forces under the command of the marquis *de Villa* took the fortress of *Trin*, in their march to join the army of the allies, which, arriving in sight of *Milan*, might have created some disturbance, if the count *de Fuenfaldagna* had not thrown himself into it with the best part of his forces, which kept the people quiet, and frustrated the enemy's designs. The duke of *Modena*, notwithstanding, besieged and took *Mortara*, the capital of the fertile district of *Lomellino* ; and in all probability would have carried his success farther, if a distemper, which seized him at this siege, had not removed him out of this world ⁴.

In the Low Countries they go still much worse, the English acting as auxiliaries to the French.

IN the *Low Countries* the *French* formed a very bold design for surprising *Ostend* ; but it was managed with so little secrecy, that the *Spaniards* turned it to their advantage, insomuch that they took marshal *d'Aumont*, and all the troops that were to have executed it ⁵. The viscount *Turenne*, notwithstanding this misfortune, was forced to undertake the siege of *Dunkirk*, the *French* court being constrained to it, in order to oblige *Cromwell*. It was a difficult, or rather a desperate enterprise, which could never have succeeded, if the *Spaniards* had taken the smallest precautions for its preservation ; but they had conceived an opinion that cardinal *Mazarine* had fixed his heart on becoming master of *Cambray*, and therefore bent all their attention to the security of that place, notwithstanding his *Britannic* majesty, then in exile, gave them repeated notices that *Dunkirk* would be besieged. The marquis *de Leyde*, who was governor of that place, was at *Brussels*, soliciting for succours, when the *French* appeared before it, and not without difficulty found means to get into it without the succours for which he had applied. Don *Juan* of *Austria*, having made this capital mistake in delaying, made another more fatal by hastening to its relief ; for, marching with all the troops he could assemble, but without artillery, to the *Downs*, he proposed to wait there for a favourable opportunity of forcing the enemy's lines. Monsieur *Turenne*, penetrating his design, took the shortest method to prevent it, by attacking him immediately : notwithstanding that Don *Juan*, the prince of *Conde*, the dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*, did all that was possible to encourage their troops, the army, sensible of the disadvantage under which they fought, were quickly and intirely defeated. This happened on the fourteenth, and *Dunkirk* was taken on the twenty-third, of *June*. Monsieur *Turenne*, pursuing his conquests, took *Bergues Saint Vinox* on the 2d of *July*, *Furnes* on the third, *Dixmude* on the 7th, *Oudenarde* on the 9th of *September*, *Menin* on the 17th, defeated the prince *de Ligne* on the 19th, and took *Ipres* on the 24th. In the mean time the marshal *de Ferte* took *Gravelines* ; so that in the course of a war which lasted 28 years, the *Spaniards* had never experienced so many disgraces in any one campaign ⁶.

Don Lewis de Haro takes the command on the side of Portugal, and loses the battle of Elvas.

ON the side of *Portugal* both parties seemed determined to make the utmost efforts in their power. The queen dowager, a woman of great vigilance and spirit, had assembled an army of eighteen thousand men, under the command of Don *Juan Mendez de Vasconcellos*, an old officer of great reputation, and sent him with express orders to reduce *Badajoz*. He amused himself, however, with attacking the fort of *St. Christopher's*, which, after all, he was not able to take ; and at last, rising from before it, passed the river, and besieged *Badajoz*. The

¹ STEVENS's Continuation of Soufa's History of Portugal. Rebellion, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par M. VOLTAIRE.

² BATT NANI, Corps Diplomatique, tom. vi. P. ii. p. 225. QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. REINCOURT, MONTGLAT, Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle.

³ Lord CLARENDON's History of the Rebellion, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par M. VOLTAIRE, Lord CLARENDON's History of the Rebellion, BURNET's History of his own Times.

⁴ CESPIDES Hist. Chronologique du dernier Siecle. ⁵ Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. DE RAMSAY, MONTGLAT, tom. iv. p. 171. ⁶ QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de Madame MOTTEVILLE, MONTGLAT, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, REINCOURT, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Lord CLARENDON's History of the Rebellion, BURNET's History of his own Times.

- a duke *de St. Germain*, who commanded the *Spanish* troops, sent advice of this to *Madrid*, and withal informed the court, that the place was in so poor a condition, that it could not hold out long, and that it was utterly out of his power to relieve it. This raised such murmurs amongst the people, that Don *Lewis de Haro*, collecting all the horse and foot that could be drawn out of both *Castiles*, marched with fifteen thousand men to *Merida*, where the duke *de St. Germain*, having forced a passage through the enemy's line, joined him with one thousand horse, and then marched directly towards the place; but, upon their approach, *Vasconcellos* raised the siege and retired. Don *Lewis de Haro*, flushed with this success, and finding himself at the head of near 20,000 men, resolved to conclude the campaign with reducing *Elvas*. The place was strong, and defended by Don *Sancho Manuel*, a stubborn man, who would have held out to extremity. The *Spaniards*, however, invested it, and pushed the siege with great vigour; but the queen dowager having reinforced her troops, and given the command to the count *de Castagneda*, he advanced immediately to its relief. In point of regular troops, his army was inferior to that of the *Spaniards*, but more numerous, comprehending the militia. The duke *de St. Germain* drew out his forces, and gave him battle; in which part of his cavalry being defeated, and he, advancing in person to cover his foot, received a shot in the head, and fell from his horse; which so discouraged his forces, that they presently broke, and were pursued with great fury by the *Portuguese*. The battle of *Elvas* was fought on the 23d of July: Don *Lewis de Haro* was spectator at a distance of this defeat, which cost the *Spaniards* about 2000 men, and returned immediately to *Madrid*. Don *Rodrigo Moxico*, who was next in command to the duke *de St. Germain*, fortified a post in the rear, and by that means rallied the troops, and made a good retreat; and the general, who was thought to be mortally wounded, through the skill and care of his surgeons, recovered.

THE dispositions of the court of *Spain* for carrying on the war against *Portugal*, was the true reason why the alterations on the side of *Catalonia* were slow and languishing. The marquis *de St. Aunais*, who commanded for the *French* in *Roussillon*, was sensible of this; and, being desirous of doing something that might make an éclat before the arrival of the duke *de Mercœur*, who was to replace the duke *de Candale*, he undertook the siege of *Campredon*, a place of some importance, between *Gironne* and *Paucerdà*. The marquis *de Mortara*, who was unwilling to shew the weakness of *Spain*, by bringing his troops into the field, did not let slip this opportunity of displaying his military skill, which really deserved a command of more importance. He drew his forces together so secretly and so suddenly, that the *French* saw them before they had the least intelligence, and scarce saw before they felt them; in short, he forced their lines in three places, and not only obliged them to raise the siege with precipitation, but so effectually ruined their army, that the marquis *de Mortara* kept the field all the rest of the campaign, while the duke *de Mercœur* was obliged to be on the defensive. As to the domestic affairs of *Spain*, the king held a general assembly of the states of *Castile* and *Leon*, in which some good regulations were made, certain supplies granted, and all commerce with *Portugal* prohibited. Another event happened this year, which gave equal joy to the king and his subjects, and contributed not a little towards restoring the general peace of Christendom; this was the birth of the infant Don *Ferdinand Thomas*, on the 21st of *December*, so that the king had now the pleasure of seeing two princes capable of the succession, tho' neither of them enjoyed it. It was this that chiefly contributed to remove that formidable objection which hitherto had defeated all negotiations for a general peace, though nothing could be more necessary to the several powers engaged in war, and was to none so necessary as to the crown of *Spain*.

In *Italy*, though the count *de Fuenfaldagna* had not been very successful as a general, yet this was far from lessening his credit at the court of *Spain*, where he was considered as the ablest minister they had, in which he had no more than justice done him. He saw clearly the situation he was in; and though, as governor of the *Milanese*, he maintained to the utmost the forms and the magnificence introduced by his predecessors, and sustained the dignity of the crown with a steadiness censured only by those who were strangers to his motives; yet he presented things plainly at *Madrid*, and gave the ministers to understand, that affairs in *Italy* were irretrievable by any thing but a peace; that the duchy of *Milan* was on the very point of being lost; that its natural strength was utterly exhausted; that to draw supplies from the *Two Sicilies* was to hazard them; that the emperor was tied by his capitulation from affording them any succours; that promises from *Spain* were useless, or rather mischievous; and that *France* was negotiating a league offensive and defensive with the republic of *Venice*, the conclusion of which would be a prologue to the conclusion of their empire in *Italy*. To the duchess dowager and regent of *Savoy*, he used a language somewhat different; he suggested, that if the *French* conquered the duchy of *Milan*, the territories of *Savoy* would

P STEVENS'S Continuation of Soufa's History of Portugal.
p. 244. MONTGLAT, tom. iv. p. 195.

9 Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i.
CESPIDES, Histoire Gen. d'Espagne.

be no more than a dependent province; those who were now their allies would become their masters; and those prerogatives, of which all sovereigns are jealous, would be immediately diminished, and gradually absorbed. His arguments had their weight every-where; king *Philip* was so much astonished at the danger, that he resolved to renew the negotiation which he had rejected; and the duchess of *Savoy*, though so nearly allied in blood to *Lewis XIV.* saw the count's reasoning in so strong a light, that she resolved to give no farther assistance to the conquest of *Milan*. She would perhaps have made greater alterations in her measures, but for the views she had of marrying the princess *Margaret* her daughter to that monarch, with which the cardinal had amused her long, and which had contributed not a little to keep her in the *French* interest.

Spain sends a minister privately to the king and cardinal, to renew the negotiation.

THE remonstrances of the count *Fuensaldagna* engaged the duchess of *Savoy* to deal so explicitly with the *French* ministers, that the cardinal was constrained to bring the court to *Lyons*, that the king, and the queen his mother, might have an interview with the duchess of *Savoy* and the princess *Margaret*; the news of which made such an impression at *Madrid*, that *Don Antonio de Pimentel* was immediately sent to *Lyons* incognito, where, by applying himself to the cardinal, with strong assurances that his catholic majesty had no longer any repugnance to the marriage proposed between the most Christian king and the infanta, his proposition was accepted, and all thoughts of marriage with *Savoy* laid aside. A circumstance which was also favourable to *Spain*, as it changed the ruling maxims of that court, and convinced the duchess regent and her son, that, by an obstinate and blind attachment to *France*, they might help to aggrandize that crown, but without making any addition either to their own greatness or revenue; and that, by reducing the strength of the *Spaniards*, they lessened one of those supports, upon which, at some conjuncture or other, they should be forced to lean. The count *de Fuensaldagna* remained master of the negotiation on the behalf of *Spain*; for, though *Pimentel* received full powers from *Madrid*, yet he made a tour, in order to confer with the count *de Fuensaldagna*, from whom he received his instructions. The great difficulty was as to the prince of *Conde*, whose interests were at last given up by the count, who perhaps remembered the differences that had been between them in the *Low Countries*; but, by way of equivalent, *Portugal* was given up by *France*. At length the preliminaries were settled at *Paris*, and, in consequence of them, and of the queen's interposition, *France* consented to a suspension of arms, and to the final adjusting of the treaty between the two ministers on the frontiers. These conferences were held in an island scarce heard of before, but which from this transaction became famous; it lay in the middle of the river *Bidassoa*, and was called the *Isle of Pheasants*. There was a kind of hall of audience erected, with a chair and a table on each side, but the opposite sides of the table met. *Don Lewis de Haro* passed over a bridge from the *Spanish* side, at the same time that the cardinal *Mazarine* advanced over a bridge on the other; they entered at opposite doors, and seated themselves in the dominions of their respective masters.

Cardinal Mazarine and Don Lewis de Haro, conclude the peace of the Pyrenees.

A. D. 1659.

THESE conferences began on the 13th of *August*, and ended on the 7th of *November*, and were in number twenty-four. *Don Lewis*, contrary to the preliminaries, brought the affair of the prince of *Conde* again upon the carpet, and pressed it extremely; but the cardinal remained firm, and even went so far as to say, that he perceived this negotiation would end like that three years before. *Don Lewis* protested it should not, and that he would adhere to the letter of the preliminaries. He added, his catholic majesty could not break his faith, and would therefore give the prince of *Conde* a district in sovereignty, or the government of the *Low Countries*. This forced the cardinal to disclose himself; for the prince of *Conde*, foreseeing what would happen, and desirous of returning home, had already submitted, and given up all his pretensions. The cardinal offered, therefore, that the equivalent intended for the prince should be given to the crown of *France*, and that the king should bestow his office of great master of his household on his son the duke of *Enguien*, and give the prince the government of *Burgundy* and *Bresse*, which was accepted. While the conferences lasted, marshal *Gramont* was sent to *Madrid*, to demand the infanta; which he did in a very gallant manner, entering the place, not with the pomp and state of an ambassador, but in the new stile of royal courier, preceded by a post-master, and a certain number of postilions, who were followed by a troop of sixty gentlemen, after whom came the ambassador all on the gallop, to express their master's impatience to have the infanta. It is not to be conceived what an effect this trivial circumstance had on the *Spanish* nation, and even on the king, who consented to the marriage with the best grace in the world. The treaty was at length signed, notwithstanding the disturbance given to *Don Lewis* by the duke of *Lorrain*, who was now set at liberty, and whose interests were very little considered, or the uneasiness given to the cardinal by the ambassadors of *Portugal*, and the perplexity they were jointly under from the presence

* MONTGLAT, Histoire de Mazarine, Histoire de la Paix des Pyrenees, Memoires de MOTTEVILLE, Memoires de Madame MONTPENSIER, CESPICES, BATT NANI.

a of king *Charles* the second, and of the lord ambassador *Lockhart*, who, on the cardinal's asking him for whom he acted, answered pleasantly, that it was a point not yet settled in *England*, but that what he offered was on the part of those who should be uppermost. The renunciations also embarrassed them not a little; but at length the cardinal relaxed in that point, and suffered the *Spaniards* to do almost what they pleased, foreseeing that time and power would wear or break all these paper engagements. Thus ended this famous negotiation, which produced the treaty of the *Pyrenees**, equally blamed in *France* and in *Spain*, and, for that reason, it may be justly considered as the best and most equal that could be made at that juncture, and all circumstances considered.

ONE of the principal motives that determined both *Philip* the fourth and his minister to the marriage and peace with *France*, was, the desire of turning the whole force of the *Spanish* monarchy upon *Portugal*: it was with this view that Don *Juan* of *Austria* was recalled in the spring of the preceding year. This event, though somewhat unexpected, was not at all displeasing to him, for he was become heartily weary of the *Low Countries*, where he saw nothing but misery, and heard nought but complaints. He concealed the order he had received, departed privately, and left the government to the marquis *de Carracena*. He returned through *France*, found the court wholly occupied with the great affair of the peace, yet fully determined on the conquest of *Portugal*, for which there was nothing wanting but the means. The king thought it no difficult matter to constrain the house of *Braganza*, now abandoned by *France*, to be content with their hereditary estates, and which he was desirous they should enjoy. Don *Lewis de Haro* desired to be revenged for the loss of the battle of *Elvas*: Don *Juan* desired they would have patience till the peace was so thoroughly settled, as that a certain number of regiments might be drawn out of *Italy* and the *Low Countries*, since without old troops he could not at all answer for the success of the war^a. The losses sustained by the depredations committed at sea by the *English*, and the expences necessary for the conclusion of the Infanta's marriage, made this delay very convenient; so that they were on both sides very inactive, and this campaign as little fertile of events as the last^w. It had been agreed, that his catholic majesty and the most Christian king should have an interview in the *Isle of Pheasants*; previous to which their ministers met there, to adjust the ceremonial, and to terminate some disputes that had arisen upon certain articles of the peace; all this took up some time. At length, on the 3d of *June*, the marriage was celebrated at *Fontarabia*, Don *Lewis de Haro* representing the most Christian king. On the 4th the queen mother had an interview with his catholic majesty, whom she had not seen in forty-five years; he brought with him the infanta and Don *Lewis de Haro*; she was accompanied by her younger son and cardinal *Mazarine*. The queen and the infanta shewed great tenderness; the king preserved a fixed gravity, that differed little from coldness. His sister complained of it; and he contented himself with saying, that exterior marks of passion were not becoming kings. On the other hand, he was extremely civil to cardinal *Mazarine*, and, amongst other compliments, told him, that *Europe* stood indebted to him for peace. The king of *France* looked in towards the end of the interview, as if it was by stealth; upon which *Philip* could not help saying to his sister, with less gravity than he had hitherto shewn, that he was like to have a handsome son-in-law; and *Lewis* immediately retired. On *Sunday* the 6th of *June* the peace was sworn to with great solemnity by both kings. The nobility of *France* were then presented to his catholic majesty, who said to his sister, upon her naming the marshal *Turenne*; "He has made me pass many restless nights." The *Spanish* grandees, who were about fifteen in number, were in like manner presented to the most Christian king. The *French* were very richly dressed, the *Spaniards* were perfectly plain, except that they wore jewels to a prodigious value. Both the royal families had an interview at parting; at which *Lewis*, after throwing himself at his father's feet, to receive his blessing, embraced him, when he rose, with so much passion, that *Philip*, who had preserved his temper wonderfully at parting with his daughter, lost it, and burst into tears. The same sensibility appeared with respect to monsieur; and the two courts left each other in terms, of the most perfect friendship and affection^x.

THE prince of *Conde*, at his leaving the *Low Countries* to return to *France*, was treated with all imaginable respect. The marquis *de Carracena* accompanied him a league from *Brussels*, and all possible marks of esteem were shewn in the places through which he passed. The people, however, were not much displeased with his departure; for his troops, like those of the duke of *Lorraine*, had lived in a manner at free quarter, and had oppressed that country

^a QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Histoire du Cardinal de Mazarine, MONTGLAT, tom. iv. p. 216. Histoire du Prince de Conde, Histoire de la Paix des Pyrenees, Memoires de MOTTEVILLE, REINCOURT, Lord CLARENDON's History of the Rebellion, BURNET's History of his own Times, Corps Diplomatique, tom. vi. part 2. p. 264. ^w CESPIDES. ^x STEVENS's Supplement to Soufa's History of Portugal, CLARENDON's History of the Rebellion, CESPIDES. * Memoires de Madame de MONTTEVILLE. Histoire du Cardinal MAZARIN. Memoires de Madame MONTPENSIER, MONTGLAT. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques. QUINCY Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV.

which they pretended to protect; which, however, was excusable in some measure, by their being very indifferently paid, as all the troops were in the service of *Spain*. A very different conduct was observed with regard to his *Britannic* majesty, whom the marquis *de Carracena* would have arrested, if he had not withdrawn very critically into the dominions of the states general. This was remembered after his return into his own dominions, as well as the heartiness with which the court of *Madrid* had embraced the friendship of the parliament when they first took upon them the supreme authority. On this side, therefore, the *Spaniards* stood but indifferently; and they found likewise a visible coldness at the court of *Vienna*, where the emperor *Leopold* was not a little chagrined at the loss of the infanta, for whose sake he had made very large offers to king *Philip* and his ministers, which, without doubt, would have been accepted, if they had not conceived of his ability in the same light as they did of his intention^y.

Don Juan
moderately suc-
cessful in the
war against
the crown of
Portugal.

A. D. 1661.

It was the principal object of the *Spanish* ministry to preserve the peace, which was so necessary to their affairs, which had been obtained with so much trouble, and which had cost them so dear. This induced them to look upon the death of the cardinal *Mazarine*, which happened in the spring, as a great misfortune, the catholic king having a great confidence in his pacific disposition. He left a picture of *Titian's*, of prodigious value, to Don *Lewis de Haro*, and bestowed a golden table-clock on the count *de Fuensaldagna*, which served to confirm this opinion, at a time when it could be only the subject of regret^z. The army of Don *Juan* was in reality very considerable: he had 13,000 foot and 6000 horse, *Spanish*, *German*, and *Italian* troops, commanded by the best officers that were in the *Spanish* service. He began with the siege of *Aronches*, a place important by its situation, and capable of being made much more so, if it had been properly fortified. The *Portuguese* army advanced as far as *Elvas*, though they were not strong enough to relieve it. The governor spared them the trouble, by yielding it sooner to the *Spaniards* than he needed to have done. Don *Juan*, having caused the place to be thoroughly repaired, and some further works to be added, put his troops into quarters of refreshment. The *Portuguese*, either to acquire or to maintain the character of bravery, attacked the *Spanish* cavalry, though they were not so numerous or so good; but they were repulsed with considerable loss, which cost the life of Don *Juan de Pacheco*, who commanded the *Spanish* horse, and was very dear to the prince. When the heats were over, Don *Juan* took the field again, and besieged *Alconchel*, but not with any great vigour, that the *Portuguese* army might have time, if they were so inclined, to come to its relief; but as the governor was not in Don *Juan's* secret, he spoiled his scheme, by surrendering the place before it was expected. Don *Juan* caused it to be well fortified, put a *Spanish* garrison into it, and then retiring to *Badajoz*, suffered his army to take winter-quarters^a. He perceived plainly the enemy would not fight, and was unwilling his troops should moulder away in sieges.

This no way
answered the
hopes or the
necessities of
the *Spanish*
ministers.

Don *Lewis de Haro* was extremely displeased with this campaign; he had flattered himself with the conquest of *Portugal*, and there had not been so much as a battle. On the other hand, Don *Juan* acquainted the king that he stood in need of recruits and supplies; that kingdoms were not so easily conquered; that the enemy acted with great caution; and that, if any accident happened to this army, he did not see how his majesty could form such another. He had certainly reason on his side, and yet the ministers were not altogether in the wrong. *France*, notwithstanding the peace, had suffered count *Schomberg*, who was an excellent officer, to go to *Portugal* with six hundred volunteers. It was by his lights the *Portuguese* generals directed their conduct: he advised them to excursions and skirmishes, but to avoid battles, that they might gradually form their troops, while those of Don *Juan* were diminished. The court of *England* had embraced the interests of *Portugal*, negotiated a peace with *Holland*, assisted them with money, tho' it is said that money came from *France*, and *Charles* had entered into a treaty for marrying the princess *Catherine*, sister to the young king of *Portugal*. The short remedy for these mischiefs was to conquer that country, and dethrone the king. They were certainly right in their measures, but they mistook the means. They published to all *Europe* the design of this conquest, which did not at all contribute towards effecting it.

Behave in all
respects in a
manner very
unsuitable to

THEY sent the baron *de Batteville* to *London*, to bully a prince who was already out of humour. He went so far as to do this in writing; and, in a memorial, proposed to *Charles* the choice of several princesses, in favour of whom he promised, on the part of *Spain*, mighty advantages; concluding with menaces if his advice was not taken; for which he was forbid the court^b. He then, according to the common practice of *Spanish* ministers, fell to in-

^y CLARENDON'S History of the Rebellion. Histoire du Prince de CONDE. ^z Hist. du Cardinal MAZARINE. Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE, CHOISY, MONTGLAT, CESPIDES. ^a STEVENS'S Supplement. ^b Corps Diplomatique, tom. vi. part ii. p. 366. MONTGLAT, Hist. du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. DE RAMSAY, CHOISY, STEVENS'S Supplement.

a intriguing and plotting with the malecontents. This conduct of his not being discouraged, in the time he rashly engaged in a quarrel with the *French* minister, the count *d' Estrades*, for precedence, and gained some advantage over him by force, having distributed his money liberally amongst the mob ^c. This was one of the most unlucky things that could have befallen *Spain*; for the archbishop of *Ambrun* demanded, in the name of his master, immediate satisfaction; if the court of *Spain* was inclined to avoid a war. The count *de Fuensaldagna* was then at *Paris*, and did all he could to qualify matters. He was going into the *Low Countries* with the title of governor, but died on the road. A little before his death, he wrote to Don *Lewis de Haro*, that peace was necessary to *Spain*, and consequently those measures that were necessary to maintain peace. *Philip* himself was of the same mind; upon which the count *de Fuentes* b was sent ambassador extraordinary into *France*; to give up the precedence in the most solemn manner; to perpetuate the memory of which the *French* caused his audience to be engraved upon a medal. But, before this happened; Don *Lewis de Haro* was in his grave, and the court of *Madrid* plunged in the deepest melancholy for the death of the only surviving prince of *Spain*; which gloom was, however, in some measure dissipated, by the birth of *Carlos*, on the 5th of *December* ^d.

THE war with *Portugal* was carried on this year with greater vigour than ever. None of the ministers about his catholic majesty had the same credit with Don *Lewis*, and Don *Juan's* interest with his father was so good, that he obtained from him all that he asked. He took the field in the month of *May*, and intended to have opened the campaign with the siege of *Estremoz*; but the count *de Castagneda*, now styled the marquis of *Marialva*, encamped under its cannon with his army, which consisted of 12,000 men; and therefore, at the request of the officers who commanded under him, he declined the siege of that place, and prosecuted his march, which threw *Portugal* into the utmost consternation. Many have believed, that, if he had pursued his march to *Lisbon*, he must have carried it, the inhabitants being filled with a panic, and they had no relief to expect; but Don *Juan* was afraid to trust his army in so large a place, with another at its back. He took *Villabuim*, which was surrendered by the *French* governor by consent; and, in his way to *Jurumenba*, he came before *Borba*, a poor old place, once fortified, but then in ruins. Don *Rodrigo de Cunha* had in it a small garrison; with which he prevailed upon the inhabitants to join, and made the best defence he could; d however, it was carried by storm, the garrison made prisoners of war, the town burnt, the people plundered, and, to crown all, Don *Rodrigo*, and two of his captains, were hanged in the market-place. He next besieged *Jurumenba*, a strong place, well fortified, with a garrison of 3000 men, commanded by Don *Manuel Lobato Pinto*, who defended it long enough for the *Portuguese* army to come to its relief; but they found the camp of Don *Juan* so well fortified, that they durst not attempt any thing, and consequently the place surrendered on the best terms that could be obtained. Don *Juan* came next before *Villaviciosa*; but there again he found the *Portuguese* encamped under the walls; upon which he turned, and took two large towns, full of military stores and provisions, without any resistance. *Crato*, which belonged to the knights of *Malta*, and in a worse condition, was taken sword in hand, and the e governor was shot. The reduction of a few inconsiderable places more finished this campaign, which terrified the *Portuguese* extremely, though count *Schomberg* had brought their army into good order, and more especially their cavalry ^c. The *French* king having quarrelled with the pope, and carried his pretensions very high, his catholic majesty concurred with him; which occasioned many speculations. *Dunkirk* also was this year sold to the *French* for an inconsiderable sum of money, which, if it had not been for the ill conduct of *Batteville*, would very probably have been restored to the *Spanish Netherlands* ^f.

IN all appearance the two crowns were perfectly reconciled, and had nothing so much at heart as giving each other, and the world, marks of it. The most Christian king had refused, when requested by his *Britannic* majesty, to contribute any assistance towards the relief of the *Portuguese*. His catholic majesty, on the first application of the bishop of *Ambrun*, promised a free passage through his dominions in *Italy* to the *French* army that was to act against the pope. Both courts were alike sincere; for the care of supporting *Portugal* was committed to marshal *Turenne* by the one, and measures were taken to shut all the passages into *Italy* by the other. Don *Juan* was not so early in the field as in the former campaign; but he had a better army, and marched at the head of 21,000 men directly towards *Ebora*. The young king of *Portugal*, Don *Alonso*, at this time a perfect boy, and not at all promising in point of parts, had deposed his mother, to whom his father and himself owed their crowns; f

^c See the whole Relation, as drawn up by the celebrated JOHN EVELYN, Esq; at the command of Charles II. of the manner of the encounter between the French and Spanish ambassadors, at the landing of the Swedish ambassador, in PHILLIPS's Continuation of BAKER's Chronicle.

^d Memoires de Madam de MOTTEVILLE, MONTGLAT, MARTINIÈRE, Hist. Generale d'Espagne, Hist. Chronologique du dernier Siecle.

^e STEVENS's Continuation of Soufa's History of Portugal.

^f Corps Diplomatique, tom. vi. part. ii. p. 432. BUSBI Hist. de Louis le Grand. MONTGLAT, REINCOURT, CESPIDES, BURNET's History of his own Times.

from the regency; so that there was scarce the form of civil government left. He had appointed Don *Sancho Manuel*, count *de Villafior*, to command the army; but, by good fortune, count *Schomberg* was left to assist him. The first thing the count did was to send a new governor to *Ebora*, without withdrawing the old one. As soon as the place was invested, they quarrelled, and in five days the new governor gave it up. The news excited an insurrection at *Lisbon*, and struck a panic into the army. Count *Schomberg* recovered them, by shewing the advantages that might be taken of Don *Juan* in his retreat. These advantages were taken gradually; so that the soldiers comprehended them better than the generals, who envied him, because he was a stranger. Don *Juan* beheld their motions and encampments with amazement, and was so generous as to commend a general, whom the *Portuguese* abused.

Is beat by the Portuguese at the battle of Ebora, by which that city is speedily recovered.

At length they attacked him in a mountainous passage, where his infantry marched along the tops of steep hills, where it was judged impracticable to reach them. The *English* regiments in the army of *Portugal* crept up those hills upon their hands and knees; the *French* officers followed them, and at length the *Portuguese* did the same. The *Spanish* troops did not behave so well as they were wont to do, notwithstanding that Don *Juan* dismounted, and exposed himself extremely. His army was routed, with the loss of between three and four thousand killed, and as many taken prisoners. On the side of the *Portuguese* there fell about a thousand. This battle fixed the crown upon the head of the house of *Braganza*; and the count *de Villafior* recovered *Ebora* after a week's siege. Don *Juan* having conducted the remains of his army to *Badajoz*, went in person to *Madrid*, to justify his conduct; but he returned again to the army, and made the necessary dispositions for protecting the frontiers. The king Don *Philip*, finding his health declining, and repeated fits of the gravel wearing away his strength, concluded a treaty with the emperor *Leopold*, for the support and maintenance of the house of *Austria*; in consequence of which he brought a great body of *German* troops into the duchy of *Milan* and kingdom of *Naples*, and consented likewise to his marrying his youngest daughter, whom he had declared capable of inheriting the *Low Countries*, and all the rest of his dominions. This contract for the marriage was not consummated till after his demise, and was presented by the marquis *de Fuentes* to be subscribed by *Lewis XIV.*; but, as might have been easily foreseen, that satisfaction was refused. The catholic king had the farther displeasure of seeing the imperial troops recalled, almost as soon as they arrived, the emperor being attacked by the *Turks*. By these measures the ministers shewed they had not changed their sentiments in regard to *France*, at a time their circumstances were not changed.

The ministers disgusted by the want of success in two campaigns, send for the marquis de Carracena.

A. D. 1664.

AFTER all the pains Don *Juan* was able to take about the ministers, and notwithstanding his interest with the king his father, the affairs of *Spain* were in so bad a situation, that it was impossible for him to procure the necessary supplies. The *Portuguese*, therefore, under the command of the marquis *Marialva*, were not only first in the field, but alone in it likewise; for, after reinforcing the garrisons, Don *Juan* had only a great corps of horse left, with about two or three thousand foot. Encouraged by these circumstances, the *Portuguese* besieged *Valentia de Alcantara*, a place strong by situation, large, rich, and well fortified. Don *Juan* sent a body of horse to disturb the besiegers, and directed the governor to defend himself to the last extremity. He obeyed these instructions till he found himself in want of powder, and then thought fit to capitulate; which perhaps he would not have done so soon, but for the bad example which Don *Juan* had given in hanging and shooting governors, who, in his opinion, defended places too long. The duke of *Osuna*, who was a very brave man, commanded an independent body of seven thousand men, and was very desirous of distinguishing himself: this induced him to make an inroad into *Portugal*, and to besiege *Castel Rodrigo*, which was a place of strength. Don *Pedro Magellans*, who commanded on that side the troops of *Portugal*, forced him first to raise the siege, and then to fight, where tho' he behaved himself very gallantly, his troops were soundly beaten, and himself forced to retire, leaving two thousand men upon the spot. The *Spanish* ministers, attributing all these misfortunes to Don *Juan*, sent count *Marsin* to take the command of the army; upon which Don *Juan* returned to *Madrid*. They also engaged the king to confer the government of the *Low Countries* on Don *Francisco de Mauro*, count of *Castel Rodrigo*, that the marquis of *Carracena* might be at liberty to return into *Spain*, and command against *Portugal*. The emperor having demanded succours of *France* against the *Turks*, obtained them; but upon this express condition, that his catholic majesty should send the like number of troops out of *Italy*, which was done to prevent their being brought into *Spain* to serve against the *Portuguese*; and, in revenge, the *Spanish* ministers engaged the emperor to make a very indifferent peace with the *Turks*, after the victory at *St. Goddard*. They had not the same ascendancy in the *United*

* STEVENS'S Continuation of Soufa's History of Portugal. Hist du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. DE RAMSAY, DE SMARETZ. ^b QUINCY Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. Hist. Generale d'Espagne. ^c STEVENS'S Continuation of Soufa's History of Portugal.

^a *Provinces*, the states shewing a visible partiality to the *French*, through the influence of the grand pensionary *John de Witt* ^k.

THE count *de Marfin*, though a stranger, had the confidence of the ministry, who, tho' ^{He arrives,} they did not furnish Don *Juan* with troops during the campaign, yet enabled this *French* ^{and flatters the} officer to form gradually a very fine army in the winter, and with all things necessary. It ^{ministry with} was in truth the last army they had to raise, and comprehended all the old regiments of *Spaniards*, *Germans*, and *Italians*, that were not yet worn out, and amounted in the whole to 15,000 ^{the hopes of} foot, and 6000 horse. On the arrival of Don *Joseph de Benavides*, marquis of *Carracena*, ^{conquering} late in the preceding year, he was pressed to go immediately to the army; but he desired that ^{Portugal in} the duke of *Aveyro*, who, though a grandee of *Portugal*, partly from pride, but in appearance out of regard to the oath he had taken to *Philip*, had left an estate of 40,000 crowns a year, and lived in *Castile*, should assemble a fleet at *Seville*, in order to block up *Lisbon* by sea, when he should arrive before it with the army; for this was the language the marquis had talked in *Flanders*, and continued to talk at *Madrid*, upon a supposition that the *Portuguese* were such as he left them, and without any distinct knowledge of their country. At length he went to the army; upon which count *Marfin* retired, because he would not serve under him. The first thing the marquis did, after reviewing his own troops, was to obtain the best informations possible as to the country of *Portugal*, the situations of mountains and rivers in his passage to *Lisbon*, and the character of the *Portuguese* troops, and the officers who commanded them. These opened to him new scenes, and obliged him to entertain new notions. He ^{A. D. 1665.} found the country was not to be so easily traversed as he imagined; and he was amazed to hear that the enemy's cavalry was numerous and full of spirit; that their foot, by the management of foreign officers, were become hardy, patient, and wonderfully exact in obedience; but what troubled him most was, that, in the factions at the court of *Lisbon*, count *Schomberg* had so effectually supported the councils of the marquis *de Marialva*, that the latter had an intire confidence in him.

HOWEVER, *Carracena* took the field early; but, instead of marching to *Lisbon*, invested ^{Is totally de-} *Villaviciosa*, which was defended by *Brito*, an old *Portuguese* officer, very skilful in the art ^{facted in the} of war, and very stubborn. There were three strong posts without the town, which he ^{plain of} caused to be occupied by the best part of his garrison: the marquis *de Carracena*, desirous of ^{Montes} carrying them at once, caused them to be attacked by all the grenadiers in his army, who ^{Claros, where} were every-where repulsed with great loss; but the governor immediately withdrew his troops, ^{the last army} and abandoned them all, that he might be in a better condition to defend the place. When ^{of Spain is} the siege had continued long enough to weaken the assailants, the *Portuguese* army appeared; ^{ruined.} upon which the marquis raised the siege, and marched to give the enemy battle. It was fought in the plain of *Montes Claros* with the greatest obstinacy on both sides, and lasted eight hours: in the end the *Portuguese* gained a complete victory, killed four thousand on the spot, took Don *Diego Corrier*, general of the *Spanish* horse, many officers of note, and more than four thousand men, prisoners. When *Philip IV.* received the news of this defeat, he had only strength to say, *It is the will of God*; then dropped the letter, and fell himself ^{in a swoon} ^l. The ministers lost their spirits, the populace upbraided them openly with betraying Don *Juan* of *Austria*, and sacrificing the glory of *Castile* to their private interests. The remains of the *Spanish* army being thrown into garrisons, the *Portuguese* very wisely declined making sieges, and put their troops into quarters of refreshment; for their victory had been pretty dearly bought, they having three thousand men killed, and, amongst them, a large proportion of the best officers ^m; but when the campaign was finished in a manner at land, it began again as it were at sea; for the duke of *Aveyro*, having at length completed his squadron at *Cadiz*, cruised along the coasts of *Portugal*, and committed some depredations, which were severely revenged by count *Schomberg's* irruption into *Andalusia*, which was executed with so much vigour, and at the same time with so great conduct, that the *Portuguese* returned with an immense booty, before the *Spaniards* recovered from their first surprise.

THE situation of affairs in *Spain* was at this time extremely critical; the ministers had not ^{Death of Don} much the confidence of their master, and were in absolute disgrace with the people, who, in ^{Philip IV.} those days spoke their minds as freely with respect to public affairs, as any nation in *Europe*. ^{and a succinct} Don *Juan* of *Austria* was at *Confuegra* in discontent; and though the marquis *de Carracena* ^{character of} kept up his spirits, and persuaded them, that if they would recruit and reinforce his army, he ^{that monarch,} would still do all he had promised, it had no manner of effect; on the contrary, the court in ^{and his admini-} general was inclined to a peace, and yet they were slow in making any attempts towards it. ^{nistrations.} Out of this lethargy they were awaked by a new misfortune; for, on the 12th of *September*, ^{1665.} the king was seized with a dysentery so violently, that, in two hours, he was in great danger

^k MONTGLAT, BUSSI, QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Vie de TEKELI, edit. Cologne, 1694.

^l STEVENS's Continuation of Scusa's History of Portugal. Histoire Generale d'Espagne. Memoires of Madame de MOTTEVILLE, QUINCY Histoire Milit. de Louis XIV.

^m STEVENS, ubi supra.

of death. His physicians administered what relief they could; so that the next day he was in a condition to make his will; and though weak, appeared somewhat better; but in a few days relapsed, and, having received the sacraments of the church, breathed his last, in his palace at *Madrid*, on the 17th of the same month, in the sixty-first year of his age, after a reign of forty-four years^a. He was in himself a prince of more than moderate abilities, and, if he had received a better education, and had not come to the crown so young, he would certainly have made a much greater figure. But the great artifice of *Olivares* in soothing his propensity to pleasure, in magnifying the fatigues of business, and making him believe he underwent a martyrdom to relieve him from the weight of the administration, kept him so long in a state of indolence, that, even when he thought it necessary, he could not bring himself to a proper degree of application. He loved magnificence, had a very polite taste, spoke with great vivacity upon many occasions, and, though his reign was far from being fortunate, had the grandeur of the *Spanish* monarchy always at heart. By his testament, tho' that was not in the least necessary, he called to the succession his son *Don Carlos*; and, in case he died without issue, left the crown to the infanta *Donna Margaret*, contracted to the emperor *Leopold*; in case she died without issue, the succession was to pass to her husband, and his heirs male; upon the failure of them, to the duke of *Savoy*; and, upon the extinction of that house, it was to descend to his eldest daughter; provided she was a widow, and to the children of her second marriage, if she had any such. He settled the regency in the queen his widow, and appointed the president of the council of *Castile* (the first civil officer in this monarchy), the vice-chancellor of *Aragon* (so stiled, though there is never any chancellor), the inquisitor-general, the archbishop of *Toledo*, and the marquis of *Aytona* (of the house of *Moncada* in *Catalonia*), her council. He was interred in that magnificent dormitory of the *Spanish* kings, called the *Pantheon*, which he had rebuilt and finished in the year 1655, being persuaded that what *Philip II.* had done was not equal in magnificence to the rest of that royal structure^o; less lamented by his subjects then, than at the distance of some years.

Accession of
Don Carlos II.
and character
of his mother
the queen re-
gent.

THE young king, *Charles* the second, was inaugurated, or, as the *Spanish* phrase is, had the ensigns displayed for him, on the 7th of *October*, being at that time not quite four years of age^p. He was of a weak and tender constitution, but of parts so pregnant and promising, that when he was proclaimed in the *Low Countries*, as he was with great solemnity, the people expressed, by every method they could devise, their expectations that he would resemble his ancestor of the same name, the glorious emperor *Charles* the fifth. It was a misfortune to him that the queen his mother, though the daughter of an emperor, the widow of a king, and the sister of the reigning emperor, had not the talents requisite to the right management of power; it was still a greater misfortune that she was jealous and fond of it to the last degree; but it was the greatest of all that she was possessed of it, through a course of years more than sufficient to ruin the authority of a crown, to ruin and exhaust the subject, and to disable this unfortunate prince himself from repairing these mischiefs, when he was sincerely inclined to it. This description is severe; but the fundamental law of history is to speak truth. She was intirely devoted to the interests of the court of *Vienna*, and governed in all things by the counsels that she received from thence, except in points that regarded her private inclinations; for in these she listened to no counsel at all. The first was a fault, but, her descent and circumstances considered, very excusable; the latter was a greater fault, and, which was worse, would not admit of any excuse or alleviation. She persisted obstinately in both against the remonstrances of the ablest of her council, as well as all the lights of reason and experience. This character of the queen is necessary, as it will explain all that follows.

Her unaccountable conduct at her entering upon the regency, and her obstinacy therein.

A. D. 1666.

At her first entrance on the government, she was desirous of bringing her confessor, father *Nitard*, a man of low birth, of a very limited capacity, a stranger, unacquainted with public affairs, and not at all beloved, into the council of regency, which she effected by engaging the cardinal of *Aragon* to resign to him the post of inquisitor-general, an employment of great weight, and hitherto highly respected in *Spain*. By her influence over the late king, she had prevailed upon him, in his last moments, to exclude his natural son *Don Juan* from having any share in the administration, though he was a prince of confessed abilities, both as a statesman and a soldier, had given great proofs of them, was intirely beloved by the people, and was in every respect worthy of her confidence, but more especially from his great disinterestedness, and his tender affection to the person of the king. In this measure she was at first abetted by most of the ministry, and by many of the grandees, from principles of prejudice, envy, and private interest; but by degrees she lost this support, for they saw so plainly that he was the only person capable of restoring the credit, and sustaining the weight, of government,

^a *Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques.* STEVENS'S Continuation of Soufa's History of Portugal. *Histoire Chronolog. du dernier Siecle.* MONTGLAT, QUINCY Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV. Hist. Generale d'Espagne. La Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE. *Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE.* CESPIDES. BURNET'S History of his own Times. ^o Les Delices d'Espagne & du Portugal, par Don JUAN ALVAREZ DE COLMENAR. CESPIDES. ^p *Histoire Generale d'Espagne.*

a that they concurred with the people in desiring that he might be recalled and employed ; to which she was so averse, from the apprehension that he would dismiss her ecclesiastical favourite from the council, or at least circumscribe his power, that she formed a design of removing that prince out of the kingdom, under the pretence of sending him to govern the *Low Countries*, which she might have effected, if her management had not been as bad as her views. The weakness and unsteadiness of her conduct, which would have been highly prejudicial at any time, proved particularly destructive at this juncture, when affairs were in such a state as demanded the greatest circumspection and fortitude to prevent all things from running into confusion ; and very possibly this might have been done, if she had demanded the assistance of Don Juan cordially and in due time ¹.

b At the demise of king Philip IV. Spain still remained engaged in the war with Portugal, and Charles II. scarce began to reign, before a war with France became inevitable. In order to render the progress and issue of these great affairs perfectly intelligible, it will be necessary to treat them separately, though succinctly. In regard to Portugal, the marquis del Carpio, who was prisoner there, had instructions and powers sent him to treat of a peace, under the mediation of Charles II. king of Great Britain ; for the Spaniards had at length found out that nothing could prove more prejudicial to their affairs than a quarrel, nothing contribute so much to their prosperity as a good understanding, with England ; notwithstanding which, they were so dilatory in their negotiation, and so unwilling to acknowledge Don Alonso for king of Portugal, that they suffered the season to escape them, in which the treaty might have been

Compelled to make peace with Portugal, and to acknowledge the rights of the house of Braganza.
A. D. 1667.

c concluded most to their advantage, from a persuasion that it was always in their power, and that they might conclude it how and when they pleased. But the French, who had a great interest in the continuance of the war, made suddenly an unexpected treaty with Portugal, and granted to that crown a considerable subsidy ². This was very near answering their purpose, and taking the Portuguese intirely out of the hands of the English ; but the Spaniards, seeing this in time, laid aside all their scruples, recurred to the old mediation, and signed a peace, by which both kings were to restore all places taken during the war, except Ceuta and Barbary, which was to remain to Spain. All confiscations were also to be void, all prisoners to be set at liberty on both sides, without ransom, free commerce between both nations to be restored ; and

d if, in process of time, any doubts or disputes should arise, they were to be amicably discussed, without having recourse to arms. Thus, after twenty-eight years war, the right of the house of Braganza was acknowledged, and the two crowns reconciled, by a fair and final treaty of peace, under the guaranty of the crown of Great Britain, subscribed at Lisbon, on the 13th of February, by the duke de Cardaval, the marquis of Niza, admiral of the Indies, the marquis de Goubea, the marquis of Marialva, the conde de Miranda, and Pedro Vieyra de Silva, secretary of state on the part of Portugal ; Don Gaspar de Haro Guzman, marquis del Carpio, on the part of his catholic majesty and his mother, and by Edward Montagu, earl of Sandwich, on the part of the king of Great Britain. It was solemnly ratified at Madrid on the 23d of the same month ³.

1668.

e THE queen mother of France died five months after her brother the king of Spain ; and it was given out by the French king and his ministers, that out of decency, and in regard to the melancholy situation of both the royal families, they had not insisted on the right of the French queen to a great part of the Low Countries, in virtue of what was stiled the *Jus Devolutionis*, or custom of Brabant, by which the children of the first marriage, whether male or female, are heirs to each other, in preference to the children of a second marriage. In consequence of this title, the French ambassador presented his master's letter to the queen mother, demanding immediate possession of what devolved to the infanta Maria Theresa, queen of France, as the heiress of her brother Don Baltasar ⁴. The queen of Spain and her council were very far from seeing this set right so easily as his most Christian majesty seemed to expect, and would by no means listen to the answer returned, that, if there was

War with France, and vast sacrifices made by the crown of Spain in the treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

f any such right, it had been clearly renounced at the time of the infanta's marriage. The most Christian king, who was well aware of this, and had been from the time of his Catholic majesty's death providing every thing for the execution of his project, rushed immediately with three great armies into the field, and laid the foundation of his future greatness, in taking a multitude of places in no state of defence, and, as himself admitted, in a time of full peace. The affairs of Spain in the Low Countries, were indeed in a very low condition, and not under the best administration ; for though the marquis of Castel Rodrigo could not but be sensible of the great weakness of the provinces still obedient to the Spanish crown, and the

¹ Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE. Memoires de Madame MOTTEVILLE. Corps Diplomatique Universel du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. Part i. p. 17.

² Corps Di-

Times. STEVENS's Continuation of Faria y Sousa's History of Portugal. Histoire Generale d'Espagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Corps Diplomatique Universel du Droit des Gens, tom. vi. Part i. p. 70.

³ Memoires de Madame DE MOTTEVILLE, QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. MONTGLAT, REIN-

necessity they must be under, whenever attacked, of recurring to the protection of some friendly neighbour, yet he was far from treating either of the maritime powers with kindness or respect. On the contrary, under the name of the bishop of *Munster*, he had projected taking *Williamstadt* from the *Dutch*, which, though the states discovered, they were willing to pass over, upon his disavowing it. Indeed they had suffered themselves to be amused a second time by *France*, by a treaty of partition, as if the injustice of tearing these provinces from *Spain* could be alleviated or attoned for by their having a part of them. It was the resentment of the former, and their flattering themselves too much from the latter kind of usage, that suspended their resolutions, and rendered them tame, though not quiet, spectators of the mischiefs to which their neighbours were exposed. *France* gained in one campaign more than in the course of the former war of many years; and, not content with this, in the succeeding winter, partly through force, and partly through treachery, made herself mistress of the county of *Burgundy*, or, as it is usually stiled, the *Franche Comté*, in which expedition the prince of *Conde*, for whom *Spain* had done all that she was able, was the instrument *Lewis XIV.* thought fit to employ^a. This awakened the jealousy of the states, who, with very unusual vigour and presence of mind, concluded with *Great Britain* and *Sweden* the famous triple alliance^w, the best and boldest political measure taken in the last age, and which saved the *Spanish Low Countries* from being swallowed up. For the *French* king, perceiving that, if he carried on the war, it would be no longer against a weak and defenceless power, thought fit to stop short, and very wisely, though unwillingly, concluded the peace of *Aix la Chapelle* on the 2d of *May*^x, by which he retained *Charleroi*, *Binch*, *Ath*, *Douai*, *le Fort de l'Escarp*, *Lisle*, *Oudenarde*, *Armentieres*, *Courtray*, *Bergues*, *Furnes*, with their bailiwicks, and other conquests; but thought fit to restore *Franche Comte*. The *Spaniards*, in this treaty, took care to avoid acknowledging the queen of *France's* right to the places they were obliged to yield, and caused it to be inserted in the treaty, that, for the sake of restoring peace to *Europe*, and at the intercession of the pope, they had abandoned those places to the *French* king.

Don Juan obliges father Nitard to quit Spain, and to retire to Rome, where he is made a cardinal.

WHILE these black storms thundered on the *Spanish* monarchy without, it was far from enjoying repose or tranquility at home. It was the precarious state of the *Low Countries*, and the necessity of providing for their future safety, that the queen caused to be represented in the strongest manner to Don *Juan* of *Austria*, to prevail on him to go thither. The more easily to persuade him, he had the clearest assurances given him, that he should reside there with an authority as full as he could desire, carry a large sum of money with him, and receive large and regular supplies, to enable him the better to perform the great things that were expected from him. When Don *Juan* had accepted these proposals, and was actually at *Coranna*, with an intention to embark for *Flanders*, the queen caused Don *Joseph de Maladas*, a gentleman much in his favour, to be arrested, and put to death by a warrant under her own hand. She is reported to have done this upon a supposition that Don *Juan* was actually embarked; but, being obliged by accidents to remain some days at *Barcelona*, he no sooner received the news of Don *Joseph's* death, than he quitted that city, and retired to one of his own seats^y. This gave the queen, and her minister father *Nitard*, great anxiety, more especially when they understood that he was surrounded there by persons of great distinction; nor was it long before she received such applications from him, as made it clearly evident, that she had more cause to apprehend danger from him than he from her. However, some of the *grandees*, desirous of composing these disputes amicably, represented to her majesty, in the softest manner possible, that the great power of the inquisitor-general gave universal distaste to the nation; that the peace which they at present enjoyed was very precarious; that a multitude of abuses had crept into the administration; and that, in justice to the state, out of regard for her son, and from a due respect to her own glory, she ought to take the most speedy and effectual method for redressing these mischiefs, and restoring that authority to her administration, the want of which was become but too apparent. The queen was so ill advised, that she treated these remonstrances as insolent and unbecoming, and threatened to make examples of such as should take liberties of this kind for the future. The prince, notwithstanding this, directed his secretary *Patinbo* to deliver a memorial in much stronger terms, in which he very plainly intimated, that a reformation was necessary, and that it ought to begin with the removal of the ecclesiastic, who was looked upon as the principal author of those grievances under which the nation suffered. It was easy for her to have discerned that the prince would not have ventured upon this step, if he had not looked upon

^a Le Siècle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Histoire du Prince de Conde, QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Histoire general d'Espagne, MONTGLAT.
^w BURNET'S History of his own Times, Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. P. i. p. 68.
^x Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par M. LECLERC, Lettres, Memoires, & Negociations, de Mon. le Comte d'ESTRADES.
^y Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

a himself as secure from the effects of her anger; but believing that her power would be speedily unsettled, if she did not treat such an application as this with severity, she caused *Patinbo* to be instantly put under arrest. Don *Juan*, upon this, advanced from the place of his retirement to within a small distance of *Madrid*, and sent from thence a short message to the queen, that if, by the 26th of *February*, the inquisitor-general did not leave the capital, he would come thither, and oblige him to quit it, in a manner that would not be agreeable to him. The prince had at that time about him no more than three hundred horse; of which the queen being perfectly well informed, she issued her orders for putting the city into a state of defence; and perhaps would have proceeded farther, if she had not found these orders disobeyed; which alarmed father *Nitard* to such a degree, that he quitted *Madrid* on the 25th². The A. D. 1669.

b queen took care to have him conducted as safely as possible out of the dominions of *Spain*, and sent him to *Rome*, where she honoured him with the title of ambassador, and procured for him a hat from the pope; of which honour he gave notice to Don *Juan* by a very civil and submissive letter, in hopes it might have procured him the means of returning to *Spain*; but as that prince did not think fit to write him any answer, he very prudently laid aside a project which it appeared impracticable for him to execute. The queen, having consented to such regulations as were required from her, declared Don *Juan* lieutenant-general of the kingdom of *Arragon*, and, in consequence of his accepting that honour, removed him from court³.

c AFTER the peace of *Aix la-Chapelle*, the *Spanish* ministers, by a new strain of policy, attempted to provide for the security of the *Low Countries*, by declaring to the maritime powers their inability to make such a provision. As strange a measure as this was, it had its effect, and the states paid to the king of *Sweden* that subsidy which had been stipulated on the part of *Spain*; and in all probability this method might have been practised longer with success, if the *French* intrigues had not prevailed upon the court of *England* to depart from the principles of the triple alliance^b. Upon Don *Juan*'s refusing to go into *Flanders*, the constable of *Castile* was sent thither; and the marquis de *Castel Rodrigo*, though refused a passport, went incognito thro' *France* into *Spain*. The constable of *Castile* held the government but one year; for the marquis de *Aytona* dying, the queen recalled him, in order to replace that lord in the council, and sent into the *Low Countries* Don *Juan Dominic de Haro y Guzman*, conde de *Monterey*, d second son to the famous Don *Lewis de Haro*, and younger brother to the marquis del *Carpio*, who applied himself with great vigilance and vigour to the discharge of his office. He it was 1672.

d who, when the *Dutch* were in the lowest and most distressed condition possible, had the honour to contrive, and the courage to execute, though not the happiness to atchieve, the reduction of *Charleroy*, which, at his instance, the prince of *Orange* besieged in the absence of the governor; and would infallibly have taken it, if, through the negligence of some of his officers, Mr. *Montalt*, the governor, had not entered it with succours. If this enterprize had succeeded (and the count de *Monterey* gave it all the assistance in his power) the *French* must have immediately quitted all their conquests in *Holland*: but the prince being obliged to raise the siege, the crime of projecting it fell upon the head of the marquis de *Monterey*, of whom the most Christian king complained loudly at *Madrid*, where the queen disavowed his conduct, which was all the satisfaction that could be obtained^c.

e THE court of *Madrid* was very far from disapproving in reality what had been done by the count of *Monterey*, tho' they were not a little chagrined at the disappointment he had met with, and which some ascribe to count *Marsin*, who commanded such of their forces as were engaged in the siege. The governor of the *Low Countries*, therefore, continued his correspondence with the prince of *Orange*, and converted even his miscarriage into a signal service to the states; for, having taken care thoroughly to explain the consequences of his scheme if it had taken effect, and thereby shown that there was a probability of delivering the *Dutch*, as well as a necessity of attempting it, he may justly be considered as the author of that spirit which was afterwards shewn by their neighbours, in assisting and saving that republic, or rather of the instrument of which Providence made use in that critical conjuncture for the Protestant religion, and the independency of *Europe*. If *Lewis XIV.* had taken the advice of Monsieur *Pomponne*, the *Spaniards* had paid dearly for this act of generosity, since he proposed accepting of the terms offered by the states in the height of their misfortune, in order to turn the whole force of the *French* monarchy on the *Spanish* provinces. But the *French* king depended on a negotiation that had been set on foot to amule the court of *Vienna*, which likewise failed;

* Relation de la Sortie d'Espagne du P. Everard Nitard, Jesuite Confesseur de la Reine, en Espagnol & en François, par le P. BOUHOURS, Relation des Differens arrivés en Espagne entre D. Juan d'Autriche & le Cardinal Nitard, depuis la Mort de Philippe IV.

^a Histoire generale d'Espagne, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.

^b Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. BURNET's History of his own Times, Memoires & Negociations de M. le Comte d'ESTRADES.

^c Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par LE CLERC, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Histoire generale d'Espagne, QUINCY, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE.

and thereupon both the emperor and Spain renewed their alliances with the states, and declared in their favour against France^d. The firmness and rectitude of this measure may seem incompatible with the account we have given of the weak administration of the queen mother; but the reader must remember, that in foreign affairs the queen took the advice of the council of regency, and of the imperial minister, who, from their regard to the interests of the house of Austria, could not advise her better or otherwise than they did, which fully accounts for this transaction and its consequences.

Messina in Sicily revolts, which greatly embarrasses the Spanish councils.

A. D. 1674.

THE next year was more fertile in events. The old duke of Lorraine, though he had no great obligations to the court of Madrid, acquainted both the imperial and Spanish ministers with his suspicions that the French would attack the *Franche Comté*. But they either neglected his intelligence, or what he proposed was out of their power to execute, consistent with their other schemes; so that this fine country was detached from the Spanish monarchy, and added to that of France, by a short but a vigorous campaign^e. In Flanders the Spanish troops, under the command of the count de Monterey and prince Vaudemont (son to the duke of Lorraine) acted in conjunction with the Dutch, who were headed by the prince of Orange, and had their full share in the battle of Seneff, fought on the 11th of August, in which a great part of their infantry was ruined^f. The duke de St. Germain commanded in Catalonia, and had the year before concerted measures for the revolt of Roussillon, which, tho' it was prevented by a discovery, yet he carried on the operations of the war with success, gained a considerable advantage over the army of count Schomberg, and would probably have done more, but for the revolt of Messina. That city, which is one of the capitals of Sicily, had for its governor Don Lewis del Hoyo, who fancied that he could not do a greater service to the crown of Spain, than to subvert that form of rule which had subsisted there for many ages. He failed in his attempt; the prince de Ligne, viceroy of Sicily, constrained him to quit the city; and the people, who intended only to maintain their just rights, readily submitted. They discovered, afterwards, by an intercepted letter, that the prince had promised the court of Madrid to crush them when they least expected it, and restore the old governor in triumph. This threw things again into confusion; and tho' the old governor was removed, and Don Diego de Soria, marquis de Crispiano, sent in his room, they did not think themselves safe, more especially as he caused some of their senators to be arrested; but, having expelled the Spanish garrison, demanded the protection of France. It was this that obliged the court of Madrid to order the duke de St. Germain to return into Catalonia, and to embark part of his forces for Sicily, where, notwithstanding they had a superior fleet, under the command of Don Bertrand de Guevara, the French had the good fortune to relieve Messina, which encouraged the people to persist in their revolt^g.

The French interfere, and send a strong squadron to the relief of Messina.

1675.

AT the opening of the year the count de Monterey was recalled from the government of the Low Countries; and the duke of Villabermosa, who had commanded under him with the title of general of horse, was appointed to succeed him, and directed to receive his instructions. There never was a governor more esteemed and beloved than the count, who reformed many abuses in the administration, took great pains to promote the manufactures of the provinces, and contrived and executed the famous sluices near Ostend, for the benefit of navigation. He was impenetrable to the arts, and, which was more, to the offers, of France, who, notwithstanding, paid so much respect to his merit, that, in the midst of a war, they granted him a passport for his passage by land into Spain^h. The campaign on the side of Flanders was not very remarkable. In Roussillon the Spaniards were able to do but little; and though count Schomberg commanded the French, they did not do much. In Messina the people again were in danger of perishing through want, but were relieved at the opening of the year by a small French squadron commanded by the marquis de Valavoir, who, notwithstanding, would not land any troops till they had put the principal posts into his hands, and acknowledged themselves subject to the French king. Men will do any thing to eat; and it was this that engaged them to submit to these terms, which they had very soon reason to repent, the insolence of their new masters making them forget what they had suffered under their old ones. In a month's time they were blocked up by the Spanish fleet, and in as great distress as ever; but, on the 9th of February, another French squadron appeared, under the command of the duke de Vivonne and the sieur du Quesne, which entered the port, and relieved the place, in spite of all that the Spanish admiral could do to prevent itⁱ. The duke assumed the title of viceroy, and plundered the people he should have protected. He was brother to the French king's mistress, Madame de Montespan; and, presuming upon her favour, made a bad use of his good

^d Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vii. Part i. p. 236. Histoire generale d'Espagne.

de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. NEUVILLE, Histoire de Hollande, BASNAGE.

LE CLERC. ^e BASNAGE, REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques.

^f Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par LE CLERC. ^g Histoire generale d'Espagne. ^h Corps Diplomatique, tom. vii. Part i. p. 316. QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par LE CLERC.

fortune, studied every method to enrich himself, and, by his negligence, gave the *Spaniards* time to secure the places he should have attacked, which, contrary to their custom, they did not lose.

On the 9th of *November* Charles the second was declared major, to the great satisfaction of himself and his subjects. His preceptor, the bishop of *Malaga*, was his brother by the father's side, though *Philip* the fourth would never own him, out of respect to his mother, who was sister to the marquis de *Mortara*, and whom he married while she was with child to the marquis of *Quintana*. She told her husband the truth, who died of vexation in two months. When her son was of age, she confided the secret to him, who immediately became an ecclesiastic, and the king his father afterwards bestowed upon him that rich bishoprick. He did what lay in his power to give the young monarch just notions suitable to his dignity; whereas the queen laboured all that was possible to prevent his having a turn to any thing but amusements and diversions. It was owing in all probability to the instructions he received from the prelate, that when, a few days after he became of age, the queen presented him an act, declaring, that, on account of his tender years and want of experience he left the government to the queen his mother, and the council who had assisted her during his minority, he refused to sign it, adding, "that he hoped God, who had made him a king, would enable him to become the father of his people." It has been reported, and believed, the great change that soon after appeared in his temper was owing to a certain method of preparing his chocolate; at least the caution given him by the marchioness de los *Velez*, who had been his governess in his infancy, fortified this opinion, she bidding him "beware of one, who, from her fondness of being a queen, might possibly forget that she was a mother." The manifest imbecillity of this prince, in his last years particularly, proved highly detrimental to *Spain*.

THERE had been in the winter some negotiations relative to a peace, in consequence of which it was agreed, that a congress should be held at *Nimeguen*; but, notwithstanding this, both sides made great preparations for the campaign. It is indeed true, the prince of *Orange* complained that the duke of *Villahermosa* performed his promises but very indifferently; which was certainly fact, but it was owing to his inability. The ministers at *Madrid* contracted with bankers to remit him a large sum every month; upon the faith of these contracts he made his promises; but as the ministers never advanced any thing to the bankers, they looked upon their contracts as dissolved, and the duke bore all the blame with the allies. After all, the campaign was not very glorious or very unfortunate; the *French* king commanded in person, and avoided fighting the prince of *Orange* at *Valenciennes*, which the allies considered as a kind of victory. On the side of *Roussillon*, the *Spaniards* acted on the defensive under the duke de *St. Germain*; the *French* had a good army under the marshal de *Navailles*; but he did nothing in effect; and though the *Spaniards* were too weak to keep the field, yet their miquelets harassed the *French* army till they abandoned some small places they had taken, and went into winter quarters. The sending a *French* viceroy into *Sicily* so alarmed the court of *Madrid*, that they demanded from the states a fleet for the protection of that island; which was accordingly sent under the command of admiral de *Ruyter*, one of the greatest seamen ever bred in that nation, or in any other. He cruised in the streights of *Messina* in the beginning of the year, to prevent the *French* from throwing in any succours.

On the 7th of *January* du *Quesne* appeared with the *French* fleet. Admiral de *Ruyter* had, besides his own, the whole naval force of *Spain* in those seas, which consisted in a single ship of war and a small squadron of gallies: the latter, on account of the foul weather, were obliged to put into port. Du *Quesne* attacked with great spirit, for, like de *Ruyter*, he had made his way to the first honours by mere dint of merit, and meant to keep them by pursuing the same track. The *Dutch* admiral said in his letter, that he had never been in a battle so obstinately fought. It lasted till night with equal advantage; for though de *Ruyter* sunk a *French* man of war, yet one of his own met with the same misfortune as they were towing her away; but the *French* carried their point, and victualled *Messina*. When the six months, for which the *Dutch* fleet had been sent into the *Mediterranean*, were expired, de *Ruyter* returned to *Legborn*; but, finding his masters orders to give the *Spaniards* all the assistance in his power, he sailed again for their service to the coasts of *Sicily*, and, to facilitate their operations by land, appeared before *Messina*. The duke de *Vivonne*, whose fleet was now augmented to fifty sail, by the advice of du *Quesne*, resolved to quit the port, and to give him battle. It began about three in the afternoon, on the 22d of *April*, and was fought with great courage and spirit, notwithstanding admiral de *Ruyter*, in half an hour after it began, was wounded in both legs. This engagement did not end till between seven and eight, and then both sides claimed the

* *Memoires Historiques, Politiques, Critiques, & Literaires, par AMELOT DE LA HOUSSE, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Histoire generale d'Espagne.* 1 QUINCY. *Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.* Aides & *Memoires de la Paix de Nimegue*, Edit. de la Haye, 1697, *Histoire des Negociations de la Paix de Nimegue*, la Haye, 1697. 2 QUINCY, *Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.* BASNAGE, *Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques.*

victory as before, tho' the advantage seemed rather on the side of the enemy. The *Dutch* and *Spanish* fleet went to *Syracuse* for refreshments, where, on the 29th of the same month, *de Ruyter* breathed his last, having been honoured with the order of *St. Michael* from the *French* king, and the title of duke by his catholic majesty, which he did not live to enjoy ^a.

The Spanish and Dutch fleets beaten, sunk, and burnt, by the French.

A. D. 1676.

THE *Dutch* vice admiral *Van Haan* took the command, and sailed from *Syracuse* to *Palermo*, where, while he was busy in repairing his ships, and recruiting their respective crews, the duke *de Vivonne* arrived, with twenty-eight men of war, nine fireships, and twenty-five galleys, before the port; upon which the combined fleets of *Spain* and *Holland* formed in a half-moon at the entrance of the port; in which situation, after reconnoitring them for three or four days, the *French* attacked them on the 2d of *June*. The combined fleet fought with great spirit, till the *Spanish* vice admiral cut out of the line, and ran ashore, to avoid being burnt by a fireship. The *French* improved this advantage, and, having the wind in their favour, sent their fireships down upon the *Spanish* line, by which it was broke. The admiral cleared himself of two, but was burnt by the third, together with three men of war and two galleys that came to his assistance; the rest, to avoid the same fate, ran ashore. The enemy fell next upon the *Dutch*, and set one of their largest men of war on fire; the flames communicated themselves to two others; upon which, after destroying their own fireships, the rest retired into the port, and took the best measures they could for their own security. In this unfortunate action the *Spanish* admiral *Iberra*, and the *Dutch* admiral *Cornelius Van Haan*, were both killed, with a great number of officers, soldiers, and seamen. To increase this misfortune, one of the ships that blew up fell directly into the streets of *Palermo*, where, by the great beams and iron-work, many people were killed ^c. This victory raised the spirits of the *Messinese*, and threw the whole island of *Sicily* into a general consternation, which might have made way for a general conquest, if it had been improved.

Queen mother of Spain entertains a new favourite, and raises him to great posts.

1677.

WE must now turn our eyes upon the interior state of affairs in the *Spanish* monarchy, where the queen, soon after father *Nitard* was torn from her councils, produced a new favourite on the stage, to whom she was still more beneficent, and who of consequence was quickly loaded with a still greater proportion of public hatred. It has been insinuated, that, if the conde *de Monterey* had not been wanting to himself, he might have been both minister and favourite; but he having declined some advances that were made him, Don *Hernando de Valenzuela* made a more rapid progress than any favourite that had been yet seen, since, in the space of a few years, he rose, from being a page to a nobleman, not only to high offices and great appointments, but to the rank of a grandee of *Spain* of the first class. He was beautiful, brave, enterprising, generous, but without the knowledge or experience requisite to a man whom his own good fortune, and the inclinations of the queen his mistress, brought to manage the affairs of a great kingdom. He took, however, some precautions for the preservation of his power, which were certainly very well imagined. He adhered with the utmost fidelity to the queen who raised him. He laboured to gain the good-will of the people, by keeping *Madrid* constantly supplied with provisions at very reasonable prices: he took care to divert them with spectacles of different kinds, of which there are no people in *Europe* more fond; and he was at pains to have the king in a manner besieged by his creatures. He did not certainly take any measures for restoring the reputation or the affairs of the *Spanish* monarchy; he did not attempt to reduce their finances into a right method; he did not apply himself to study the interests of the monarchy with an assiduity requisite to enable him to make a right use almost of his absolute power. But these were things in reality out of his way and out of his reach: what fell within the circle of his capacity he did; and he would not have hindered those whose duty it was, and who were well enough qualified to have done it, from doing more. His great foible was his vanity, which led him to make a display of what his interest and his duty might have taught him to conceal; this gave a colour to popular clamour, and an air of patriotism to the cabals formed against him by the grandees, though, after all, he suffered as much for other people's faults as his own ^d.

Don Juan of Austria comes to the assistance of the king, and banishes the queen's lover.

DON *Juan*, who governed *Arragon* with an authority much superior to that of its antient kings, derived that authority from himself, that is, from his own conduct. He added to the *Spanish* regularity, in every thing he did, that spirit which at first gave it reverence. Modest and simple in his dress and in his court, he made the great object of his administration the good of the people. He found the constitution of *Arragon* well suited to this, and, by keeping to the letter of that constitution, he taught the people, by his veneration for the laws, to obey them without murmuring. He was inflexible in the execution of justice; but, where he found any opportunity, he never failed to manifest his compassion. This raised his character, and

^a Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Vita Michaelis Ruyter, par GERARD BRAND, Amst. lod. 1684. fol. Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par LE CLERC, NEUVILLE, Histoire de Hollande, BASNAGE, Annales des Provinces Unies, Histoire Metallique des Pays Bas, par GERARD VAN LOON, tom. iii. p. 175, 176.

^c BASNAGE, Annales des Provinces Unies, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, QNINCY, Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV. NEUVILLE, Histoire de Hollande.

^d Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.

countenanced

a countenanced the grandees at *Madrid* in their endeavours to place him at the head of the government. He had brought the affairs of *Arragon* into order, and the want of it was visible every-where else. The duke of *Alba* and the count of *Monterey* were the principal persons amongst the nobility who interested themselves in this respect; the former was much esteemed, and had a great influence; the latter had a generous heart, joined to as cool a head as any in *Spain*. After milder methods had been tried to no purpose, an association was formed, and signed by the grandees, who concurred in sentiment with the duke of *Alba*, at his house; but the great point of all was, to engage the king to add the sanction of his name, that, for doing the loyalest action in the world, they might not be either reputed or treated as rebels. Don *Carlos* came readily into the project as soon as it was proposed to him; his parts were not so lively as they had been, yet he still remembered he was a king, and desired to be considered in that light by his subjects. He took a resolution, therefore, of leaving his palace at *Madrid*, and going to the *Pardo*; and though he was forced to walk part of the way on foot, to which he had not been used, he performed it without complaining. There he met with Don *Juan*, who gave him a very succinct and true account of the state of his dominions, the distress of his subjects, and the methods by which they might be relieved. In consequence of his advice, and with the concurrence of the council, the queen mother was removed to *Toledo*, which she considered as a kind of banishment. Don *Hernando Valenzuela*, who had taken shelter in the convent of *Escurial*, was at length found there, concealed in a nich made for that purpose, in a cell of one of the monks, transferred to a prison, degraded from all his honours, and sent to the *Philippines*. He behaved with great spirit under his misfortunes; and, after remaining years, sometimes in the *East*, sometimes in the *West Indies*, was at length suffered to return to *Spain*. This great revolution happened in the spring, when Don *Juan* received, from the unanimous voice of the nobility and people, the title of protector and preserver of his country^a. They changed their sentiments soon after, and would have called him the betrayer of it, if they durst.

THE negotiations were carried on all this time at *Nimeguen*, where it appeared to be evidently the design of the *French* to let all the losses fall upon *Spain*. It must be indeed owned, that the *Dutch* had hitherto borne in a great measure the charge of the war, which, though grievous to them, was however but just, since the *Spaniards* came into it for their preservation. Besides, it had been carried on chiefly for their benefit, so that at this time they had recovered the best part of their country, and most of their fortresses except *Maestricht*. In point, therefore, of justice and decency, they were content to make this campaign, that their allies might have some opportunity of repairing their losses, or at least of making better terms; of which there appeared such a probability, that they rejected the cessation of arms proposed by *Lewis XIV.* from a belief that *Charles* the fifth, who had succeeded his uncle of the same name in *Lorrain*, and was at the head of the emperor's armies, would be able to enter into his own dominions, and by the assistance of the allies, into *France* itself. They had the misfortune, however, to be disappointed in their expectations. The *French* king very unexpectedly took the field on the last of *February*, opened the trenches against *Valenciennes* on the 10th of *March*, and carried it very unexpectedly by storm on the 17th, not without great suspicions of treachery. The town and citadel of *Cambray* were reduced in less than a fortnight; at the same time that the duke of *Orleans* lay before *St. Omer's*, the prince of *Orange* hazarded a battle at *Cassel*, for its relief, in which he was beaten by that duke, assisted by marshal *Luxemburgh*, on the 11th of *April*^r. After this, at the pressing instances of the *Spaniards*, he once more formed the siege of *Charleroi*, which he raised on the 13th of *August*, upon the approach of marshal *Luxemburgh*, and declined fighting the *French* army, upon which the duke of *Villabermosa* warmly insisted. When the campaign seemed to be at an end, the *French* besieged and took *St. Guilain*, in the beginning of *December*. In *Catalonia* Don *Juan* of *Austria* furnished the count *de Monterey* with a superior army, by ordering all the troops to join him that were intended to be transported to *Sicily*, judging very rightly, that the licence with which the *French* troops lived in that island would inspire its inhabitants with courage enough to drive them out. The marshal duke *de Navailles* commanded for the *French*, and, their historians say, did wonders. It is certain that he acted upon the offensive at the beginning of the campaign; that, upon the approach of the count *de Monterey*, he retired towards *Roussillon*, through a rough and mountainous country, through which the *Spaniards* followed him, and fought him on the 4th of *July*, when both sides claimed the victory; but that it belonged rather to the *Spaniards* may be presumed from hence, that the *French*, according to their own accounts, decamped at midnight, and retired into their own territories. It must be owned, that the campaign did not answer the expectations of Don

Campaign in Flanders attended only with disappointments and disasters.

^a Histoire generale d'Espagne, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.

^r QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par LE CLERC, BASNAGE, Annales des Provinces Unies, Lettres Historiques de Monsr. PELISON, Memoires du Marquis DE FEUQUIERES, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE.

Juan, who looked coldly upon the count *de Monterey*, tho' some say this was rather owing to his having too great an interest in the affections of the young king.

The next intirely of the same complexion both there and in Catalonia.

A. D. 1678.

THE proceedings at *Nimeguen* went on very slowly, which was not a little owing to the *Spaniards*, who, presuming on that honour and generosity which they had shewn in coming into the war, insisted upon as good terms as if they had been victorious throughout the course of it, to which the *French* would not agree. The *Dutch* gave the *Spaniards* good words and good advice, but endeavoured to soften them as far as was in their power. The prince of *Orange*, indeed, who was for carrying on the war, spoke another kind of language, still less acceptable to the *Spaniards*, for he inveighed against their want of punctuality, their dilatoriness and imbecillity, which, after all, was owing to the perplexed state of their affairs, and to their indigence, which they were at once too proud to confess, and too lazy to amend. The *French* king took advantage of these favourable circumstances for accomplishing his designs. In the very beginning of *March* he invested and reduced, or rather surprized, *Ghent*, and soon after invested *Ypres*, at the siege of which he assisted in person. The *Spanish* garrison was commanded by the marquis of *Conflans*, who made a gallant defence, and did not render the place till after twenty-five days open trenches. The *French* next blocked up *Mons*, which had its effect, as we shall see in its proper place. The marshal duke *de Navailles* being considerably reinforced in *Rouffillon*, after menacing *Roses* in *Catalonia*, suddenly invested and besieged *Puicerda*, which was very gallantly defended. The count *de Monterey* assembled his forces, and took such measures as he thought most expedient for its relief; but, whether he wanted strength, or was in reality inferior in military skill to the *French* marshal, who was indeed considered as one of the best officers of that age, so it fell out, that his design miscarried, and *Puicerda* was lost. This ruined the count with Don *Juan* of *Austria*, who caused him to be exiled^a, though he had been one of the principal persons who had opened a passage to his return from *Arragon*; and though for this reason, Don *Juan* has been accused of ingratitude, yet it will hereafter appear, that his treatment of this nobleman could not proceed from so base a principle.

French fleet and forces abandon Messina, and the court takes no care of them in the place.

WHAT Don *Juan* had foreseen, with respect to the island of *Sicily*, came exactly to pass. The duke *de Vivonne* suffered his soldiers to live in a manner at discretion, and was at the same time very rapacious: this created heart-burnings and complaints, which, instead of procuring redress, produced confiscations. The *Sicilians* in general came to have an utter abhorrence for the *French*; and the *English* being on the point of joining with the *Dutch*, in sending a strong maritime force to the assistance of the *Spaniards*, *Lewis XIV.* took a quick resolution of withdrawing his forces from that island, and sent Monsieur *de la Feuillade*, with a strong squadron in the spring, to put that design in execution. The duke *de Vivonne*, who had previous intelligence of this step, managed every thing with such address and circumspection, as made it plainly appear, that the innumerable errors of his government were not at all owing to want of capacity. He gave out that he had a secret expedition of the utmost importance in view, which would require the whole force under his command; and carried his dissimulation so far, that public prayers were addressed to heaven for the success of what was never intended. Thus, after insulting and abusing both God and man, the *French* troops and the treasures they had plundered were embarked on board Monsieur *de la Feuillade's* squadron on the 8th of *April*, and then, and not till then, the *Messinese* were informed, that they were to be deserted. In the consternation they were under at this unexpected news, the only expedient of which they could think, was, to quit their country, and retire to *France*, which between four and five hundred of them did; but the bulk of the inhabitants were abandoned, not only by the *French* fleet and army, but by the ministers of *France* also, in the negotiations at *Nimeguen*, to the resentment of the court of *Madrid*; and not a few of them paid with their lives for having been weak enough to place any confidence in a power that acted only from motives of self-interest and ambition^a. It might, however, have been more to the advantage of *Spain*, if clemency had taken place of resentment.

After much negotiation, and with no small difficulty, the treaty at Nimeguen is concluded.

THE great object of the *French* negotiations was, to detach the republic the *United Provinces* from her allies, in which they at length succeeded, notwithstanding all the opposition that could be given to this measure by the prince of *Orange*. The states, indeed, had two things to plead, which were, the excessive expences of the war; and that *Maestricht*, which was the only place *France* held out of all her conquests, was to be restored. The *French*, by one of their great refinements in policy, were very near losing this peace, when there was nothing left towards its conclusion but the bare form of signing. They had promised the *Dutch* to restore certain places to *Spain*, without taking any notice of the time when this

^a Memoires de NAVAILLES, BASNAGE, Annales des Provinces Unies, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne. ^b QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. ^c Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, & auct. sup citat. ^d Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, QUINCY, BASNAGE, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

- a restitution was to be made ; and, being pressed upon this head, the plenipotentiaries acknowledged it was the king's intention not to proceed to these restitutions till the like were made to *Sweden*, which, in this war, had suffered as much for being the ally of *France*, as *Spain* for her attachment to the states. But the *Dutch* acted with great steadiness in this particular, fixing a day certain, by which if the *French* did not depart from this pretension, they would look upon their engagements as void. When the day came, the *French* acquiesced, and the treaty was signed on the 10th of *August*. The prince of *Orange*, notwithstanding, attacked the *French* army before *Mons* four days after ; which, however, did not prevent both parties from adhering to the treaty. This put the *Spaniards* under the necessity of accepting the terms prescribed to them ; and the treaty was accordingly subscribed between *France* and *Spain*,
- b by the plenipotentiaries from the respective crowns, on the 17th of *September* following, at *Nimeguen*. The places restored to *Spain* by this peace were *Charleroy*, *Binsch*, *Atb*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, and its dependencies, the town and duchy of *Limbourg*, *Ghent*, the fort of *Rodenhus*, the country of *Waes*, *Lewe*, and *St. Guilain*, their fortifications being first rased. *Puicerda* in *Catalonia* was also restored. *France* retained the *Franche Comte* intire, the towns of *Valenciennes*, *Bouchain*, *Conde*, *Cambrai* and its dependencies, *Aire*, *St. Omer*, *Ypres* and its châtellenie, *Warwick*, *Warneton*, *Poperinghen*, *Bailleul*, *Cassel*, *Bavai*, *Maubeuge*, *Charlemont* or *Dinant*. The public tranquillity was far from being restored by the conclusion of this peace ; for the *French* had so many new pretensions, and the *Spanish* ministers flattered themselves with such hopes of being assisted by both the maritime powers, that it was not till towards the
- c end of the year that the ratification of *Spain* arrived^y, and was exchanged ; by which the people were freed from their apprehensions of seeing a new war kindled out of the ashes of the old one.

THE revolution that happened in their domestic government had filled the *Spanish* nation with hopes that they should see all their grievances redressed, and the reputation of the crown speedily revived. This, without question, was what *Don Juan* had in view ; but, considering with himself the instability of his own situation, and the odious colours that might be thrown on the manner in which he assumed the administration, in case of any new change, he resolved to prevent this, on establishing, by a judicial inquiry, the certainty of those facts which had been alleged as the causes for the disgrace of the queen mother, which, though at this time it was allowed just and requisite, yet it was afterwards treated as a needless act of severity, and which served only to bring to light things that had better have been concealed. The queen, during her administration, had not only negotiated, but concluded, a treaty of marriage for the king her son, with the archduchess *Maria Antonietta*, daughter to the emperor *Leopold*, though a perfect infant, and had even gone so far as to notify this to the states general ; notwithstanding which, that contract was laid aside, and in compliance, as it is said, with the king's own inclinations, who was exceedingly charmed with the picture of the duke of *Orleans*'s daughter. *Don Juan* sent the marquis de los *Balbazex* into *France*, to demand that princess, who had his audience for that purpose of his most Christian majesty on the 10th of *May* ; and every thing was settled and concluded by the 2d of *July*. As *Maria Louisa* of *Orleans* stood equally related to *Lewis XIV.* and *Charles II.* of *England*, this match was highly applauded ; and *Don Juan* received great compliments thereupon ; and yet (such strange things fall out in courts !) this marriage was improved by the enemies of *Don Juan* into the cause of his disgrace, and that broke his heart before the arrival of the young queen, who stood indebted to him for that pompous, though in its consequences, no very pleasing title^z. The circumstances of this new revolution, which disappointed the measures that had been concerted for a gradual reformation of whatever was amiss in the government, shall be represented as clearly and as succinctly as it is possible.

THE young king seemed to be so much satisfied with his marriage, that such as were attached to the queen mother, such as had grounds to apprehend the result of *Don Juan*'s inquiries, such as thought themselves neglected since the commencement of his administration ; such as had felt the effects of his displeasure, and such as had a faculty of intriguing, concurred in the insinuations, that though he certainly proposed, yet he secretly laboured to prevent, this marriage. They gave out, that, even in proposing it, he had chiefly in view the crossing the queen's designs of marrying the king into her own family ; that he had privately negotiated at *Lisbon* for the young princess, who was like to be the heir of that crown ; and that the minister he had sent into *France* did not proceed with a vivacity suitable to the king's desires. These suggestions had made some impression upon the king's mind, when *Don Juan*, unfortunately for himself, but surely from a noble and generous motive, represented to the

Don Juan of Austria concludes a marriage for his catholic majesty with the princess Maria Louisa of Orleans. A. D. 1679.

The Spanish courtiers, by their arts, turn this very measure to his prejudice.

^y *Memoires & Negociations de la Paix de Nimegue, Histoire des Negociations de la Paix de Nimegue, Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. Part i. p. 365.*
^z *Memoires de Madam MONT-PENSIER, Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vii. Part. i. p. 417.* *Histoire des Negociations de la Paix de Nimegue, Histoire general d'Espagne, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.*

council, that, since the king was to marry a niece, and not a daughter, of *France*, this occasion might be taken to engage that crown to make some concessions in favour of *Spain*, or at least to put a stop to those proceedings in the *Low Countries*, by which the subjects of that crown felt almost all the miseries of war in the midst of peace. The council, to make their court to the king, rejected this proposition, though very prudent in itself, and which might have been productive of very good effects. The king was pleased with this, and shewed a visible coldness towards Don *Juan*; upon which signal, many, who had the greatest obligations to him, abandoned his party, and, amongst the rest, the king's confessor, who owed that post intirely to Don *Juan's* favour. In the midst of these intrigues, he was seized with an ague, and, while he was indisposed, things proceeded so far, that he saw his disgrace inevitable. He had conferred upon the count *de Monterey*, of his own accord, one of the best employments in the new queen's household; a certain proof, that, with respect to this nobleman, he was not implacable; but this did not hinder his being chagrined, when he found the count recalled from his exile without consent.

Don Juan falls sick, and, after languishing some time, dies of a broken heart.

THIS, and a multitude of other accidents of the same kind (not to give into the suspicion of something of a worse sort), threw him into a mortal disease, which emaciated him to such a degree, that his physicians, who could never tell what to make of his disease, despaired of his recovery. The king's tenderness revived when it was too late; he visited him, wept at the sight of his condition, complaining, that, now he had most need of his advice, he was about to lose him. Don *Juan* did not appear much affected with these marks of royal compassion. He took that opportunity to enter into a full detail of the state of public affairs, to let the king see in how perplexed, as well as in how declining a condition they stood; to point out to him the true sources from which all these mischiefs flowed, and the sole remedies that could prove effectual. He pressed him to make a proper choice of a council, and to apply himself, by the help of their advice, to administer the concerns of his kingdom. He exhorted him to remember always his duty to God and his people, and to beware of listening to flatterers and favourites; and, with many wishes for his long life, prosperity, and issue by his queen, he took leave of him for ever. On the 17th of *September* he expired, and, by his will, bequeathed all his estate, which was but very small, to the king; his jewels, which were more considerable, to be equally divided between the two queens^a. Calumny, loud even in his last moments, became dumb at his decease. The vulgar were convinced of his disinterestedness; and the whole nation confessed, that, in him, the abilities and virtues of the house of *Austria* made their last efforts. He left behind him a natural daughter, who was a nun. He was scarce interred before the king went to *Toledo*, to bring back the queen mother to triumph over his ashes, and to persecute with unrelenting hatred all who had manifested their zeal for their country, by adhering to a prince who had nothing else at heart; which she did, till the terror of this vindictive temper again deprived her of power^b.

His death has an extreme bad effect on public affairs, which fall into confusion.
A. D. 1680.

THE king went to meet his new queen, and consummated his marriage, by a strange indecorum, in one of the poorest villages in *Old Castile*, from whence he conducted her to *Burgos*, and in the month of *February*, made a pompous entry into *Madrid*. The vast expences that attended this marriage added to those evils with which *Spain* was already oppressed. There was for a long time no administration at all; but such business as could not be delayed, the king dispatched with the secretary of state, a young man, without either parts or experience, who, by assiduity and cunning, had supplanted his master, and, by the practice of the same noble arts, kept the king from fixing for a long time upon any minister; nor was he determined in his choice at last, but by the constable of *Castile's* generously declaring in favour of his competitor for that high post, the duke *de Medina Celi*, who was a nobleman of a gentle disposition, and very much beloved. The young queen found herself under great restraint, and, from a very different education, found the *Spanish* customs very uneasy and troublesome. The queen mother lost her power by degrees, in endeavouring to extend it. The prince *de Harcourt*, who accompanied the queen from *France*, and the marquis *de Villars*, who was ambassador from that crown, were disagreeable to *Charles*. They looked narrowly into every thing; they entered into conferences and connections with the *grandeess*; and the latter more especially took a pleasure in delivering his master's haughty messages in a manner that rendered them still more distasteful. The accounts they gave from time to time of the distracted state of things at *Madrid*, where one untoward accident was continually following another, induced *Lewis XIV.* to form various pretensions, as if he had delighted in trespassing upon the Catholic king's patience, or rather insulting his circumstances. He obliged him to lay aside the title of duke of *Burgundy*, to part with many villages upon the frontiers of *Roussillon*, as well as in the *Low Countries*, to give orders for his ships striking the flag to those of *France*, and to give him distinguished satisfactions for disputes between their subjects,

^a *Historia General d'Espagne, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Memoires historiques, politiques, critiques, & literaires, par AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAIE.*

^b *Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.*

a in which sometimes right was on his side, though they were almost always unworthy of notice. Such is the situation of a king, whose splendor appears only in his titles; and such the repeated reasons by which *Charles* was taught, that the monarch, who cannot make war, can as little enjoy peace; of which he was at length so convinced, that he told his queen, he should be glad of a war to be rid of *M. de Villars* ^c.

In making choice of the duke of *Medina Cæli* for prime minister, the king satisfied the court and the nation, as well as himself; but it was for a very small time, after which the clamour revived, and became even louder than ever. This did not proceed from any thing the duke had done, but from his doing nothing. He was indeed qualified to be the king's favourite, but not his minister; his capacity was good, his intention was better; but there were so many evils to be redressed, so many things to be provided for, and such an intire deficiency of funds, that, like one amazed, not knowing what road to take, he stood quite still. At length he ventured upon the worst measure he could take, which was, regulating the copper coin, which he reduced from its nominal to its real value, and thereby confounded every thing, since there were no less than fifteen millions of this coin in *Spain*. By this error two mischiefs were brought to meet that before were scarce seen together, for money was scarce, and yet provisions were dear. To correct this, the copper money was called in, and the king promised to pay its value in six months; which, as it was known he could not perform, it served only to make things worse. In the mean time foreigners made an advantage of this in many different ways, more especially when great families came at last to coin or sell their plate. The misery of the court was so great, that many of the king's menial servants left the palace for want of subsistence; and the king, with the advice of his council, was not able to find money for the annual journey to *Aranjuez*, tho' that is but seven leagues from *Madrid* ^d. The navy sunk to nothing, the funds destined for its support being diverted by those whose duty it was to apply them. The soldiers deserted on the frontiers for want of pay; and at last the governors quitted their fortresses, to come and represent at *Madrid* in person what they had often represented by letters to little or no purpose.

As to the settled revenue of the crown, it was anticipated for several years, and, which was much worse, the collection remained in the officers of the crown, who did not bring in above one tenth of what they levied upon the people into the king's coffers, or, what stood in their place, the pockets of the assentists, so that the anticipation of all was made upon a very small part. Another singularity was, that many, if not most, of these assentists, were Jews, who, for the sake of their valuable talents in the management of the finances, were overlooked by the inquisition, except now and then, when, having made too great a display of their wealth, they were squeezed a little; and therefore, not being able to enjoy their riches here, they sent them into other countries, and followed them at a proper time into places of greater freedom. The detached provinces of the *Spanish* empire were not less exposed than the seat of its government. Those sent to rule them had chiefly in view the repairing their own fortunes, and, in order to this, they made no scruple of multiplying those mischiefs, of which, at their arrival, they found too many; neighbouring potentates took their advantages likewise, and stood as little in fear of the log as they had formerly been afraid of the stork: hence it was that every court insulted that of *Spain*. *France* made incroachments in *Biscay*, in *Roussillon*, in the *Low Countries*. The elector of *Brandenburgh*, finding it impossible to recover by negotiation the subsidies that were due to him, withdrew his minister from *Madrid*, hired a small squadron of privateers, and took a *Spanish* vessel with a large sum on board, on the coast of the *Low Countries*. As the court of *Madrid* was too proud to enter into any liquidation of his demands till the ship was previously restored, he kept all, though he would have been content with what was his due ^e. The *Spanish* governor of *Buenos Ayres* having dispossessed the *Portuguese* of a place they had seized, without any better title than convenience, the prince regent of *Portugal* took this up in such high terms, that though *Spain* insisted first upon her right, and her possession of one hundred and forty years, which she justified by a manifesto, yet in a month's time she negotiated this right away, and not only gave up the island in question, but confessed that she had no title to it.

THE detail of the affairs of *Spain* is the history of *Spain* at this juncture: a nation in such a condition can furnish no other history. The king reposed himself on his minister and the several councils to which his predecessors had assigned the cognisance of different affairs; so that the appearance of government remained, though the spirit was almost extinguished. The duke of *Medina Cæli* was advised to establish a select council, with whom he might confer upon extraordinary occasions; but he apprehended, that, in doing this, his power would devolve upon that junta. He was at last forced to take this step, which had no considerable effect. There

^c QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Mercure Hollandois, sous l'an. 1680. Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Historia d'Espagne.

^d Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne. ^e Histoire generale d'Espagne, Memoires historiques & chronologiques. Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.

were, however, in *Spain*, men of parts and capacity, and particularly the two sons of Don *Lewis de Haro*, the marquis *de Lich*, who had made the treaty with *Portugal*, and the count *de Monterey*, who has been so often mentioned; but the former was sent ambassador to *Rome*, and kept there against his will; the latter was hated by the queen mother, always suspected, sometimes in disgrace. They were hated for their superior parts; and those who had the king's ear knew so well that a general reform would follow their coming into power, that, for their own sakes, they kept them at a distance. The duke of *Villabermosa* had been admitted into the council, upon his return from the *Low Countries*, where he was succeeded by the prince of *Parma*, who could not prevent the county of *Chineï* from being seized by *France*; which having violated the peace on this side from the same principle of ambition, put a garrison into *Casal*, to bridle *Italy*^f. The next year the *French* king demanded the country of *Alost*, because it had been once in his possession, and he had never renounced it expressly, tho' at the treaty of *Nimeguen* it was restored to *Spain*. As this sacrifice was not easily made, *Luxemburgh* was blocked up. The sole resource of the court of *Madrid* was, to demand the assistance of her allies; but the emperor was engaged in a war with the *Turks*, the republic of *Holland* wanted the power, and the king of *Great Britain* was not in a condition to undertake the protection of the *Austrian Neithberlands*, though his interest was deeply concerned in their safety. The government of them was at length confided to the marquis *de Grana*, a man of abilities and spirit, very capable of defending them, if the means had been in his power. The death of the queen of *France*, his catholic majesty's sister, was an additional misfortune, which was known and felt at *Madrid*, and, like other misfortunes, was esteemed without remedy^g. Such was the situation of a power, which, in the memory of some then living, had given law to all *Europe*.

By which, tho' unable to make, the Spaniards are provoked to declare, war. At this critical conjuncture the duke *de Medina Celi* resigned his post of prime minister, that he might be free from that clamour which he found it impossible to remove any other way. But this had no visible effect upon public affairs, which went on still in the same way. The *French* king, under pretence of obtaining an equivalent for the country of *Alost*, besieged and took *Courtray* and *Dixmude*. The marquis *de Grana*, in order to push the allies of *Spain* to unite on the side of justice, and in her favour, declared war, and the prince of *Orange* did all that was in his power to engage the states to take the side of the injured at all events. But their tenderness for their own concerns, and their apprehensions of the vast power of an ambitious prince, who had no law but his will, restrained them. The projects of the marquis, therefore, in this respect, became vain. But however, it set the arrogance of *Lewis XIV.* and his contempt of treaties, in their just light, and convinced all the powers in *Europe*, that all hopes of safety were vain, till this exorbitant power should be humbled. It is however true, that notwithstanding this declaration of war, and the weakness of the *Spaniards*, *France* did not push her conquests in the *Low Countries* as she might have done. This did not arise from any moderation, but was founded on an apprehension of provoking the *Dutch*, by the approach of danger, to take that step, which, from a principle of equity, they had declined. To make the *Spaniards* thoroughly sensible of this, marshal *Crequi* was sent in the very depth of winter to bombard *Luxemburgh*; which he did with great fury, but without exciting, as was expected, any sedition in the place^h. The princes and states of the empire saw the consequence of this clearly, but want of unanimity checked their resentment.

Which ends in a truce for 20 years, which they are compelled to make on bad terms. THE *French* beginning to assemble an army on the frontiers, the duke *de Bournonville* was sent in haste into *Catalonia*, where, while he was visiting the places, and assembling the troops, the *French* very unexpectedly penetrated into *Navarre*, where, except plundering some places of small importance and spreading rumours, calculated to increase the discontent of the people, they did nothing worth mentioning. This gave the duke *de Bournonville* time to draw together what forces there were in *Catalonia*; so that when the *French* general, the marshal *Bellefons*, came to penetrate into that country by *Roussillon*, he found him very well posted, in order to dispute his passage. But the marshal, being superior in all respects, attacked and forced the duke at *Ponte Mayor* on the 12th of *May*, and thereby opened a passage to *Gironne*. The duke, however, threw into that place the best part of his infantry; so that when the marshal came to form the siege, he met with a much more obstinate resistance than he expected; however, having taken some outworks, and made a breach in the body of the place, he attempted it by assault, in which the *French* troops were not only repulsed, but were pursued to their camp with such vigour, that the marshal was obliged to raise the siege, and retire towards the sea coast, where, by the assistance of the *French* fleet, he made

^f QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Mercure Hollandois, sous l'an. 1681. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Corps Universel Diplomat. du Droit des Gens. ^g REIN. COURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. LARREY, Histoire de Louis XIV. LIMIERS, Histoire du regne de Louis XIV. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE. ^h REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. LARREY, QUINCY, Mercure Hollandois, sous l'an. 1683. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, LIMIERS, Histoire du regne de Louis XIV. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

- a himself master of *Palamos*, and some other little places ¹. On the side of the *Low Countries* the war was suspended, the *French* king having declared to the states general what at that time he was disposed to take from *Spain*; upon which he was willing to restore what he had already taken, and suspend his further demands for twenty years, adding, that if in fourteen days after the taking *Luxemburgh*, which was besieged by marshal *Crequi*, they did not prevail upon his catholic majesty to accept, he would take such measures as the superiority of his power should enable him to do. The fortrefs of *Luxemburgh*, which had been invested in the beginning of *May*, held out till the 4th of *June*; and then the *Spaniards*, being convinced they had no assistance to hope, submitted to put their affairs into the hands of their friends, in consequence of which, the truce of *Ratisbon* was subscribed A. D. 1684.
- b on their behalf on the 10th of *August*, by which they abandoned *Luxemburgh*, and recovered *Courtray* and *Dixmude*, together with a great number of villages that had been taken from them since the treaty of *Nimeguen*. As this was a measure equally repugnant to the interests and honour of *Spain*, the ratification came but slowly from *Madrid*; so that, when it arrived, the *French* demanded upwards of ten millions of livres for contributions; but, upon the interposition of the king of *Great Britain*, condescended to accept four millions, which was all that the people had in the world, and, which is still more extraordinary, caused a medal to be struck, to perpetuate the memory of this wonderful act of condescension ^k. But how much soever this might amuse his own subjects, the rest of *Europe* saw it with amazement.
- c At *Madrid* the king began to apply himself with more steadiness than usual to the conduct of public affairs, and shewed such a sensibility of the state in which he found the generality of his subjects, as very speedily produced many salutary regulations, which had an extreme good effect; but which would have been much more effectual, if they had been begun earlier, or if they had been conducted with greater judgment. Through his endeavour to correct luxury, many foreign commodities and manufactures were prohibited, and, for example-sake, some seized and burnt, which disoblged the *Dutch*, a thing by no means seasonable. In order to ease the people, some heavy taxes were abolished; but as the income arising from those taxes were mortgaged, it raised a clamour amongst the assientists, or public creditors, who were not those artful and cunning persons who had raised fortunes to themselves from the necessities of the government, but honest people, who had purchased those securities at a high rate, and were now deprived of their subsistence. The king, therefore, caused a new fund to be settled, without reviving the old taxes for the payment of their interest; but as it arose from suppressing of pensions, the clamour was only varied; and as this regulation was ascribed to the count *de Oropesa*, the king's favourite, who, by the way, was of the house of *Braganza*, and the next heir male to the crown of *Portugal*, it drew upon him a degree of hatred that made him very uneasy. In the mean time the marquis *de Grana* died at *Brussels*, and the government of the *Low Countries per interim* devolved on Don *Francisco Antonio de Agurto*, marquis *de Gastanaga*. Some other changes were made, and the imperial minister had now a greater influence than ever at the court of *Madrid* ^l; which was exceedingly serviceable to the interests of the house of *Austria*, and accidentally to those of *Europe*.
- d It has been observed, that there is no branch in politics to which the *Spaniards* may with so much justice pretend as impenetrable secrecy. While they appeared to be intirely taken up with their domestic concerns, and to have nothing so much at heart as restoring the interior of their administration, their ministers in all the courts of *Europe*, who were generally speaking men of sense and experience, deplored the exorbitant growth of the *French* power, magnified their own losses incurred by daring to stand up against it; and suggested, that such as were partners in calamity ought naturally to become allies to each other to prevent being gradually destroyed. In *Italy* the spirit of pope *Innocent XI.* was kept up, notwithstanding *France* had already given him ill usage, and threatened worse. No pains were spared by Don *Pedro Ronquillo*, at *London*, to detach king *James* the second from his close connection with *France*, which lessened him as much with the popish powers as his religion did with the protestants. In *Holland* memorials of a like nature were presented, and the states solicited with great assiduity to enter into some measures for the protection of what was still left of the *Spanish Low Countries*. But in the midst of these insinuations, remonstrances, and applications, a minister on the behalf of his catholic majesty, signed, with all possible secrecy, the league at *Augsbourg*, on the 29th of *June* ^m, into which the emperor, the crown of *Sweden*, the elector of *Bavaria*, and other princes and circles of the empire, the king of *Spain* himself representing the circle of *Burgundy*, entered, for the protection of their respective do-
- e and to concert measures for circumscribing the power of France, with other states.

¹ QUINCY Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Mercure Hollandois sous l'an. 1684. REINCOURT, LARREY.
^k BUSSI, Histoire de Louis le Grand, Memoires historiques & chronologiques, QUINCY, & al. ubi sup.
 LIMIERS, Memoires du Marq. FEUQUIERES, Corps Universel Diplomatique, du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. P. ii. p. 79. Hist. de la vie & du regne de Louis XIV. par M. BRUZEN DE LA MARTINIERE, tom. iv. p. 291.
^l Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne. ^m Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vii. Part. ii. p. 131, 133.
 Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

minions, and for the maintenance of the peace of *Nimeguen*, and the late truce for twenty years : for this purpose their respective quotas were assigned, his electoral highness of *Bavaria* declared general of the allies, and a military chest established at *Francfort*. But the prince of *Orange* and the states, upon whom the allies chiefly depended, were not, for certain reasons, amongst the number of the contracting parties. The *French* king exceedingly provoked by the discourses of the *Spanish* ministers before-mentioned, but unwilling to violate openly the truce of *Ratibon* so soon after it was concluded, took a new method of venting his resentment. As he had A. D. 1686. the year before bombarded *Genoa*, because the republic had built four-gallies that might possibly join the *Spanish* fleet, so now he sent marshal *d'Estrees* with a powerful squadron into the *Mediterranean*, who very unexpectedly appeared before *Cadiz*, where, after taking two galleons in the sight of ten *Dutch* men of war, he demanded half a million of crowns for losses sustained by the *French* merchants in *Mexico*, that is, the value of their goods taken in illicit trade, for which he obtained the promise of full and immediate satisfaction. This was an additional insult, and more than was necessary to convince the ministers at *Madrid* how good a neighbour they had in this potent prince. The additional affront, therefore, of setting up posts upon a common at a small distance from *Namur*, with inscriptions, declaring it to be within the territories of *France*, with hints, that a citadel might possibly be built there, was a wanton display of a superiority of power, that, whatever the *French* ministers fancied^a, was not altogether so mortifying to the *Spaniards* as was intended. On the contrary, these exorbitancies, which at another time would have been intolerable, were in some measure welcome at present.

The queen mother's influence, and the strange uses she made of it. THE great projects that were now upon the carpet obliged the king to pursue the reformation he had begun. The marquis *de los Velos*, was placed at the head of the finances, in order to carry into execution a new alteration in the coin, which occasioned loud and general complaints, more especially from the *French* and *English* ministers, the former insisting, that the money due to the *French* merchants should be paid upon the old foot; and the latter, that the subjects of *Great Britain* should be exempted from this order. The king's answer was sensible and steady : " With respect to public contracts and old debts, he admitted the demand to be reasonable; but, in respect to subsequent transactions, his measures had been taken with deliberation, and he could not recede." Abundance of sounding military titles, with good appointments, which those who held them never executed, were suppressed, and a multitude of supernumerary offices in the law had the same fate. The court was visibly changed for the better; and that change would have been still more conspicuous, if the king's heart had not been equally divided between the two queens. His consort had a fever, and the queen motherness in this respect cost him a fit of sickness. On the other hand, the queen mother prevailed to keep the duke of *Medina Cæli* in exile, and even procured an order for the return of *Valenzuela*, notwithstanding it was strenuously opposed^o; but the king, being made sensible of the consequences, secretly countermanded it.

His catholic majesty has a very large share in the revolution in Great Britain. THE court of *France*, having intelligence of the league of *Augsburgh*, proposed to his catholic majesty, after making the like offer to the emperor, to convert the truce of twenty years into a perpetual peace upon the same or like terms, and had the mortification to receive such answers from *Vienna* and *Madrid*, as plainly demonstrated the two courts acted in concert. However, the dispute, or rather the quarrel, commenced with the *Spaniards* the year before, was amicably adjusted, but, as usual, at their expence, by an exchange of certain lands for the common, in the vicinity of *Namur*. The war with the *Moors* gave the *Spanish* court an opportunity of equipping a considerable squadron of gallies, and repairing some men of war, without giving umbrage; the marquis *de Gastanaga* was confirmed in his government of the *Low Countries*, but was so indifferently supplied, that most of the troops there deserted for want of pay, which the *French* saw with no small satisfaction, though this would have been very much diminished, if they had known the true cause at that time, which they afterwards published, in their declaration of war, to be the accommodating the prince of *Orange* with very considerable supplies for the expedition which he then meditated; neither would they have been free from chagrin, if they had discovered the share the *Spanish* ministers certainly had in determining the duke of *Savoy* no longer to bear the ill usage he received from Monsieur *de Louvois*, and their intrigues in other courts in *Italy*, where, being now so little formidable they had so much the better interest^p:

Acts with much diligence and sagacity in strengthening. IN the beginning of the year the court of *Spain* was exceedingly alarmed by the king's falling dangerously ill, during which time the queen mother assumed the power of excluding the queen consort her husband's chamber. Upon his recovery, the queen mother thought fit to

^a Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Louis XIV. par Mons. L'ABBE DE CHOISY, QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. ^o Histoire generale d'Espagne. ^p Le Siècle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Mercure historique & politique, 1687. Histoire generale d'Espagne.

a let the duke of *Medina Cæli* come to court; but he paid pretty dear for that favour, since she obliged him to surrender all his great offices, which she immediately distributed amongst her creatures. To prevent his becoming popular, she divulged, that he was the concealed author of all the new regulations, and that he had sacrificed all things, that he might gain access to the king, in order to give him the necessary lights for carrying those regulations into execution, from whence he came to be reputed the best patriot in *Spain*, and, though not employed, was as much trusted by the king as ever^a. In *Catalonia* the marquis de *Leganex*, who was viceroy, attempting to put the province in a posture of defence, fell into such hatred with the people, that he demanded to be recalled; upon which the king, or rather the queen mother, took him at his word, and sent thither the count de *Melgar*. In the autumn the queen consort fell ill of the small-pox, of which she recovered, and, during the whole time of her distemper, the king expressed great tenderness for her. Yet there was a rumour, as if the disposition of the court of *Rome* had been founded about a divorce, on account of the queen's sterility, and that the king might have an opportunity of marrying the infant of *Portugal*. In respect to foreign affairs, his majesty laboured earnestly to persuade the emperor into a peace with the *Turks*, and continued his correspondencies in *Italy*, where his influence began to revive, in proportion as his power was less feared. The *Moors* having besieged *Oran* with a great force, the king Don *Carlos*, who could not have done it perhaps any other way, relieved it by a stroke of wit. As soon as he received the news, he made it public, adding, that if this misfortune had happened to his most Christian majesty, he must have published a proclamation for restraining the nobility from going thither without leave. The *Spanish* lords took the hint, two hundred of them went at their own expence, and raised the siege. Count *Tourville*, with three *French* men of war, meeting rear-admiral *Pacpachin* with two *Spanish* men of war in the *Mediterranean*, as they did not immediately lower their top-sails, fired upon them, and, after a long engagement, obliged them to salute him. The court of *Madrid* was forced to digest this, and to send orders to the count de *Gastanaga* to temporize in the *Low Countries*, as their schemes were not yet ripe. However, a plate fleet arrived at *Cadiz*; and, though the king could keep but very little of its contents, yet it gave him fresh credit; and to a court in such circumstances this was of great use.

A. D. 1688.

d THE death of the queen of *Spain*, after an illness of three days, on the 12th of *February*, made a great change in the face of affairs, more especially as the *French* gave out very positively, that she died of poison^b. A modern writer^c, after citing the memoirs of a person of distinction, in which it is asserted, that *Louis XIV.* affirmed so much at supper, treats it as a fable; but this is certain, that it was believed at the time, and that it was expected the *French* court would have published a manifesto upon it. However, she was buried with little ceremony, and, which was thought extraordinary, her household kept up; but the reason quickly appeared; for, in the space of about two months, the king's marriage was declared with the princess *Mary Anne*, daughter to the elector palatine, and, on the 15th of *June* following, he espoused her by proxy^d. There were two powerful motives to this marriage, first, that she was sister to the reigning empress and the queen of *Portugal*; the other, that she was young, handsome, and of a family remarkable for their fertility; to which we may add, that the match was agreeable to the queen mother, who now governed all. The marquis de *Ribaynac* pressed the king, in the name of his most Christian majesty, to declare what part he would take; upon which the king proposed a neutrality, which the marquis told him his master would not accept, and soon after the *French* declared war. That declaration was answered by the marquis de *Gastanaga* in very strong terms: and both in *Spain* and in the *Low Countries* all commerce was prohibited, and, by the catholic king's order, all *French* effects were seized^e. The duke de *Noailles* took the field early on the side of *Roussillon*, and made himself master of the town and castle of *Campredon*; but the duke de *Villabermosa*, who commanded in *Catalonia*, marched against him with a superior army, invested his new conquest, into which the *French* had put a strong garrison, and, with some difficulty the duke de *Noailles* disengaged them, and blew up the place, but not without considerable loss. The *Spaniards* continued to press the enemy all the rest of the campaign and levied great contributions in *Roussillon*, so that on this side they were clearly victorious. In *Flanders* the *French* proposed to take three or four of the best places the king of *Spain* had left; but the *Dutch* and *Brandenburgh* troops coming early to the assistance of the marquis of *Gastanaga*, preserved them all; and marshal *Humières* having received a severe check from prince *Waldeck* at *Valcourt*, on the 20th of *August*,

1689.

^a Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Histoire generale d'Espagne.^b chronologiques, QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

Histoire generale d'Espagne.

^c Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, tom. ii. p. 63.

Part ii. p. 221, 226.

^d Memoires historiques &^e Mercure historique & politique, 1686.^f Hif-^g Corps Univ. Diplomatique, tom. vii.

the rest of the campaign was not very fertile in events *. In *Barbary* his catholic majesty was less fortunate ; for the famous *Muley Ishmael*, emperor of *Morocco*, having invested *Larache*, took it, after a long and obstinate siege, notwithstanding it was very gallantly defended by a garrison of one thousand men, and, being carried by storm, a great part of them were cut to pieces † ; the rest, who retired to the castle, were obliged to surrender at discretion, and mouldered away in dungeons, that barbarous prince refusing to ransom them, though he sent over a minister to *Spain*, under colour of treating on this subject, who concluded a convention, which the emperor immediately disavowed.

Consequences attending this marriage, and the events of the second campaign.

WE have before mentioned the insurrection in *Catalonia* against the marquis de *Leganez*, and the complaisance of the king in recalling that nobleman. This, it seems, had a bad effect ; for the peasants, pretending that their privileges were violated by quartering troops amongst them, tho' for their own protection, assembled in great multitudes, and attempted to seize the duke of *Villabermosa*, who quickly disengaged himself, and obliged them to retire to the mountains nearest *Barcelona*. There, in a sudden fit of repentance, they cut off the head of one of their chiefs, and sent it to the duke, promising the utmost submission for the future ; upon which he immediately proclaimed a general pardon. But this was only to gain time, and to amuse ; for, having received assurances of succours from *France*, they took up arms again, and made a powerful diversion in favour of the enemy ‡. The new queen made her public entry into *Madrid* on the 22d of *June*, with great magnificence ; she brought with her her brother, the grand master of the *Teutonic* order, and several other persons of distinction. The king, to shew his great affection for her, created count *Mansfield*, who went into *Germany* to conclude the marriage, and to bring her into *Spain*, prince of *Fondi*, in the kingdom of *Naples* ; and the queen mother expressed the same fondness for her as if she had been her own daughter *. The new pope, *Alexander VIII.* exhorted the king to peace ; which gave him an opportunity of publishing one of the best penned answers that ever came from the court of *Madrid*, in which all the violences committed by *Louis XIV.* were strongly tho' succinctly set forth ; and in which it is observed, that as there was not a single power in *Europe*, his holiness not excepted, whom at some time or other he had not injured, oppressed, and insulted, it was therefore become necessary, for the peace and safety of Christendom, to weaken an exorbitant power, which was the continual instrument of pride and ambition ; so that this war was not only to be considered as just and necessary, till that purpose was answered, but perfectly consistent with the duties of Christian princes, bound to protect their subjects against a prince, whom no considerations of justice or humanity could restrain, and who had so often and so notoriously violated the most solemn treaties †. In consequence of these maxims, he concluded a treaty with the duke of *Savoy*, in pursuance of which that prince entered into the general alliance ‡. The campaign in *Catalonia* had been still a better commentary upon his catholic majesty's manifesto, if the disturbances before mentioned had not hindered the duke of *Villabermosa* from taking the field so early as otherwise he would have done ; but when he was at last able to act against the *French*, he compelled the duke of *Noailles* to retire, and would have forced him to a battle, if that cautious officer had not exerted his utmost skill to prevent it. However, the *Spanish* fleet made a descent on the coast, and burnt all the country about *Perpignan*. In *Flanders*, notwithstanding the loss of the battle of *Flerus*, the *Spaniards* were no great sufferers ; and *France* saw with regret, that she was no longer able to make those terrible impressions which had rendered her so formidable to her neighbours but a few years before. The *Moors* threatened much this year, which obliged the *Spaniards* to send such timely succours, that, after a few faint attempts, the infidels quitted the field §.

Count Oropeza disgraced, on account of the new regulations in the finances.

1691.

AT a season when the *Spaniards* were so much distressed for money, that no better method could be devised for the present than laying open the necessities of the public to the grandees, and depending on their public spirit to do for the crown what the crown was unable to do for itself, the galleons arrived safely at *Cadiz* with thirty millions on board. This had a very happy effect, and enabled his majesty to make remittances into *Italy* and the *Low Countries*, where all things suffered grievously for want of the stipulated supplies. The marquis de *Leganez* was sent governor general into the duchy of *Milan*, where he found things in great disorder, which, with much vigilance and activity, he laboured to repair *. The duke de *Medina Celi*, upon whom the king always relied, deceased, after a long illness ; and the count de *Oropeza*, who succeeded when the duke was obliged to resign his office of prime minister, was so much

* QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. LIMIERS, Histoire du regne de Louis XIV. LARREY, Histoire de Louis XIV. Mercure historique & politique, Memoires historiques & chronologiques. † Histoire generale d'Espagne. ‡ QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. § Mercure historique & politique 1690. Histoire generale d'Espagne. ¶ Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. Part ii. p. 265. * Re- lation de la Bataille de Fleurus, Mercure historique & politique, Histoire generale d'Espagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, BURNET's History of his own Time, LE CLERC, LIMIERS, LARREY, FEUQUIERES, REINCOURT. † Mercure historique & politique, 1691.

a and so generally hated, that the king was obliged to part with him. In the month of *September* his majesty was so dangerously ill, that all *Spain* expected his death, and could hardly be persuaded that it was possible for him to recover. It was upon this illness that the world began freely to canvass the succession; and that some proposed sending for the young archduke, and giving him the title of presumptive successor; while others insinuated, that perhaps a good peace might be made by adopting the second son of the dauphin, who, as they understood it, had the better title of the two. The king's recovery put an end for the present to these intrigues; till the queen's falling more dangerously ill introduced some of another kind. However, contrary even to the sentiments of the physicians, she likewise recovered ^f.

b IN relation to the progress of the war, the coasts of *Spain* suffered extremely from the *French* ^{the third campaign in Flanders, more particularly unfortunate to Spain.} fleet commanded by marshal *d'Etrees*, which first bombarded *Barcelona*; and, after ruining part of that fine city, did still more mischief at *Alicant*. This incensed the people to such a degree, that they plundered, and were with difficulty hindered from murdering, all the *French* settled amongst them. The duke *de Medina Sidonia* was sent viceroy into *Catalonia*, merely to please the people. He managed the war but very indifferently, though he had a better army than his predecessor. Marshal *Noailles* took *Urgel*, and made incursions into the kingdom of *Arragon*. The *Spanish* duke, having superior forces, marched towards him, as if he would give him battle; but afterwards amused himself with besieging a place of no great consequence, and that in so strange a manner, as induced count *Pignatelli*, who commanded under him, to retire with the best part of the army to *Barcelona*; this forced the c duke to follow him, and both parties appealed in justification of their conduct to the court of *Spain*, which had no great reason to be satisfied with either ^e. In *Flanders*, *Mons* was taken on the 9th of *April*, after a short siege, in the sight, as the *French* were pleased to say, and to the terror, of all *Europe*; but it is certain, with so much amazement to the *Spanish* court, that the ministers would have been willing, if they had thought it practicable, to conceal it from the king. His knowledge of it, however, had a very good effect, for he resolved immediately to perform what had been more than once under consideration, the detaching in some measure from the crown these distant dominions. Accordingly, at the close of the year, letters patents were dispatched, declaring his serene highness the elector of *Bavaria* hereditary governor of the *Low Countries*, with incomparably higher powers than d had been granted to the archduke *Leopold*, or to Don *Juan* of *Austria*, with a promise of a punctual subsidy of 75,000 pieces of eight *per* month. This measure is by some ascribed entirely to the influence of king *William's* councils; whereas others affirm that it had been stipulated some years before, upon the elector's marriage with the king's niece. It is not improbable that both may be true; and that, after so long a delay, his catholic majesty was at length determined to this step by the representations of king *William*, who knew by experience the great difficulty, or rather impossibility, of concerting proper measures for the defence of countries of such consequence to the maritime powers, with governors seldom continued above three years, generally intent upon making their private fortunes, and who could do nothing of moment till they received orders from *Madrid* ^h, where they were not always the best judges e of things at such a distance.

As the former, so this year, opened with a most agreeable and seasonable supply, the gal- ^{Things go pretty equally on both sides in the fourth.} leons returning from *America* with forty-eight millions on board, of which the king had four by way of indulto, which enabled him to send very large sums into the *Low Countries* and *Italy*; but his finances, notwithstanding, were in great disorder, and therefore a new junta was appointed to bring them under proper regulations, at the head of which was the count *de Monterey*. One of their first resolutions was to examine into the conduct of such as had been formerly trusted; and, that it might appear they were in earnest, the marquis *de Gastanaga* no sooner arrived in *Spain*, than he was sent prisoner to the castle of *Burgos*, with a note of the immense sums he had received, and an intimation that he must give an exact account of what was become f of them ⁱ. The queen dowager of *England*, passing through *Spain* into her native country of *Portugal*, was complimented by a person of distinction on the part of his catholic majesty at *Valladolid*. The *Spanish* fleet, under the command of admiral *Papachin*, sailed to *Genoa*, which induced that republic to act for the service of the emperor, and the rest of the allies; and the same fleet was very serviceable afterwards to the duke of *Savoy*, in his glorious campaign against the *French*. The marquis *de Conflans* was appointed viceroy of *Catalonia*; but it was so late in the year before he arrived, that the duke commanded the *Spanish* army, which however did nothing very considerable. On the other hand, marshal *Noailles*, being obliged to make a great detachment to reinforce the army employed against the duke of *Savoy*, was not in a condition to do much. As for the *French* fleet under marshal *d'Etrees*, it was so roughly

A. D. 1692.

^f Histoire generale d'Espagne, Mercure historique & politique.^e LARREY, Hist. de Louis XIV.

QUINCY Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

^h Mercure historique & politique, QUINCY, LE CLERC,

BURNET, REINCOURT, LIMIERS.

ⁱ LARREY, La Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE.

handled by the elements, that, though it appeared before *Malaga*, and threatened a bombardment, yet after exchanging some civilities, such as releasing prisoners on one side, and receiving provisions on the other, it quitted the coast. In *Flanders*, the loss of the important city and fortrefs of *Namur*, after a month's siege, and the defeat at *Steenkirk*, could not but chagrin the court, which however was in some measure consoled by certain applications, that plainly shewed that *France* was not only disposed to make, but was even desirous of purchasing a peace; an inclination she had never discovered before¹.

Two parties
already formed
in the council,
as to the suc-
cession.

THE pains taken by his catholic majesty and his ministers in regulating the finances had a very good effect, and brought the ordinary expences of the government into a proper method; but the unforeseen emergencies of the war threw them, notwithstanding, into such distress, as might easily have undone all they had been doing, if, upon mature deliberation, they had not taken the same measure they took before of engaging the public to relieve itself. The great councils paid each a certain sum, the grandees and officers of the court did the like; their examples were followed by the cities and great towns, so that a very large sum was levied for once. In order to remedy the state of their military affairs, and that they might have troops when and where-ever they were wanted, the king appointed four lieutenant-generals to have the superintendence in that respect of all *Spain*. These were quickly reduced to three; for the count *de Monterey*, who was of the number, desired to be excused; and soon after he refused a civil employment of great consequence, which was then ascribed to discontent, but it appeared afterwards that he meditated a retreat from the world, which he executed, and went into orders. The marquis *de Gastanaga* made a very good precedent for subsequent governors, since, after the strict examination, he administered the affairs of the *Low Countries* with great integrity and honour, so that, in approbation of his conduct, as well as in reward for his services, he was made viceroy of *Catalonia*; but he refusing that employment, it was bestowed on the marquis of *Villena*. The rumour of the queen's being with child excited for some time a general joy throughout the nation, which gradually sunk when it was known to be a mistake, and, upon this, the intrigues to engage his catholic majesty to settle the succession were renewed with greater vigour than ever^m. The queen mother, and the count *de Oropesa*, who still retained no small credit with his master, were vigorous in the support of the electoral prince of *Bavaria*; but the cardinals *Portocarrero* and *Cordova*, Don *Juan Henriques de Cabrera*, the count *de Aguilar*, the marquis *de Villafranca*, and other great politicians, declared in favour of the archduke *Charles*, the emperor's second son; and at this time his interest seemed to be the best of the two, though it was a chapter not very pleasing to the monarch, whose will was to settle the right of these contending princes, and, except count *Lobkowitz* the imperial minister, none of the ambassadors of the allies could be brought to interfereⁿ, as apprehending it equally unpleasant and indecent.

Spain and her
new allies
have the worst
almost on every
side in the
fifth campaign.

MARSHAL *Tourville*, with the *French* fleet, hovered upon the coast of *Spain*, which filled the court with apprehensions either of a descent or a bombardment; at length he appeared before *Roses* in *Catalonia* about the beginning of *June*, and the place was at the same time invested by land, the *French* army being commanded by marshal *Noailles*. Their operations were commenced by a bombardment, in which the governor being dangerously wounded, the place capitulated on the 9th, and it was upon this misfortune that the ministers demanded a free gift^o. The marshal *de Tourville*, towards the latter end of the same month, surprised the *Smyrna* fleet, destroyed four men of war, and either took, sunk, or burnt, 80 *English* and *Dutch* ships richly laden. This action happened between *Lagos* and *Cadiz*; but the enemy pursued the ships into the *Spanish* ports, and burnt many of them under the guns of their fortresses^p. The rest of the campaign in *Catalonia* was spent in marches and countermarches; the duke *de Medina Sidonia* commanding the *Spanish* army, as the marquis *de Villena* was not sent thither till towards the close of the year. The *Spanish* fleet remained this summer on the coast of *Italy*; and his catholic majesty applied to the maritime powers to send a naval force sufficient to cover his dominions the next year, in pursuance of a treaty made with the crown of *Great Britain* two years before^q. As to the military operations in *Flanders*, they were far enough from being successful. *Furnes* and *Dixmude* were taken at the very beginning of the campaign. Marshal *Luxemburgh* had the advantage in the battle of *Nerwind*, fought on the 29th of *July*, in which some *Spanish* volunteers of distinction were killed. But the most mortifying stroke was the loss of *Charleroi*, defended by the Marquis of *Castillo*, with a garrison of four thousand five hundred men, after twenty-seven days open trenches. The army of *France* was commanded by

¹ QUINCY, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. BURNET's History of his own Times. Memoires historiques & politiques REINCOVRT, Mercure historique & politique, Histoire general d'Espagne, LIMIERS, LARREY, LE CLERC, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE. ^m Memoires & Negotiations secretes du Comte d'HARRACH, Mercure historique & politique. ⁿ Memoires & Negotiations secretes du Comte d'HARRACH. ^o QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. LIMIERS, Histoire du regne de Louis XIV. BURNET's History of his own Times, Memoires historiques & chronologiques. ^p BURNET's History of his own Times, LE CLERC, LIMIERS. ^q Mercure historique & politique, QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

a marshal *Villeroi*, and was covered by another army under the command of marshal *Luxembourg*. The attacks were directed by Monsieur *Vauban*, who had fortified the place, and was therefore supposed to be best acquainted with it, yet, by an unaccountable mistake, he attacked it where it was strongest. After all these misfortunes, the pope's nuncio insinuated at *Madrid* his most Christian majesty's inclination to peace, which was rejected with great firmness, as overtures of the like kind were by the rest of the allies^r.

His catholic majesty having received from his allies an account of the propositions made to them on the part of *France*, in which there were some insinuations in regard to settling the succession of his dominions, he thought fit to write a letter, dated the 23d of *January*, to the states general, in which he assured them of his resolution to carry on the war, mentioned his having taken notice of those insinuations, and considered them with horror and execrations, adding, that he hoped Heaven, in compliance with the fervent prayers of his subjects, would yet grant him a successor^s. The galleons arrived this year with sixteen millions, of which the king had but a small share. The junta for reforming the management of the finances had recourse to many expedients, and yet were not able to furnish the subsidies that had been promised to the duke of *Savoy* and the elector of *Bavaria*. The scarcity of men also was almost as great as that of money; and the factions that reigned at court, where those who opposed the *French* interest were divided among themselves, did not a little contribute to distract their measures, and to frustrate some of their best-concerted undertakings. It was owing to these that the marquis *de Villena*, and duke of *Escalona*, one of the wisest and worthiest men in *Spain*, could not assemble above sixteen thousand men in *Catalonia*, and part of these raw troops, though he had been assured they would enable him to take the field early, and with an army superior to that of the enemy. His presence was acceptable to the people; the ministers knew it, and hoped they would assist him; notwithstanding which, they did what was in their power; but, all things taken together, he had not above half of what was really requisite for him to defend the province committed to his charge. This was notwithstanding the point most attended to, and we may conceive from thence what became of the rest^t, and how easily miscarriages in *Spain* might be accounted for.

THE *French* king and his ministers, who, for many reasons, but more especially that they might dissolve the grand alliance, were become very desirous of peace, believed that nothing could contribute to it so much as pushing the *Spaniards* in *Catalonia*: for this reason marshal *Tourville* was sent with a fleet in the spring upon that coast; and marshal *Noailles*, with 30,000 men, entered the *Spanish* frontiers in the beginning of *May*. The duke of *Escalona* endeavoured to defend the banks of the river *Ter*, tho' it was fordable in many places; he performed this as well as it was possible, but the duke of *Noailles* forced the passage on the 22d of *May*, after an obstinate resistance, in which the *Spaniards* lost about 2000 men. He afterwards took *Palamos*, with the assistance of the fleet, and then besieged *Gironne*. The place was strong, and had a good garrison, but very unluckily composed of new troops, who deserted the works, and obliged the governor to capitulate in less than a week. The marshal afterwards made himself master of *Ostelrich*, upon which the duke of *Escalona* threw himself into *Barcelona*^u. When the campaign was over, the king prevailed upon the marquis *de Gastanaga* to accept of that government. The fleet of the allies, under the command of admiral *Russel*, came, as the king desired, into the *Mediterranean*, and continued there the whole year, with which he was so pleased, that he sent a jewel to the admiral valued at fourscore thousand crowns. The *Moors* besieged *Ceuta* and *Melilla*, but without effect. The campaign in *Flanders* was barren of events. *Huy* and *Dixmude* were retaken by the allies; and, if they were no gainers, the *Spaniards* had however the satisfaction of losing nothing, and of seeing *France* more and more oppressed by the length and weight of the war^w; to which a kind of famine, which prevailed in that kingdom, did not a little contribute.

As the junta for the improvement of the finances, which the *Spaniards* as well as we called the junta or committee of ways and means, had daily more and more success, a resolution was taken of bringing over a body of *German* and *Italian* troops, to augment the forces in *Catalonia*; which however had been impracticable, but for the assistance of the fleet of the allies, by whom it was executed without any difficulty. The death of queen *Mary* of *England* was esteemed so great a misfortune, that the court of *Spain* not only went into deep mourning, but directed their ministers in all foreign courts to do the same^x. Their catholic majesties were both indisposed this year, and, as had fallen out more than once before, the queen's illness was very industriously ascribed to a miscarriage, which perhaps she never had^y. In *Catalonia* the mar-

^r REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. LARREY, Memoires du Marquis de FEUQUIERES, Le Siecle de Louis XIV.

^s Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

^t Mercure historique & politique.

^u REIN-

COURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. LIMIERS, QUINCY, Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

^w BUR-

NET'S History of his own Times, LE CLE-^c, LIMIERS.

^x QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis

XIV. LARREY, REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV.

^y Mercure historique & politique.

quis de Gastanaga did wonders; for, instead of keeping the field with the regular troops, he applied himself with indefatigable diligence to discipline the militia and the peasants; and, as the *French* had fortified and put garrisons into many places, he contrived sometimes to block up one, sometimes another, chiefly with a view to cut off the convoys and detachments sent to relieve them, in which he was very successful. The *French* viceroy (for marshal *Noailles* had that title), being much indisposed, quitted his employment, in which he was replaced by the duke of *Vendosme*, who turned this method of making war upon the *Spaniards*, by demolishing and abandoning most of those small places, and harrassing the troops of the count of *Gastanaga*, sent to repair them; but, upon the whole, the *Spaniards* were gainers by this campaign². In *Italy*, with the assistance of *Spanish* troops and money, the duke of *Savoy* reduced *Casal*; the fortifications of which being demolished, the town was restored to its natural sovereign, the duke of *Mantua*³. In *Flanders*, marshal *Villeroy* bombarded *Brussels* the 13th, 14th, and 15th, of *August*, during which he threw several thousand bombs and red-hot bullets into the place, by which he did a great deal of mischief, but at the same time excited an implacable hatred to the *French*, and brought upon himself the imputation of having done it in a fit of despair. *Namur* surrendered on the fourth of *August*, and the citadel on the second of *September*, notwithstanding *Villeroi* had threatened to fight the army of the allies commanded by king *William*, which he durst not perform. These successes on every side raised the spirits of the *Spanish* ministers, and confirmed them in their inclinations to carry on the war⁴.

The duke of Savoy makes a separate peace, and acts against the Spaniards in the Milanese.

THE supplies from the *Indies* not arriving, the ministers found themselves exceedingly distressed for money, which induced them to put a tax, or rather a fine, upon all the lucrative governments, which proved a good expedient, tho' attended with ill consequences. The death of the queen mother on the 16th of *May* produced no great alterations at court, as it had been long expected. Her disease was a cancer of many years continuance; and, as she had been long in a dying condition, she had in a manner outlived her credit⁵. It was not, however, till after her decease that the count *de Oropeza* came publicly to court, and was again admitted into the king's councils. In the month of *September* their catholic majesties were both very much indisposed, and it was some time before the king found himself well enough to appear in public, which occasioned a general consternation through his dominions, and great distraction in his councils, more especially since at this time there was nothing regulated as to the succession⁶. The *Moors* had lain two years before *Ceuta*, with a numerous army; it was first defended by the marquis *de Valparaiso*, with invincible courage, and afterwards with indefatigable diligence by the marquis *de Avallaneda*, who was sent to relieve it; so that, after losing 15,000 men, and being in the field twenty-five months, the infidels abandoned their design. The marquis *de Gastanaga*, finding it impracticable to struggle with the difficulties to which his post was exposed, and the haughty temper of the prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*, who commanded the *German* troops, resigned his viceroyalty, and was succeeded by Don *Francisco de Velasco*. The duke *de Vendosme*, who had the title of viceroy from the king of *France*, gained some advantage over the prince of *Hesse*; and, except a dispute at the beginning, there happened nothing of consequence during this campaign, the duke's army being but weak⁷. In *Italy* things took a very ill turn; for the duke of *Savoy*, who had renewed his treaty with the allies but the year before, and demanded extraordinary succours in men and money, to protect his capital from being besieged by the *French*, acted therein but a delusive part, as having made a secret treaty with *France*. At length having separated the foreign auxiliaries into different posts, he declared for a neutrality in *Italy*; and, as the *Spaniards* did not readily embrace it, he put himself at the head of the *French* army, and besieged *Valenza*, which, thro' the care of the marquis *de Leganez*, was in a good state of defence. However, as the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* found it impossible to regain him, tho' they offered the duchy of *Milan* in property, and were also apprised that most of the *Italian* powers approved his measures, they were obliged to comply, and accept a neutrality likewise⁸. In *Flanders*, tho' the *French* and the allies had great armies, and though the latter were commanded by king *William* and the elector of *Bavaria* in person, yet in effect there was little or nothing done, no battle fought, no place so much as besieged; but, towards the end of the year, plenipotentiaries were appointed, and a place settled for a congress, which seemed to explain the inactivity of the preceding campaign⁹.

² Histoire de regne de Louis XIV. historiques & chronologiques.

³ BURNET's History of his own Times, LARREY, Memoires Unies des Pays Bas, par LE CLERC, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Mercure historique & politique.

⁴ Mercure historique & politique, 1696. Histoire generale d'Espagne.

⁵ Memoires & Negociations secretes du Comte de HARRACH.

⁶ QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Histoire generale d'Espagne. BURNET's History of his own Times, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vii. Part ii. p. 368. LARREY, Actes, Memoires, & Negociations, de la Paix de Ryswick, edit. de la Haye, 1725.

⁷ Mercure historique & politique.

- a In *Spain* the winters are generally sharp, and yet a very hard winter is a rare thing. This proved so severe, that his catholic majesty diverted himself with seeing some *Dutch* sailors skate upon the ice at *Madrid*. The want of money, and the necessity of finding it, being equally great, the ministers had once more recourse to a free gift, to which some of the grandees, when they had given what they could afford; added the profit of their offices, which they sold for the public benefit. In the mean time arrived the galleons with thirty millions, out of which the king's share was not much, and the demands from *Catalonia* were very high. ^h *Lewis XIV.* finding that he could easily compromise matters with the maritime powers, offered, in complaisance to the *Spaniards*, a neutrality in *Catalonia*, which they absolutely rejected. Upon this, the army of the prince of *Hesse Darmstadt* was very considerably augmented, ^{A. D. 1697:} the fortifications of *Barcelona* repaired, and directions given for a fleet. But while they were executing in the *Spanish* way, that is, very slowly, the duke of *Noailles* took the field with a numerous army, attended with a fine train of artillery, and directed his march immediately towards that city. At the same time the count *d'Etrees* and the bailiff *de Noailles* appeared upon the coast, one with a large fleet, and the other with a strong squadron of gallies, so that the place was quickly invested by land and by sea, though not completely, for the prince of *Hesse*, who had thrown himself into it with the best part of the infantry, had still a communication with the viceroy, who, with between six and seven thousand horse, foot, and dragoons, were encamped behind him. The siege was long and bloody, more especially the action by which the duke of *Vendosme* cut off the communication between the army and the town.
- b At length, however, after fifty-two days open trenches, the capitulation was signed on the 10th of *August*¹. In *Flanders* the important fortress of *Ath* was taken by the marshal *Catinat*, which, with the news of the loss of *Carthage* in the *West Indies*, besieged, reduced, and plundered, by the sieur *Pontis*, and ransacked again by the buccaniers, brought the ministers at *Madrid* to see clearly that they must accept of those terms which their allies thought reasonable, and to oblige them to accept of which, at least as they surmised, they had given them little or no assistance^k. Accordingly, proper orders being dispatched to Don *Bernard de Quiros*, the treaty was signed at the castle of *Ryswick*, on the 20th of *September*¹, by which all that had been taken from them in *Catalonia*, the important fortress of *Luxembourg*, the county of *Chine*, the fortresses of *Charle-roi*, *Mons*, *Ath*, *Courtrai*, and all that had been torn from them by the chambers of reunion were
- d restored. The peace was solemnly proclaimed at *Madrid*; and the prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*, in consideration of the gallant defence of *Barcelona*, was not only created grandee of *Spain*, and adorned with the order of the *Golden Fleece*, but declared likewise viceroy and captain general of *Catalonia*^m.

- In most countries, and in *Spain* almost beyond any country, such favours conferred upon a foreigner are apt to create envy and discontent; but if these preferments and honours produced, as certainly they did, some effects of this sort, they were strangely strengthened and encouraged by the king's making him a present of 50,000 pistoles, which was followed by rich gifts from the queen, and very expensive compliments of the same kind from all the grandees, who were desirous of acquiring or preserving her favour. These unpopular strokes, however, were followed by another still more so than any or than all the rest. A regiment of horse-guards was formed mostly out of the inferior officers of the disbanded cavalry, of which the prince himself was colonel, and named all the other officers, and which, as soon as it was formed, was sent to *Toledo*: this gave very great offence, more especially as this new regiment was established when most of the national corps were discharged; but the queen minded this very little, pursuing her interests, or rather her inclinations, with very remarkable vivacity. The cardinal archbishop of *Toledo*, better known to the world by the title of cardinal *Portocarrero*, gave her no small opposition; and, according as their respective credits prevailed, various successive changes took placeⁿ. At this time the queen had an apparent superiority, as appeared from the count *de Monterey*'s being forbidden the court for the freedom with which he expressed himself in council, and raising count *d'Oropesa* to the high dignity of president of *Castile*. The king's health continued all this time very precarious; he was subject to fainting fits, to fluxes; and sometimes his hands and legs swelled. The physicians advised a change of air; upon which their majesties made a tour to the city of *Toledo*, where, under the care of an *English* gentleman, one doctor *Somers*, bred at *Oxford*, the king grew much better, and, by the use of gentle exercise, recovered his strength^o. On the return of the court to *Madrid*, the ministerial intrigues revived. Count *Harrach*, the imperial minister, had a great influence over the king, and a greater over the queen; but the marquis *de Harcourt*, who was sent from *France* immediately after the

^h Histoire generale d'Espagne, Mercure historique & politique, 1697.

de Louis XIV. BURNET'S History of his own Times. LIMIERS, LARREY, P. DANIEL, Histoire de France.

^k QUINCY, Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

¹ Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vii. part ii. p. 408. Actes, Memoires, & Negociations, de la Paix de Ryswick.

^m Memoires & Negociations secretes du Comte de HARRACH.

¹ QUINCY, Histoire Militaire

^o Mercure historique & politique, 1698.

conclusion of the peace, had likewise a considerable degree of favour; and the marchioness^a his wife behaved with so much respect to all the *Spanish* ladies, made them so many presents, and took such pains to render herself popular, that, in the space of a few months, it was surprising to see the progress that was made in raising and augmenting a party. Amongst other arts, the marquis exhibited in the hall of his palace the pictures of the dauphin and of his three sons, the dukes of *Burgundy*, *Anjou*, and *Berry*, and care was taken to point out their resemblance to the infanta *Donna Maria Theresa*, whose memory was very dear to all the old *Spaniards*. Besides, the marquis neglected nothing to insinuate himself into the good graces of the clergy; and, being informed by them of many families of old officers that were in distress, he relieved them liberally and secretly. He likewise offered his catholic majesty a squadron for the relief of *Ceuta*, which was again besieged; and, in respect to some^b differences that arose upon the frontiers, after great pains taken to fix the fault upon the *Spaniards*, all was left to his catholic majesty's discretion, and no demands of satisfaction were made, as in former times^c.

Makes a will
in favour of
the prince of
Bavaria, de-
clared his heir
by the first
treaty of par-
tition.

THE precautions taken for settling the succession to the crown of *Spain*, in case his catholic majesty should die without heirs, of which there was a strong appearance, on the part of that monarch himself, as well as of his allies, comprehend some of the most curious and interesting points of modern history; and though they have been so often, and in all appearance so exactly, stated, yet, as we have taken the pains to examine them very closely and minutely, and to separate, as well as possible, not only facts from falsehoods but from conjectures, we have reason to flatter ourselves, that what we shall deliver on this head, as succinctly^e as it is possible, will afford the reader some satisfaction. The first treaty of partition was negotiated this summer between king *William* and *Louis XIV.* with very great secrecy, and at length concluded and signed at the *Hague*¹, on the 11th of *October*; on the part of his most Christian majesty, by the count *Tallard*; by the earl of *Portland* and Sir *Joseph Williamson*, on the part of his *Britannic* majesty; and by eight plenipotentiaries for the states general. The ratifications were dated the 24th of the same month. By this treaty the electoral prince of *Bavaria* was to enjoy *Spain* and the *Indies*; the dauphin the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with the places on the coast of *Tuscany*, the town and marquisate of *Final*, the province of *Guipuscoa*, including the towns of *Fontarabia*, *St. Sebastian*, and *Port Passage*; and the archduke *Charles* was to have the duchy of *Milan*. Some writers say^d, that in resentment of this treaty, and to prevent his dominions from being dismembered, his catholic majesty resolved to make a will in favour of the electoral prince of *Bavaria*, and to declare him his heir general of all his territories in *Europe* and the *Indies*. Some writers again^e speak doubtfully of this will, and seem to think that nothing can or ought to be affirmed with certainty about it. Both are mistaken; for it was not the partition treaty that gave occasion to this will, and there is not the least reason to hesitate as to the point of fact that such a will there really was. There had been long a disposition in the king, at the instance of the queen, and some of the ministers to favour the archduke *Charles*; but it was thought requisite, as a previous measure, that the emperor should send ten thousand men into his catholic majesty's dominions, that there might be a force sufficient to support whatever declaration the king should make. But the emperor *Leopold* deferred this so long on account of his war with the *Turks*, and other motives, some of which were concealed, and some assigned, and the bishop of *Lerida*^f, his catholic majesty's minister at *Vienna*, sent such strange relations of the contempt expressed for the *Spanish* nation at *Vienna*, that, the patience of the king *Don Carlos* being quite worn out, he at length determined to make, and actually did make, a will, in favour of the electoral prince of *Bavaria*, which was intirely conformable to the disposition of his father *Philip* the fourth, and to the renunciations upon which that disposition was founded. It is necessary to observe, that the only colour of objection to which this young prince's title was liable, was, the renunciation made by his mother the archduchess *Maria Antonietta*, upon her marriage with the elector of *Bavaria*; but the most able lawyers unanimously agreed, that this renunciation was null and void, as not having been communicated to the court, and not having had the sanction of the *Cortes*, or states of *Spain*^g; an inquiry and resolution attended with extraordinary consequences.

The death of
the prince of
Bavaria
turns things
back into the
former state of
perplexity.

AT the opening of this year, the testament in favour of the electoral prince of *Bavaria* being made at the close of the last, of which the marquis *de Harcourt* having received intelligence from cardinal *Portocarrero*, had given early notice in *France*, that minister received orders to present a memorial to his catholic majesty upon this head; which we find represented in some collections of state papers as a very secret transaction, and as inconsistent with his most Chris-

^a Memoires & Negociations secretes du Comte de HARRACH. ii. p. 442.

^b Histoire de Louis XIV. par MARTINIERE, tom. v. p. 198, 199.

^c L'Histoire de France, par le President HENAUT, p. 669.

tom. i. p. 320.

^d Corps Diplomatique, tom. vii. Part

^e Abregé de

^f Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE,

^g Memoires du Comte de HARRACH, tom. ii. p. 124, 302.

^a tian majesty's engagements with his *Britannic* majesty and the states. It was neither; for it was so public, that it appeared in the common gazettes at that time; and all that is said therein amounts to no more than this, that, considering the harmony subsisting between the two courts, it was with great surprize he learned, in a manner that would not allow him to doubt of the fact, that his catholic majesty had made a testament in favour of the electoral prince of *Bavaria*: that it was fit his majesty should know the most Christian king could not but be attentive to the indubitable rights of his only son the dauphin; and that it was requisite to put his majesty in mind, that the most Christian king, as well out of tenderness as decency, had never troubled him before, even with the most distant hint on this delicate subject. This produced a civil, but a general answer, importing, his catholic majesty's attention to the peace and welfare of his subjects should be ever accompanied with a strict regard to what was due to the relation and friendship subsisting between the two monarchs ^w. In the mean time the young prince, whom the king and whom the allies had destined for his successor, died on the 6th of *February*, of a short illness, at *Brussels*, attended with some suspicions that received perhaps too much credit from what was some years after thrown out by the elector of *Bavaria*, in a manifesto which he published, and which amounts to no more than a proof of his opinion ^x. This unexpected death, however, altered the state of things every-where; for, though it was provided against in a secret article of the partition treaty, in which it was stipulated, that, in such a case, the elector might be substituted in the place of his son, yet, upon mature deliberation, it was judged more expedient to have recourse to a new treaty. In *Spain* the king was advised by his ministers to make a new will, and to take the sense of the pope, which has ever the greatest weight in that country as to the validity of renunciations, in prejudice to the established rule of succession, which proved a work of time, the result of which will appear in its proper place.

THERE happened about the close of the month of *April*, at *Madrid*, a violent sedition, in *King Charles* which almost all the meaner sort of people were engaged, the cause of which was the scarcity ^{visits the} of bread, and the dearness of all sorts of provisions. The populace demolished the house of ^{tombs, and} the count *d'Oropesa*, and had murdered him and his family, if they had not found means to escape ^{opens the coffins} in disguise. By the express interposition of the king's authority, and not without much difficulty, ^{of his decease &} it was appeased; upon a strict inquiry, it was found, that the source of this mischief was a new ^{mother and} tax, the produce of which was shared by the count *d'Oropesa*, the amirante of *Castile*, and the countess of *Berlips*, the queen's favourite. Upon this, the king pardoned all who had been imprisoned, moved the count *d'Oropesa* from being president of *Castile*, and banished both him and the amirante; and the cardinal of *Toledo*, with other ministers, who had been for some time out of favour, were recalled and caressed ^y. At the proper season of the year the court went to the *Escorial*, where the king went to visit the *Pantheon*, and ordered the coffins of his mother and first queen to be opened. Of the former there was nothing left intire but one hand, which the king stooped down, and kissed with tears. The body of the latter remained not only whole, but the colour of the face remained unchanged; which surprized the king so much, that he immediately retired. There have been various speculations upon this incident; but the foregoing part of our history will shew, that this was no very unusual thing, and his father ^z *Philip* the fourth had done the very same in the year 1655, when it was observed, that the body of *Charles* the fifth appeared more fresh than that of his own queen *Elizabeth*, who died but nine years before ². At the return of the court from the *Escorial*, the king having granted a pension, on the revenues of the *Low Countries*, to the countess of *Berlips*, the count *de Monterey*, who was president of the council of *Flanders*, not only opposed it, but inveighed so bitterly against what he called the *German* government, that he received orders from the king to retire from *Madrid* in forty-eight hours; upon which a new commotion ensued, and the people, in the king's hearing, cried out, *Let the patriots be recalled, and the plunderers banished* ^a!

^f WHILE the allies were intent upon their new treaty of partition, the count *de Canales*, ^{resents highly} the *Spanish* minister at *London*, presented a memorial to the regency, the king being then in ^{the conduct of} *Holland*, conceived in very strong terms, and in which some gross epithets were used with respect to the first treaty. Upon the transmitting of this paper, dated the third of *May*, to the king ^{Great Britain} at *Loo*, Mr. secretary *Vernon* was directed to wait upon the *Spanish* ambassador, with an order ^{and Holland,} to quit the kingdom in eighteen days, which he accordingly did. On this news arriving ^{as to the par-} at *Madrid*, Mr. *Stanhope*, the *British* minister, received the like orders; to which he answered that he needed not so much time, having received his master's commands to the like purpose some days before ^b. This did not hinder the allies from concluding their second treaty, by

^w LAMBERTI *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle xviii.* tom. i. p. 96 *Mercure Historique & politique*, A. D. 1699. ^x *Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas*, par LE CLERC, BURNET's History of his own Times, *Memoires historiques & chronologiques.* ^y *Mercure historique & politique*, *Histoire generale d'Espagne.* ^z *Les Delices de l'Espagne & du Portugal*, par DON JUAN ALVAREZ DE COLMENAR, *Le Siecle de Louis XIV.* par VOLTAIRE. ^a *Histoire generale d'Espagne.* ^b *Mercure historique & politique.*

which *Spain* and the *Indies* were given to the archduke *Charles*, the duchy of *Lorrain* was added to the countries assigned the dauphin, in exchange for which duke *Leopold* of *Lorrain* was to have the duchy of *Milan*. The emperor was to signify his consent in three months; and in case the duke of *Lorrain* would not accept of *Milan*, it was to be given to the elector of *Bavaria*, or to the duke of *Savoy*: in the first case, the dauphin was to have *Navarre*; and in the latter, the duchy of *Savoy* and the country of *Nice*. This second treaty of partition was signed at *London*, by the *French* and *English* ministers, on the 3d of *March* 1700, N. S.; and at the *Hague*, on the 25th of the same month, by the plenipotentiaries for the states^c. In the month of *August* the emperor, by count *Harrach*, declared to the ministers of *France* and *Holland*, and afterwards to the secretary of the *English* embassy, that he conceived himself to have the sole and indubitable right of succession to the whole of the *Spanish* monarchy; and that, if his line should fail, that succession belonged to the house of *Savoy* by the testament of *Philip* the fourth. At the same time, however, that this declaration was made, his imperial majesty desired that they would not proceed to name another prince in consequence of his refusal, pursuant to one of the articles of the treaty, in case he did not accept it in three months, and which, by a secret article, was extended to five months; and in this situation things rested, at least on the part of the allies, and their differences with the court of *Madrid* were not long after amicably compromised, and their usual intercourse restored; though through the minister of *Holland* only, neither of the kings being inclined to recede first, but rather to allow time to act, as the mediator between them^d.

Strange distraction and confusion amongst the ministers, and in the court of *Madrid*.

A. D. 1700.

As there were many points in regard to the frontiers in the *Low Countries* left undecided between the two crowns, commissioners were appointed to meet at *Lisle*, by their catholic and most Christian majesties, who in an amicable manner settled every thing, and subscribed a treaty of convention upon this subject towards the close of the foregoing year; and the ratifications were exchanged in the beginning of this, with great candour and civility on both sides. This proceeded from the situation that things were in, and the king's tenderness for the welfare of his subjects^e. In his heart he was as much attached to his family as ever; and therefore he appointed Don *Francisco de Moles*, duke of *Pareta*, his ambassador to the court of *Vienna*, with the warmest assurances of that nature; from whence a report afterwards prevailed in the world, that this *Neapolitan* nobleman carried with him a will in favour of the archduke. Not long after one father *Moro*, who came from *Turin*, put the whole court in confusion, by pretending to discover that his majesty was bewitched, and that his ill health was owing to charms and practices with evil spirits; and it seems that at first, as foolish as these tales were, they met with credit, since this monk was permitted to exorcise the king, for which, as he was not at all the better, the tables were turned upon the exorcist, so that he fell into the hands of the inquisition. Father *Dias*, the king's confessor, who ran, or pretended to run, into the same wild notions, and took the liberty from thence of speaking very injuriously of persons of the highest rank, was not only disgraced, but banished, and sent prisoner to his cloister. The marquis of *Harcourt*, who was grown weary of a court where there was so much discord and confusion, had his audience of leave in *May*, and soon after returned to *France*, having first introduced Mr. *Blecourt*, who was appointed envoy on his departure^f.

The violence of the king's disease much exasperated by chagrin and despair.

ALL possible methods had been tried by the queen, and those in her favour, to prevent the countess of *Berlips* from being sent back to *Germany*; but the public clamour became so strong, and some of the principal ministers represented to the king, in such plain terms, the mischiefs she occasioned, that she was at length dismissed, with her son, her niece, and most of the *German* servants the queen had brought with her, but with great civility, and many rich presents^g. About the same time some endeavours were used to procure a general assembly of the states, in order to take their advice in regulating the succession; but this went no farther than a rumour. The king's health remained very precarious; he was sometimes seized with vomitings, and other evacuations, that threatened him with immediate death: notwithstanding which he recovered, and for some short space of time seemed tolerably well. In these intervals he went so often in procession, took so much exercise, and appeared so frequently in public, that the people might conceive the better of his health, as, in the opinion of his physicians, contributed not a little to those frequent relapses^h. The *French* minister, and the minister from the states, having each of them communicated, by a memorial, the conclusion of the second treaty of partition, it threw his catholic majesty into a deep melancholy, who thereupon demanded from the emperor the archduke *Charles*, desiring he might be sent privately into *Spain*; and proposing that an indisposition should be feigned, to prevent his departure from being discovered as long as possible. To this he received no immediate answer; so that the delays of that court,

^c Corps Diplomatique, tom. vii. P. ii. p. 477. BURNET's History of his own Times, & auct. supra citat.

^d Memoires du Comte d'HARRACH, tom. i. Histoire generale d'Espagne, History of Europe, A. D. 1700.

^e Mercure historique & politique, A. D. 1700. Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. P. ii. p. 470.

^f Histoire generale d'Espagne, Mercure historique & politique, Memoires du Comte d'HARRACH.

^g Mercure historique & politique.

^h Memoires du Comte d'HARRACH.

^a the memoirs of the allies, the misunderstandings amongst his own ministers, leaving him no quiet, and no creature to whom he could express himself in confidence, the poor king often traversed his apartments, hastily wringing his hands like one in despair, and was overheard to say to himself, *Where is my son! where is Charles! where is the archduke!* At length, understanding that, under pretence of care for that young prince's health, the emperor had actually refused to send him, he lost all patience and power over himself. At this juncture the *French* minister presented a menacing memorial, which, added to the load of his former afflictions, brought on, about the middle of *September*, such a violent fit of his distemper, that he received the sacraments of the church; but, to the amazement of those about him, and even of his physicians, he not only escaped, but seemed to recover strength¹.

^b WHEN he grew a little better, cardinal *Portocarrero* represented to him the necessity of his fixing the succession by a will; that the secret congregation at *Rome*, to whom the pope had referred the renunciations of his aunt and of his sister, had declared them null; that the motive of those renunciations, which was preventing the junction of the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, might be complied with, and at the same time the dismembering of his dominions prevented, by calling *Philip* duke of *Anjou* to the succession. Upon this the king fixed his eyes earnestly on the cardinal, who stood by his bed-side; bid him weigh the matter attentively, and remember that he discharged the whole burden of it upon him, who must be responsible at the last day for his conduct in this important affair. Upon this the cardinal caused the will to be drawn, which the king, not without great reluctance, signed, on the 2d of *October* following; and, having sealed it up, caused it to be put in a cover before some of the principal nobility, who thereupon indorsed their names as witnesses, viz. the cardinals *Portocarrero* and *Borgio*, Don *Manuel de Arias*, president of *Castile*, the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, count *de Benevente*, and the dukes of *Sessa* and *Infantado*. Three days after he made a codicil, by which he confirmed his testament, and added some pious legacies, directing that the queen should have the government either of the *Italian* provinces, or of the *Low Countries*; at her own choice^k. Notwithstanding all this, he wrote to the duke of *Pareta*, to acquaint him with his testament; and ordered him to inform the emperor, that, notwithstanding the low state of his affairs and his health had obliged him to take this step, yet he hoped to live long enough to make another disposition in favour of his imperial majesty, without prejudice to the welfare of his subjects. He had indeed some reason to hope this; for he grew afterwards so much better, that public rejoicings were made at *Madrid* and at *Brussels*. On the 26th of *October* he relapsed for the last time with such mortal symptoms, that he immediately received the sacraments with great resignation, as he likewise did with the same disposition three days afterwards; and on the first of *November*, between two and three in the afternoon, he breathed his last, being within five days of thirty-nine years old, and having reigned a little more than thirty-five years^l.

^c THE late king's testament was opened the very same day that he died; upon which the queen dowager, cardinal *Portocarrero*, the president of *Castile*, the inquisitor general, the count *de Frigliano*, counsellor of state, and the count *de Benevente*, grandee of *Spain*, in quality of regents of the kingdom, notified to the minister of *France* the nomination of the duke of *Anjou*. The minister dispatched an account of this, with an extract of the testament, to the court of *France*. The queen, and the rest of the regents, wrote also the same day to the most Christian king, and, after this, dispatched a second and a third letter, to press the immediate departure of their new king, and to represent the difficulties they laboured under, till they received at least the news of his acceptance of the crown. On the 12th of the same month *Louis XIV.* notified to them, by a letter, under his own hand, that the duke of *Anjou* had accepted the crown, and that the dauphin had renounced all his pretensions in his favour^m. It may not be amiss to observe, that some historians have asserted they were for a time divided at the court of *Spain* as to the choice of a successor out of the house of *Bourbon*, some of the ministers being inclined to prefer the duke of *Orleans*, or his son the duke of *Chartres*; and it has been also insinuated, that this would not have been disagreeable to *Louis XIV.*; but that, after mature deliberation, this project was laid aside, from an apprehension that his most Christian majesty would be less zealous in the cause of his nephew than in that of his grandson. At first sight this seems very plausible; but a little reflection will shew, that it is far from being solid, since the *Spanish* ministers might have reasonably concluded, that the want of zeal in the *French* king might have been balanced by the want of inclination in other princes to have disputed that nomination, which would have quadrated so

¹ LAMBERTI, *Memoires pour servir à l'Hist. du Siecle xviii.* tom. i. p. 110. *Mercurie historique & politique*, *Histoire generale d'Espagne*. ^k *Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens*, tom. vii. P. ii. p. 485.

Memoires de LA TORRE, tom. ii. p. 64. 109. ^l BURNET'S *History of his own Times*, *Memoires de LA TORRE*, tom. ii. p. 133. *Memoires historiques & chronologiques; Le Siecle de Louis XIV.* par VOLTAIRE. ^m *Memoires de LA TORRE*, tom. ii. p. 147. LARREY, *Histoire de Louis XIV.* LAMBERTI, *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle xviii.* tom. i. p. 229—235. *History of Europe*, A. D. 1700.

well with the pacific views of the allies. But to speak the truth without reserve, this is not a in the least degree probable; for, if the ministers had ever reflected upon this matter at all, they would never have omitted the duke of *Orleans* and his whole line, in the disposition of the *Spanish* monarchy made by this testament, as it is evident they did. It was for this reason that *Philip* duke of *Orleans*, on behalf of himself and his son, made at *Paris* a solemn protest against the validity of this will, with respect to the preference given to the archduke *Charles*, in prejudice to the duke and his family, more especially as that testament is founded solely on the inviolable rule of succession to the *Spanish* monarchy^a. This protest is dated the 1st of *December*, and on the 4th of the same month the new king set out for his dominions; which naturally brings us to the close of this section, and to the detail of a transaction, one of the most material in modern history, which was immediately the source of a long war, which, at the bottom, has been the cause of every war since, and which it is very possible may prove the ground of disputes that are yet to come.

^a *Mercure historique & politique.*

S E C T. XVII.

The reign of Philip V. from his accession, to the treaty of Utrecht.

Plan of this section, with a view of the method in which, and authorities on which, it is written.

WE had, in the foregoing sections, for the most part, guides sufficiently known, and whose historical labours have received the sanction of public approbation; but we can boast no longer of this advantage. What we are to deliver in this section is a new history, collected from the best materials that we could meet with, and carefully compared, and methodically digested. For these reasons we thought it necessary to be a little more full, that the reader may receive greater satisfaction in regard to a period, where we cannot atone for our succinctness, as we have hitherto done, by referring him to some larger history, as well as from the consideration that what falls near our own times, and within the remembrance of many who are now living, becomes so much the more interesting, and is for that reason read with greater curiosity, and examined with more attention. But, that we might still keep within reasonable bounds, we touch as slightly as possible whatever regards transactions out of *Spain*, though relative to that crown, leaving them to be more accurately explained in their proper places, and admitting few or no events which are not of real importance, or which are not absolutely necessary to the understanding such as are; so that, in the course of the section, there may be represented the real consequences of the duke of *Anjou's* being called to this succession, the disposition of the *Spaniards* towards him, the source of those discontents, that induced whole provinces to embrace the interest of his competitor, the progress of the war, and the means by which he came at last to be left in the quiet possession of *Spain* and the *Indies*, after an obstinate and bloody dispute, which was calculated to deprive him of both.

Measures taken by the regents to facilitate the quiet accession of Philip.

THE regents having fixed the twenty-fourth of *November* for the proclamation of the new king, the ceremony was performed with all possible regularity and splendor, and with loud acclamations of joy by the populace^a. The regents, knowing well how bold a step they had taken, resolved to proceed in the same road, and with the same vigour. They desired the marquis of *Harcourt*, now honoured with the title of duke and peer, to take his seat in the council; and, in their answer to his most Christian majesty's letter, they desired him to take what measures he thought proper on the behalf of *Spain*, and assured him of their approbation, as also that they had given instructions to the viceroys of provinces, and governors of places, to obey his orders, and to march or to receive whatever troops he should judge requisite^b. The dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry* attended *Philip* to the frontiers, and took their leave of him in the *Isle of Pheasants*. The king slept that night at *Irun*, which was the 24th of *January*, where he was received by the bishop of *Pampeluna*, and other persons of distinction^c. His first act of sovereignty was the bestowing the viceroyalty of *Catalonia* upon the count de *Palma*, nephew to cardinal *Portocarrero*, notwithstanding the landgrave of *Hesse Darmstadt*, who was in possession of that dignity, had owned him, as well as the rest of the *Spanish* viceroys, such as the elector of *Bavaria* in the *Low Countries*, prince *Vaudemont* in the duchy of *Milan*, and the duke de *Medina Celi* at *Naples*. But, in the midst of all this seeming tranquillity, as there was a league forming abroad, so there were contrivances at home to deprive him of that crown which he had so lately received.

^a *Hist. gen. d'Espagne, Memoires & Negociations secretes de diverses Cours de l'Europe, tom. ii. p. 188.*
^b *LAMBERTI, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. tom. i. p. 233. Memoires & Negociations secretes de diverses Cours de l'Europe, tom. ii. p. 197.*
^c *History of Europe for 1700. BURNET'S History of his own Times, Mercure historique & politique.*

^a To give the better colour to this, the count *de Harrach*, on the 17th of *January*, protested, in the most solemn manner, at *Madrid*, against the validity of the late king's will, which he alleged that monarch had no power to make ^d. Father *Torres*, who had been his confessor, asserted, that, a little before his death, he had declared to him and to the inquisitor-general, that what he did was against his inclination. The queen dowager likewise was disposed to the same way of thinking; of which king *Philip* being informed, he wrote her a letter with his own hand, desiring her to quit the capital, and go to *Valencia*, *Granada*, or *Cordova*; but, as the season was very cold, she chose to go no further than *Toledo* ^e. The regents intimated to *Bernard de Mendoza*, bishop of *Segovia*, inquisitor-general, and one of their own number, that his absence would be acceptable; and as for the confessor, they banished him without ceremony. They removed likewise some other persons, and even the imperial and palatine ministers, who made at first some difficulty of obeying; but the regents having observed to them, that they could not insist on their public characters to a prince they would not acknowledge, and that they could not be responsible for the safety of their persons, they thought fit to take the advice that was given them ^f. King *Philip* arrived on the 18th of *February* at the palace of *Buen Retiro*, where he was received by cardinal *Portocarrero*, and many of the grandees, and where he resided till the fourteenth of *April*, when, all things being ready, he made his public entry into *Madrid* with all possible magnificence, and attended by such a crowd of people, that some were pressed to death in the streets. His youth, his docility, the sweetness of his temper, his clemency, and, above all, his piety, gained him the affections of the nobility in appearance, and of the middle and meaner sort of people in reality ^g.

THE court of *France*, desirous of securing the duke of *Savoy* in the interest of the two crowns, after the refusal, as some say, of an archduchess, demanded the younger daughter of that prince, Donna *Louisa Gabriella*, sister to the duchess of *Burgundy*, to which the duke very readily agreed. This marriage was declared at *Madrid* on the 4th of *May*, without asking the opinion or consent of the council, at which some took offence. But public rejoicings were made, and the marriage went on. It was afterwards hastily solemnized at the court of *Savoy*, immediately after which the young princess was sent to *Nice*, from whence she proceeded by sea to *Marseilles*, where after being entertained in the most superb manner, she proceeded to *Barcelona*, to which city the king, upon the notice of her departure, immediately set out from *Madrid* ^h. Before he left his capital he received the homage of the grandees of *Castile*, who, according to the old custom, not only swore to serve him with duty and affection, but likewise to disclose whatever designs against him should come to their knowledge, and to fight against the enemies of his government at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. He also made a tour, in the month of *August*, to *Toledo*, in order to visit the queen dowager, who received him with all possible marks of kindness and respect, made him a present of a golden fleece richly adorned with jewels, which she fastened with her own hands to his button, and received from him an eagle enriched with diamonds of great price ⁱ. All the provinces of *Spain* made him a free gift upon his accession, and, amongst the rest, that of *Guipuscoa*, which had never shewn the like mark of zeal for any of his predecessors. He named, on his leaving *Madrid*, a cabinet council, at the head of which was cardinal *Portocarrero*, made a public entry into the city of *Saragossa*, in his way to *Catalonia*, and, arriving at *Barcelona*, held an assembly of the states there in the month of *October*, where he gave a specimen of his wisdom and goodness, which induced the people for a time to consider him as another *Solomon* (A). There his marriage was celebrated with great lustre; and there, in consequence of his

^d Memoires de LA TORRE, tom. iii. p. 24. LAMBERTI, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. tom. i. p. 367. ^e Mercure historique & politique, A. D. 1701. ^f Histoire generale d'Espagne.

^g Memoires de LA TORRE, tom. iii. p. 33. Histoire chronologique, History of Europe for 1701. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE. ^h Mercure historique & politique, Histoire general d'Espagne. ⁱ Mercure historique & politique.

(A) The case alluded to in the text regards the son of the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, the first duke in *Castile*, grandee of *Spain* of the first class, master of the horse to the king, and one of the gravest, worthiest, and most potent noblemen in *Spain*. This young gentleman, being displeased that an officer of the revenue presumed to search his equipage at the entrance of *Madrid*, gave him some coarse language; to which, either not knowing or not regarding his quality, the fellow answered with all the insolence of a man in office; which so provoked the young lord, that he shot him through the head. For this high offence cardinal *Portocarrero* caused him to be closely confined, and dispatched an express immediately to *Barcelona*, with an account of what had

happened, to the king, as being unwilling to run any hazard of offending the grandees, by taking any steps, in an affair of so delicate a nature, of his own head. As soon as *Philip* had received and read the cardinal's dispatch, he called the duke of *Medina Sidonia* into his cabinet: "There is a young man," said the king, "the son of a person of very high quality, who has killed an officer of the revenue for doing his duty, and while he was doing it; I desire you would give me your opinion, how he ought to be punished for this offence?" The duke, after a little consideration, made answer, that the offence was of a very high nature; that the young man, let him be whose son he would, should be confined for the remainder of his life in

his grandfather's advice, which was likewise approved by his own council, he resolved to pass over into *Italy*, where the war was already begun, and where his presence was on that and on many other accounts become absolutely necessary ^k.

His foreign alliances with Portugal and Savoy, and his marriage with a princess of the last-mentioned house.

As to foreign affairs, the interests of *Spain* were now intirely managed by the most Christian king, who shewed great wisdom and contrivance; but, having out-lived the great ministers and heroes who had contributed to the elevation of his glory, failed in the execution of them. If he really outwitted the allies, in preferring the spirit to the letter of the partition treaty, they were certainly even with him, by their persevering in such a conduct as hindered him from discerning with certainty whether they intended peace or war. King *William* and the states of *Holland* acknowledged king *Philip* upon his accession; and the latter, by this act of civility, recovered 22 battalions of old troops dispersed in the garrisons of the *Low Countries*. Yet, in the beginning of the month of *September*, the grand alliance was signed ^l, which perhaps might have been prevented, if *France* had made the same vigorous use of her arms she had formerly done. An alliance offensive and defensive was also concluded, by the two crowns, with the duke of *Savoy* ^m, in consequence of which, and the marriage of his daughter, he was declared generalissimo of their forces in *Italy*, where, as marshal *Catinat* suspected, he exposed his person with great intrepidity on one side, while he furnished to, as well as held secret intelligence with, the other ⁿ. An alliance of the like kind was made with the court of *Portugal*; and his most Christian majesty, amongst other things, undertook to pay the dowry of the queen dowager of *England*, in case it should, out of resentment of this treaty, be stopped by that crown ^o. Both these alliances, though advantageous in shew, proved detrimental in fact to *France* and *Spain*, where they depended upon, and were deceived by, them. The pope was in the interest of king *Philip*, and yet had not the courage to grant him the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples*. An insurrection happened in that capital, which was extinguished indeed, but not without effusion of blood, as well in the streets as on the scaffold ^p; so that at the end of this year affairs had a very cloudy aspect at home and abroad, and the young king found himself obliged to quit his consort almost as soon as he had received her, and the kingdoms of which he had just taken possession, to go and expose his person in provinces where a spirit of disaffection had already appeared, and at the head of armies which had already suffered several checks; and where he was to rely intirely upon the conduct of others, having as yet no military experience, and being too young to form any just notions of men or things, at least in proportion to the exigency of his affairs, and that critical conjuncture in which he was called to the government of a nation, distracted in their councils, divided in their affections, and, in point of treasure and power, almost totally exhausted. It is true, that, towards the close of the year, he had the consolation of seeing the plate fleet arrive with a cargo of sixty millions; and was so prudent as to refuse admission to the fleet of the allies, which, without committing hostilities, had demanded entrance into the port of *Cadiz* ^q; with an intention to seize it.

King Philip makes a tour to Italy, contrary to the sentiments of the Spanish nobility.

THE intended voyage of king *Philip* into *Italy* was by no means agreeable to many of the *Spanish* lords, and it was likewise disapproved by the duke of *Harcourt*. His-grandfather sent him a long memorial upon the subject, by the count *de Marsin*; but as he remained fixed to his purpose, after the perusal of that paper, his most Christian majesty consented, and complimented him by a letter upon that firmness ^r. In the mean time there were many things of importance to be settled; the states of *Catalonia* made high demands, and took very

^k Histoire gen. d'Espagne, Mercure historique & politique. ^l Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. P. i. p. 89. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, LE CLERC, QUINCY, LIMIERS. ^m Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE. ⁿ Mercure historique & politique. ^o Corps Diplomatique, tom. viii. P. i. pag. 31. QUINCY, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. iii. p. 504. ^p Mercure historique & politique. ^q Histoire generale d'Espagne, BURNET's History of his own Times. ^r Mercure historique & politique, A. D. 1702. LAMBERTI, Memoires, pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. tom. ii. p. 2, 3. Histoire generale d'Espagne.

in prison; and his father obliged to provide for the widow of the deceased, and for all his family. "You have spoke," returned *Philip*, "upon this occasion, like a king, and therefore I must speak to you as a father. The criminal is your son; send him to one of your own castles, and keep him there till he is made thoroughly sensible of his fault; with respect to the widow and family of the deceased, I cannot dispense with that part of your judgment, and I am persuaded you will make no difficulty in assigning them a handsome maintenance." The duke threw himself at the king's feet, to thank him for this act of favour and kindness, and remained always attached to

him with the most heroic fidelity (1). An instance he gave of this, when the affairs of *Philip* were in a very critical situation, that is, after raising the siege of *Barcelona*, when he was obliged to retire into *France*, and it was debated in his council, whether he should not remain there. The duke, who was then very old, and also infirm, said, at the close of the debate, "His majesty will determine, from what he has heard, whether he will go; for my part, I have long ago determined to follow him to the last gasp of my breath, and into the most distant corner of the world" (2). But, as the reader will see, things did not come to such extremities.

(1) Mercure historique & politique, tom. xxxi. p. 579. Causes celebres & interessantes, tom. viii. p. 521.
(2) Vayrac, Etat present de l'Espagne, tom. iv. p. 172.

a little notice of those made by the king. Both their majesties were much indisposed during their residence at *Barcelona*; and the news they received from *Madrid*, as well as from most other quarters, was far from being agreeable. At length the king yielded to all the demands of the *Catalans*; and, in return, they granted him a million, to be paid in ten years, and 50,000 crowns by way of free gift to the queen *. The marquis *de Bedmar* was appointed commander in chief of the *Low Countries*, on the departure of the elector of *Bavaria* for his own dominions; and, at the pressing instances of cardinal *Portocarrero*, the king consented that the queen should remain in *Spain*, and that the councils of regency should be held in her presence †.

A. D. 1702.

ALL things being at length adjusted in the best manner possible, the king embarked at *Barcelona* on the 8th of *April*, and landed the 15th of the same month in the bay of *Naples*. *Pacific* He made his entry into that city the next day, where his presence seemed to re-establish a *Naples by his* calm. He was not only very affable to the nobility, but granted audiences to all sorts of people, heard their grievances patiently, and redressed them as far as he was able. There was an arrear of about five or six millions due to the crown for quit-rents and taxes, which lay *presence, and* very heavy, and afforded the officers of the revenue constant colour for vexations. King *secures the* *Sicilians* *without mak-* *ing them a* *visit.* *Philip* made a short end of this; he remitted the whole; at which the people were so distracted with joy, that, when the nobility made him a free gift of three hundred thousand ducats, the commons of *Naples* gave him four hundred thousand †. He would have crossed the sea to *Sicily*; but it was represented to him, that the severity of the *Spanish* government, since the revolt of *Messina*, had not only spread universal discontent through that island, but had impoverished the nobility and gentry to such a degree, that the expence of a royal visit would absolutely ruin them. He not only desisted, upon this, from his design, but sent his orders to that kingdom for restoring the honours and estates to all that had been condemned and banished, and directed their palaces, that had been demolished, to be rebuilt at his expence; which effectually gained him the hearts of that nation, as appeared afterwards in many instances †. At his leaving *Naples*, he granted an amnesty to all who had been concerned in the late troubles; which had not the same effect, though it created a great joy for the present.

He quitted that capital on the second of *June*, went by sea to *Leghorn*, and proceeded from thence by land to *Milan*, where he arrived on the 18th of the same month. He went from thence to the army, and intended an interview with his father-in-law, who avoided it, by pretending some disgust in respect to the ceremonial, to decline taking the command of the army, because he had privately changed sides. The king, having joined the duke of *Vendosme*, was present in the action at *Luzara* on the 15th of *August*; the imperialists were commanded by prince *Eugene*, who was very near surprising and destroying the whole army of the two crowns, and prevented by an accident only. This engagement lasted till one in the morning. King *Philip* was in the right wing, with the marshal *de Crequi*, who was killed there. The fire was prodigiously warm; and he gave upon that occasion not only the highest testimonies of personal courage, but of patience also, being near forty-eight hours on horseback, and almost the whole time without any refreshment. Each side sung *Tè Deum*, and claimed the victory; the slaughter was great on both; but in reality the advantage was on the side of the two crowns, for the next day they took *Luzara*, with all the enemy's magazines; *Guastalla*, after a siege of ten days, in which there was a garrison of eighteen hundred men; and soon after *Burgoforte*, during the siege of which king *Philip* exposed himself in the trenches, encouraged the soldiers by his liberality, and at length made the garrison, which consisted of four thousand five hundred men, prisoners of war. The campaign being over, the king resolved to return by the way of *France* into *Spain*, where his presence was become highly requisite †; through that spirit of discontent and intrigue spread throughout the kingdom.

THE queen opened the states of the kingdom of *Arragon*, and leaving them sitting at *Sa-ragossa*, proceeded to *Madrid*, where her arrival created great joy, and prevented that spirit of intrigue, which began to prevail, from breaking out into open insurrection, as otherwise it would have done, upon the appearance of the fleet of the allies before *Cadiz* †. As soon as the news came, the queen declared, in a council of regency, that she was ready to go into *Andalusia*, if that could be of any use; and offered all her jewels to be sold, if money was wanting. This had a great effect; cardinal *Portocarrero* raised and paid six squadrons of horse, the bishop of *Cordova* levied a regiment of foot at his own expence †. The same firmness of the queen appeared after the misfortune at *Vigo*, where the marine of *France* was

Proceeds to the
duchy of
Milan, joins
the duke of
Vendosme,
and fights the
battle of Lu-
zara.

* *Mercuré historique & politique.*† *LE CLERC, Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas.*‡ *Mercuré historique & politique, BURNET'S History of his own Times, Le Siècle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE.*§ *Histoire generale d'Espagne.*¶ *QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Me-*moires de Monsieur le Marquis de FEUQUIERES, tom. iii. p. 249. *Mémoires historiques & chronologiques, Le Siècle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, BURNET'S History of his own Times.*‡ *Mercuré historique et*politique, *History of Europe for 1702. BURNET, LIMIERS, LARREY.*§ *Histoire generale d'Espagne.*

ruined, and where the *Spaniards* lost, by their own confession, to the value of eight millions of gold ^a. The retreat of the admiran- te of *Castile* was a new misfortune; he had accepted the embassy to *France*, and, under colour of providing every thing requisite to discharge it with the utmost splendor, he raised immense sums of money, packed up a vast quantity of rich furniture and jewels, which, at a certain stage upon the road, filed off for *Portugal*, whither he retired himself with great secrecy, and made a kind of public entry into *Lisbon*, accompanied by about three hundred persons, and one hundred and fifty carriages, on the 23d of *October* ^b. In the mean time king *Philip*, having landed at *Marseilles*, continued his journey with all possible vigilance, and, passing directly into *Catalonia*, made his entry into *Barcelona* on the 20th of *September*; and, from the time of his arrival in *Spain*, the powers of the regency ceased, and the deliberations of all the councils were transmitted to the king, before any resolutions were taken ^c. All this time cardinal *Portocarrero*, archbishop of *Toledo*, was at the head of affairs, and acted in all things as prime minister.

King Philip returns into Spain, and finds great heart-burnings in his conduct.

A. D. 1703.

ABOUT the middle of *January*, at the request of cardinal *Portocarrero*, the king returned to *Madrid*; the very same day the cardinal *d'Etrees* came thither likewise with the title of ambassador from his most Christian majesty. This prelate explained to him, pursuant to the intelligence they had received from *France*, the real intentions of the allies, and the certainty of his being attacked in his own dominions. Upon this, king *Philip* thought proper to enforce the measures already resolved upon for recruiting the *Spanish* infantry, for remounting their cavalry, and for forming a numerous body of standing forces, under the title of troops of the household. Orders were likewise given in respect to the marine; and, that these necessary projects might be carried into execution with as much vigour as possible, he judged it requisite to make free with six or eight millions of what had been saved out of the galleons at *Vigo*. The council of the *Indies*, and the duke of *Medina Cæli* who was at the head of it, remonstrated very strongly against this proceeding, but in vain. The *French* cardinal maintained, that a part might be taken to save the whole; and it was believed that the *Spaniards* were chiefly irritated by the sending immediately two millions into *France*, to indemnify the most Christian king for the loss of his ships at *Vigo*, and his subjects in some measure for the loss of their money. The duke *de Medina Cæli* resigned his employment; the *Spanish* cardinal quarrelled with the cardinal from *France*; and the king, to keep them in some measure quiet, was forced to dispatch business without either ^d.

Cardinal Portocarrero quits the post of prime minister, and retires into the diocese of Toledo.

UPON this, orders came from *France* for the duchess of *Braccaciano*, better known by the name of the princess *d'Ursins*, to return to *Rome*, on account of her declaring, without any management, for cardinal *Portocarrero*. She was by birth a *French* woman, of the noble family of *Tremouille*, and had gained an unaccountable ascendancy over both their majesties, insomuch that the queen fell sick upon the order, which was thereupon suspended ^e. In secret, both the cardinals gave *Philip* good advice; *d'Etrees* assured him, that it was impossible to preserve himself upon the throne, but by the assistance of his grandfather: that, through the weakness of the two last reigns, a spirit of faction had diffused itself amongst the grandees, which inclined many of them to postpone the public in favour of their private interest: that they began already to cabal; and that, without having a sufficient number of *French* troops upon whom he might rely, neither his crown nor his person could be safe. Cardinal *Portocarrero* treated these suspicions in general as unjust, but, however, did not oppose the measures that were suggested. He desired the king's leave to resign all his employments, on account of his age and infirmities, but assured him of his constant fidelity and best advice, insinuating, that a state of independency would put it more in his power to serve him, and that he might rely upon his integrity in a private as well as in a public station; but the king being unwilling to consent, this step was for some time retarded ^f. The commissioners appointed to inquire into the conduct of the admiran- te declared all his estates forfeited during his life, condemned him to perpetual banishment, and, to justify this sentence, acquitted him of treason; with which the court was not by any means satisfied, apprehending that this would not sufficiently restrain those who still maintained a correspondence with him; and being very well informed of the nature and design of that correspondence, which greatly fortified the credit of that intelligence the *French* cardinal had given, and augmented the king's fears for what might happen, when the design of the allies came to be disclosed ^g.

Admirante of Castile's dangerous intrigues, after his retreat into Portugal.

AT the time of his retreat, the admiran- te acted with great address; he wrote a very respectful letter to the queen, in which he complained of the injuries done him by his enemies, and particularly of the cardinal of *Toledo* and the president of *Castile*, who had ruined him in the opinion of the king; and had projected an embassy to *France*, to force him out of that

^a Le Siecle de Louis XIV.

^b Mercure historique & politique.

^c Histoire generale d'Espagne.

^d BURNET's History of his own Times, Mercure historique & politique.

^e Histoire generale d'Espagne.

^f Mercure historique & politique.

^g Hist. generale d'Espagne.

a privacy in which he desired to live: that he had accepted this employment beneath his birth, which was a strange notion, since the constable of *Castile* was then *Philip's* ambassador, that he might have an opportunity of getting out of their reach, with which view he retired into *Portugal*^b. At the same time he sent back his secretary, with all the papers of the embassy. But these were all appearances; for at *Lisbon* he persuaded the ministers of the allies, that if once the archduke was declared king of *Spain*, *Philip* might be with ease dethroned: that the greater part of the nobility, and the people in general, were in the interests of the house of *Austria*; and that it was not so much the succours of *France*, as the irresolution of the court of *France*, that maintained *Philip* at *Madrid*. The king of *Portugal* having entered into the grand alliance, the admiralte drew with his own hands the reasons for sending the archduke into *Spain*; which being insisted upon by the allies, at length induced the emperor of *September*, all their pretensions to this monarchy; in consequence of which, the archduke was the next day publicly declared king of *Spain* at *Vienna*, by the name of *Charles* the third^c. His correspondence in *Spain* was certainly great; and though it was managed with much secrecy, yet *Philip* and his ministers discovered it in part, and suspected more; upon which he was at last attainted of treason, and *Philip* declared, that he would consider as traitors all who had intercourse with him of any kind. About this time the duke of *Savoy*, who, in the spring of the year, had complained, both at *Paris* and *Madrid*, of the calumnies spread to his prejudice, declared openly for the allies, which afflicted the queen extremely^d. The court of *France* having recalled the cardinal *d'Etrees*, cardinal *Portocarrero* laid hold of that opportunity of executing his former resolution; and accordingly resigned all his offices, and retired^e. This afforded a gloomy prospect, though nothing in comparison of what afterwards happened; for the elector of *Bavaria* was victorious in *Germany*, the *Low Countries* were still preserved, the duke of *Vendosme* prospered in *Italy*, and the duke of *Savoy* saw himself in danger of paying, with the loss of his dominions, for deserting the cause of the two crowns.

As king *Philip* thought it absolutely necessary to have recourse to the succours offered him by his grandfather, and knowing how expedient it would be to have his finances in perfect order at the opening of a war, he gave into the sentiments of Mr. *Orry*, who had been sent from *France* to assist him in matters of this nature, and who, amongst other singular pieces of advice, suggested, that his revenues were but too well collected: that, to prevent the people from defrauding the king of his taxes, and to prevent their own officers from cheating, the *Spanish* ministers had multiplied them to such a degree, that what the king received was very trifling, in comparison of what was levied; and that these retainers of the treasury were more numerous, and cost the king a greater sum yearly, than all the effective troops in *Spain*. Upon this *Philip* demolished that old fabric, and cashiered the far greater part of these unnecessary officers, which however created a great clamour. This was heightened by suppressing all the titular offices about the court, which were either mere sine-cures, or superfluous. But it was augmented to the highest degree, by obliging some of the old officers of the revenue, who made an improper display of their wealth in times of such confusion, to make some proper offerings out of their abundance, to excuse giving any account how they came by the rest. About the middle of *February* the duke of *Berwick* arrived, who was to command the *French* auxiliaries, and a camp was marked out near *Badajoz* for 30,000 men. The king repaired thither in the beginning of *March*, in order to command his forces in person^m.

In the mean time *Charles* III. was arrived in *Portugal*ⁿ, where the admiralte, not content with owning him, wrote a letter to pope *Clement* XI. in which he asserted king *Charles's* will to be a forgery, takes to himself the shame of being concerned in that forgery, and affirms, that there was a true will in favour of *Charles* III.^o The king of *Portugal* and the new king of *Spain* published likewise their manifestoes; and, that he might have an equal share in this paper war, *Philip* V. published his declaration likewise, by much the most moderate and the best drawn. In this he establishes his right as derived from the fundamental laws of the kingdom; the testament of his uncle *Charles* II. made upon mature deliberation; and the choice of the whole kingdom, testified in the most authentic manner. He observes that he had been four years in possession, and acknowledged by most of the powers of *Europe*, particularly by the crowns of *Great Britain* and *Portugal*, and by the states general, though now embarked in a confederacy to dethrone him. In the close it is added, that if the alliance be increased, it is visibly from motives of interest, certain cessions being made to the king of *Portugal* out

King Philip's
strict eco-
nomy increases
the number of
the malecon-
tents.

A. D. 1704:

Archduke
comes on board
an English
fleet to Lisbon,
and assumes
the title of
Charles the
third.

^b Histoire generale d'Espagne, Mercure historique & politique, 1703, BURNET's History of his own Times.
^c Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. viii. P. i. p. 133. History of Europe for 1703.

^d LA TORRE, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par M. VOLTAIRE, LAMBERTI, Memoires, tom. ii. p. 547. ^e Mercure
historique & politique. ^f QUINCY, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. Histoire generale d'Espagne. ^g BURNET's
History of his own Times. ^h Mercure historique & politique, A. D. 1704.

of the territories of *Spain*, and others to the duke of *Savoy* out of the *Italian* dominions. a King *Philip* took likewise this opportunity of bringing his cousin the duke of *Orleans*'s protest upon the carpet; and established the right of him and his posterity to the succession immediately after the duke of *Berry*, and before the archduke and the duke of *Savoy* ^p. As to the campaign, the operations of it were not very considerable, but, such as they were, they turned to his advantage; he took and demolished several places on the frontiers of *Portugal*, destroyed one half of the *English* and *Dutch* auxiliaries, and gave the people of *Portugal* a very ill impression of the war. On the other hand, those people were by no means pleased to see duke *Schomberg* and baron *Fagel* at the head of the troops; the former quarrelled with the king of *Portugal*; and the admiral with king *Charles*, about his father's arrears; and with a *Spanish* nobleman about his notions, which he treated as visions and chimeras. How- b ever the admiral's policy soon after served him in good stead with the two kings. He was restored into favour; and the earl of *Galway* was appointed to command the army, as the foreign general most acceptable to the troops ^q.

Gibraltar taken by the English seamen, and a naval fight off Malaga.

WHILE the king made the campaign in the summer, the order that had been so long respited with regard to the princess of *Ursins* was carried into execution; and upon receiving an order to quit *Madrid* in forty-eight hours, she retired accordingly on the 16th of *April*, to the inexpressible grief of the queen of *Spain* ^r. It was also supposed to chagrin cardinal *Portocarrero*, who remained at *Toledo*, and could not be persuaded to return to court, though the king bestowed upon him the high office of inquisitor-general. The fleet of the allies, under the command of Sir *George Rook*, having the prince of *Darmstadt* on board, and between three and four thousand regular troops, made an attempt upon *Barcelona*; but, through the care of the viceroy Don *Francisco de Velasco*, it proved ineffectual. They sailed from the coast of *Catalonia* in the beginning of *June*, and about two months after appeared before *Gibraltar*, which was furiously cannonaded. The prince of *Darmstadt*, with his troops, were landed on the isthmus, but the place was taken by the courage of the *English* seamen, under the command of the captains *Whitaker* and *Jumper*; and indeed it was no great wonder, the garrison consisting but of one hundred men ^s. The prince of *Darmstadt* was left with a strong garrison; and the fleet, on the 24th of *August*, engaged, at a small distance from *Malaga*, the navy of *France*, commanded by the count de *Thoulouse*. Both sides claimed the victory, to which neither had a clear title; but it was afterwards known that Sir *George Rooke* had so d little ammunition, that his obliging the *French* fleet to retire added as much to his reputation as the most signal victory would have done, if it had been gained before the taking of *Gibraltar* ^t.

Excessive honours conferred on marshal Tesse, by king Philip.

THE allies promised themselves much from the autumn campaign on the side of *Portugal*; both the kings, Don *Pedro* and Don *Carlos*, were in the field; and the army of king *Philip*, commanded by marshal *Berwick*, was very thin; notwithstanding which, they did little or nothing. This was in part owing to the disputes between Lord *Galway* and Baron *Fagel*, partly to the hatred the *Portuguese* had to their heretic allies, but chiefly to their disappointment with respect to the *Spaniards*, who they imagined would have deserted in great numbers; which was so far from being the case, that the peasants chose to have the villiages burnt, rather than own king *Charles* ^u. On the other hand, the duke of *Berwick* found himself so uneasy, that he demanded to be recalled; which was granted, and marshal *Tesse* sent in his stead, whom king *Philip* honoured with the order of the *Golden Fleece*, created him grandee of *Spain*, and captain general, with the same powers and appointments that Don *Juan* of *Austria* had enjoyed; all which, however, contributed nothing to his success, since the sending him into *Spain* has been compared by the *French* writers to the replacing *Villars* by *Tallard* in *Bavaria*, which ruined the elector's affairs, as this new grandee had like to have done those of king *Philip*, who even at *Madrid* found himself surrounded by enemies; and though he was so fortunate as to discover their designs, yet he missed seizing the count de *Cifuentes*, by whom they were conducted, who acted in concert with the admiral of *Castile*, and in whom afterwards *Charles* III. principally confided ^v, though the warmth of that nobleman's temper gave him frequent uneasiness.

Siege of Gibraltar carried on with great obstinacy, and without effect. A. D. 1705.

IN the present situation of his affairs, king *Philip* found it equally impracticable to defend his person and dominions, without imposing new taxes, and to levy those taxes without exciting continual murmurs, and in some places insurrections. The great aversion the *Spaniards* had to the *French* still subsisted, or rather increased, though they could not but be sensible that the king went every day more and more into the *Spanish* customs, and had recourse to them out of pure necessity. Commerce in *Spain* was lost to such a degree, that king *Philip*

^p Corps Diplomatique, tom. viii. part i. p. 154.
^r Mercure historique & politique.

de Louis XIV. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, LAMBERTI, Memoires tom. iii. p. 324.
BURNET, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par M. VOLTAIRE.

d'Espagne.

^u Mercure historique & politique, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

^q Hist. gen. d'Espagne. BURNET's History of his own Times, QUINCY, Hist. Milit.

^s BURNET's History of own Times, QUINCY, Hist. Milit.

^t QUINCY, Hist. Milit.

^v Mercure historique & politique, Hist. Generale

- a was obliged to permit even his enemies to resume it, provided they made use of neutral vessels *. In the midst of these distresses he made some great efforts. He fixed a fund for the maintenance of the army, and, when it was deficient, borrowed of the treasurer of the *French* troops; which, in spite of their ill-will, induced the *Spanish* officers to desire that the whole army might be put upon the same foot, and paid in the same way. He established household troops after the mode of his grandfather; and, by having *Spanish*, *Italian*, and *Walloon* guards, found means to draw many young men of the best houses to enter into the service; which was of great use to him. He likewise fixed a cabinet council, composed of persons upon whom he could depend; and into which Mr. *Amelot*, the *French* minister, was admitted, who, being of the long robe, and a very wise and grave man, became highly acceptable to the *Spaniards*. Cardinal *Portocarrero*, though he declined the high office of inquisitor-general, gave the king all the assistance he could, and, as he had done from the beginning, rendered him all the services in his power †. The king and his ministers, however, persisted in carrying on the siege of *Gibraltar*, which had been formed in the month of *October*, in the preceding year, by the marquis *de Villadarias*, and had been continued through the winter, at a vast expence of men and money, to very little purpose; for the prince of *Darmstadt*, who defended it, was a good officer, a man of inflexible courage, and, having the sea open, received continual supplies. Once indeed it might have been taken; for a peasant shewed them a road at the back of the mountain, by which a detachment of 500 men reached the top of it, and attacked the works, which were but slight on that side, so vigorously, that, if they had been properly supported, they must have carried the place. This error induced the king to send marshal *Tesse* thither, and procured an order to Baron *Pontis* to sail thither with a squadron of five large men of war, notwithstanding he represented how dangerous a step they obliged him to take. He was quickly attacked by the *English* fleet, by whom three of his ships were taken, and he was forced to run the other two on shore. Upon this, on the 23d of *April*, the siege was raised ‡.

- WHILE the *Spanish* army was employed in the fruitless siege of *Gibraltar*, the *Portuguese* and their allies were in the field with scarce any force to oppose them, the first place they invested was *Salvaterra*, the governor of which, having made his terms with the admiral, no sooner received his money, than he opened the gates; but his garrison, consisting of four hundred and thirty men, chose to be conducted prisoners to *Lisbon*, rather than take arms against King *Philip*. *Valencia de Alcantara* was the next, where Don *Alonso de Mariaga* commanded, with a garrison of three hundred and fifty men, strong by situation, but ill fortified; it made a gallant, indeed a wonderful defence; for the governor stood five assaults, the last of which continued several hours, and, when he surrendered, there were but one hundred and twelve men left; and these, being disarmed and sent prisoners under a guard of a troop of horse, seized the arms of their escort while they were at dinner, and, with the assistance of their horses, made their escape to a man §. *Abuquerque* in *Estramadura* was taken after seven days open trenches. And thus ended the summer campaign, during which, however, king *Philip* met with misfortunes that chagrined him much more than the sense of his losses. The effects of the admiral's correspondencies produced these apprehensions. A plot was discovered at *Granada*, managed by a physician and a monk, for cutting the throats of the garrison; another of the same kind at *Valencia*, by mere accident; both fixed the design to the eleventh of *June*: at length the capital conspiracy came to be known, or rather suspected, for it was never clearly made out; the scheme was to seize the persons of the king and queen at *Buen Retiro*, and to carry them prisoners to *Lisbon*, or, if that was found impracticable, to stab them by the way. As the marquis *de Leganex* was governor of *Buen Retiro*, and as he had desired leave to make a tour to his estates in the country at the time the design was to have been executed, it drew a suspicion upon him, though he was universally allowed to be the finest gentleman, one of the ablest statesmen, and one of the best officers, in *Spain*. He was arrested coming out of the king's apartment, and sent prisoner to *Pampeluna*, from thence removed into *France*, and at length suffered to reside in his own house at *Paris*, where he lived in universal esteem to the time of his decease, which was about six years after ¶. The miscarriage of this design, accompanied with some reproaches from some of those to whose interest he had sacrificed his own, broke the heart of the admiral * on the 23d of *June*, at *Lisbon*, to the no small satisfaction of the court of *Madrid*, where, however he might be ridiculed and despised by others, they stood at least in as great fear of his artifices as of the arms of the allies, nor were they intirely delivered from the effects of them even by his death (B). A

* *Mercure historique & politique*, A. D. 1705.

† Vide *auſt.* sup. citat.

‡ *QUINCY*, Hist. Milit. de

Louis XIV. *Memoires historiques & chronologiques*, BURNET's History of his own Times, *Memoires de LA TORRE*, tom. iv. p. 204.

§ *QUINCY*, Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV. *Memoires de LA TORRE*, tom. iv. p. 240.

¶ *Memoires historiques & chronologiques*, *QUINCY*, *Mercure historique & politique*.
of his own Times, tom. ii. p. 419.

* BURNET's history

(B) The titles of this extraordinary person, somewhat more at large, run thus; Don *Juan Enriquez de Cabrera*, seventh duke of *Medina de Rio Seco*, eleventh admiral of *Castile*, count of *Melgar*, *Modica*, and

Barcelona

taken by the
allies, and be-
comes the seat
of Charles the
third's govern-
ment.

A GRAND fleet of the allies, commanded by the earl of *Peterborough* and Sir *Cloudsley Shovel*,^a having taken *Charles* the third on board at *Lisbon*, sailed for the coast of *Catalonia*, where some places revolted in their favour, and where they landed a body of ten thousand men, between *Barcelona* and *Palamos*; and, being joined by a considerable number of *Miquelets*, broke ground before *Barcelona* on the 28th of *August*. Don *Francisco de Velasco*, viceroy for king *Philip*, having but a slender garrison, summoned the inhabitants, and told them, that he would deal fairly by them; and that if any person was inclined in his sentiments to the opposite party, he should have free leave to go out; but that, if he discovered any treachery afterwards, he would punish it with the utmost severity; but there were none who accepted of this proposal. It was however believed, that the prince of *Hesse* had engaged the governor of *Montjuic* to make the reduction of that fortress no difficult enterprize; but the viceroy prevented this, by hanging the governor, and changing the garrison. When, therefore, the prince came to make the attack, he met with an obstinate resistance, in which himself and four or five hundred *English* were killed. The *Spaniards* are persuaded, that this lost them the place; for they affirm, that, when the earl of *Peterborough* heard the prince of *Darmstadt* was killed, he suffered himself to say, or rather to think aloud, Then *Barcelona* is to be taken; and rallying the troops in person, with the assistance of fresh reinforcements, attacked and carried the fortress. Upon this the inhabitants discovered their real sentiments, and compelled the viceroy to give up the place by capitulation, which he did on the 9th of *October*.^d He was constrained to demand the earl of *Peterborough*'s protection, to prevent his sharing the same fate with his deputy, who was murdered by the inhabitants. All *Catalonia*, *Roses* only excepted, declared for king *Charles*, and the greatest part of the kingdom of *Valencia* did the like.^e The autumn campaign on the side of *Portugal* was more favourable to king *Philip*; for marshal *Tesse* forced the marquis *las Minas* to raise the siege of *Badajoz*, where the earl of *Galway* lost his right arm, and where the generals of the allies differed so much amongst themselves, that Baron *Fagel* procured himself to be recalled. The princess of *Ursins* returned this year into *Spain*, and the king and queen went some miles out of *Madrid* to receive her; and, which is stranger, the *French* court made her very rich presents, to pacify that resentment which her short exile might have raised.^f But these, however, made but little impression.

^a QUINCY, *Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.* LAMBERTI, *Memoires* tom. iii. BURNET's *History of his own Times*, *Memoires historiques & chronologiques*, LARREY, *Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain*, by JOHN FRIEND, M. D. p. 44.

^e *Mercurie historique & politique*, QUINCY, *Histoire generale d'Espagne*.

^f BURNET's *History of his own Times*, *Memoires historiques & chronologiques*.

and *Cabrera*. Don *Fadrique*, or *Frederick*, twin brother to Don *Henry* the second, king of *Castile*, the son of Don *Alonso* the eleventh, by the famous *Donna Leonora de Guzman*, was the founder of this family, and was the father of Don *Alonso Enriquez*, though it is not clear who was his mother (3). Some authors say a very beautiful woman, whose name was *Paloma*; but the generality of writers incline, perhaps out of respect to the family, to make him the son of *Blanch* of *Bourbon*, the wife of Don *Pedro* the Cruel (4). But it is certain that *Henry* the third conferred upon him the office of admiral of *Castile*; that Don *Juan* the second created *Frederic Enriquez*, the son of *Alonso*, conde de *Melgar*; and that the emperor *Charles* the fifth made Don *Ferdinand Enriquez*, who was the grandson of Don *Frederic*, duke of *Medina de Rio Seco*. But the title of admiral was held so much more honourable, that the rest were hardly ever mentioned (5). This nobleman, in his father's life time, bore the title of *Conde de Melgar*, and was esteemed one of the ablest persons in the court of *Charles* the second, had the government of *Milan* bestowed upon him, and stood so high in the favour of his last queen, that for some time he was in a manner absolute at court. The fierceness of his temper, and the haughtiness of his disposition, made him so many enemies, that he was driven from court in spite of all the interest of his protectors. He had the greatest personal enmity possible to cardinal *Portocarrero*, opposed him in every

thing, and attached himself openly, and with great vehemence, to the interests of the house of *Austria* (6). This did not hinder king *Philip* from endeavouring to gain him; and it is very certain that the admiral made not the least scruple of acknowledging his title, or of accepting the character of his ambassador to the court of *France*. When he retired into *Portugal*, he sent for his nephew the marquis of *Alcanizas* to *Zamora*, where he proposed his going with him. The marquis seeing how he was attended, dissembled his sentiments, that he might not be carried away by force, made his escape in the night, and brought the first news of his uncle's evasion to the queen at *Saragossa*, where he was received with great joy, and ever after treated with the utmost respect. As for the admiral, he had a graceful person, great courage, and prodigious capacity (7). He was strictly and properly the author of the war in *Spain*; and though some great men have treated him as a wild, chimerical, visionary politician, and condemned his projects as romantic and impracticable (8), yet, to do him justice, he had most amazing talents, and bid very fair, by his contrivances, for expelling the king he had left, and setting upon the throne the prince whose claim he espoused; but when he saw how little he was considered by those for whom he had done so much, and how obstinate they were in undoing all that he had done, grief, indignation, and resentment, first broke his temper, and then his heart (9).

(3) *Etat present de l'Espagne*, par l'Abbé de Vayrac, tom. iv. p. 161.

(5) *Etat present de l'Espagne*, par l'Abbé de Vayrac, tom. iv. p. 162.

(4) *Relation de l'Etat de l'Espagne*,

(6) *Memoires de la*

Torre, *Histoire de la Cour de Madrid*, *Mercurie historique & politique*.

(7) *Etat present de l'Espagne*, par

l'Abbé de Vayrac, tom. iv. p. 33.

(8) *Histoire general d'Espagne*, tom. ix. p. 77, 78.

Lord Bolingbroke's

Letters on the Use of History, vol. ii. p. 87.

(9) *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire du xviii. Siecle*, par M.

de Lamberti, tom. iii. p. 521.

a On the lots of *Barcelona*, the friends and the enemies of king *Philip* began to doubt what turn affairs might take, more especially as a great part of *Arragon*, and almost all *Valentia*, gave evident proofs of their inclination to revolt in favour of his competitor. But they began to recover their spirits at *Madrid*, when it was known what efforts *France* was determined to make on their behalf. It was then resolved that king *Philip* should march in person with the army into *Catalonia*, in order to besiege *Barcelona*, while the count *de Thoulouse*, with the French fleet, blocked it up by sea: that the duke of *Berwick*, with a small army, should watch the motions of the *Portuguese*, while the duke *de Noailles* entered *Catalonia* on the side of *France* with seven or eight thousand men, in order to hinder the *Catalans* from disturbing the siege. The queen was to be again left regent, in worse circumstances than ever, for, in reality, she was as much exposed in the capital, as her consort at the head of the army. The plan was certainly well laid; and, notwithstanding all her losses, *France* took care that on her side it should be well executed; for the duke of *Noailles* was early in the field, as the count *de Thoulouse* was at sea; but it was out of the power of king *Philip* to be so expeditious. The count *de la Torres*, indeed, took *Villa Real* in the beginning of *January*, and the king put himself at the head of his army before the end of *February*; and yet, through a series of unlucky accidents, the month of *April* was begun before he arrived in sight of *Barcelona*, with an army of about 20,000 men, commanded under him by marshal *Tesse*, and abundantly supplied with artillery, ammunition, and other necessaries, from the fleet. This was one of the most remarkable sieges in the present century, since *Charles* the third persisted in his resolution of remaining in the place, where he had a strong garrison, and a flying camp under the earl of *Peterborough* in the neighbourhood. The trenches were opened on the 6th of *April*; on the 20th of the same month the *Catalans* found themselves obliged to abandon *Montjuic*, from which the loss of the city seemed inevitable. But the king's person so animated the besieged, tho' he was almost every day perplexed in pacifying their quarrels, that it held out till the 8th of *May*, when the fleet of the allies, under the command of vice admiral *Leake*, appeared upon the coast, which obliged the count of *Thoulouse* to withdraw with his squadron; notwithstanding which, the army continued the siege till the thirteenth, when it was raised, with the mortifying circumstance of leaving not only their artillery and magazines, but also their hospitals, with a vast number of sick and wounded, whom he recommended to the clemency of the earl of *Peterborough*, who treated them with the same care and kindness as if they had been his own. This was the greatest misfortune that *Philip* had hitherto sustained; the rather, because he was obliged to take a vast compass in his retreat, and that the reputation both of the *Spanish* and *French* officers suffered by it exceedingly; while, on the other hand, the allies gained great advantage, and the resolution of *Charles*, by which, out of all doubt *Barcelona* was preserved, did him great honour in the eyes of *Europe*.

As the allies had made prodigious efforts to augment their forces in *Portugal*, and as the army commanded by the duke of *Berwick* was very weak, the marquis *de las Minas* and the earl of *Galway*, having taken possession of *Alcantara*, resolved to attack *Ciudad Rodrigo*; which having accomplished, and having received the acceptable news of raising the siege of *Barcelona*, they continued their march to *Salamanca*, of which they became masters on the 7th of *June*. It being evident that they intended to push their good fortune, and to make themselves masters of *Madrid*, the *French* ambassador, Mr. *Amelot*, held a kind of general assembly of the grantees, in which he desired them to explain themselves clearly, for that his most Christian majesty did not desire to impose his grandson upon them; and, if he did, his circumstances at that time left it no way in his power; so that it was become both expedient and necessary for them to consider for whom, and in what manner, they would act for restoring peace, and the blessings of a legal government to their country. The duke *de Medina Celi* answered, in the name of the grantees, that though they wanted not some reasons of complaint, arising from the slights they had received, and from the too great influence of the princess of *Ursins*, yet their affections continued inviolable to king *Philip*, for whose service they were willing to do all that lay in their power. The king himself arrived about this time, having left the remains of his army in *Navarre*; and, after mature deliberation, sent away the queen and her family to *Burgos* on the 18th of the same month, under a good escort, and took the same route himself the next day.

The army of the allies, upon his retreat, entered, and took possession of *Madrid*, after sending express upon express to invite king *Charles* to come thither without delay; but that monarch being engaged in the reduction of the kingdom of *Arragon*, and being desirous of

^a Memoires du Marquis de FEUQUIERES, tom. iv. p. III. QUINCY, LAMBERTI, tom. iv. p. 146. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, BURNET's History of his own Times, Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain, p. 59. ^b Memoires de LA TORRE, LARREY, QUINCY, Histoire Milit. de Louis XIV. ^c Mercure historique & politique, A. D. 1706. QUINCY, Histoire Militaire, tom. v. p. 282, LARREY, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

Philip recovers his capital. making his public entry as he did into *Saragossa*, made less haste than they expected, and the earl of *Peterborough* being also busy in subduing *Valencia*, they found their hopes frustrated of seeing their whole forces united while they were masters of the capital ^a. They had, however, the satisfaction of learning that *Cartagena* and *Alicant* were subdued, and of seeing *Toledo* for some days in their power. But the scene was quickly changed, through the activity of king *Philip*, and the abilities of the duke of *Berwick*, who, after retreating far enough to be joined by the troops from *Navarre*, and being, by that junction, become superior to the allies, began in their turn to advance towards *Madrid*, which, for want of subsistence, the allies were forced to quit, and to retreat to the strong camp of *Guadalaxara*, where they were joined by king *Charles*, and soon after by the earl of *Peterborough*; notwithstanding which, through the weakness of their forces, or misintelligence amongst their generals, they still continued their retreat, which gave the duke of *Berwick* an opportunity of penetrating with his army into *Valencia*, ^b while king *Philip* returned to *Madrid*, into which he made his public entry on the 22d of *September* ¹. One of the first steps taken upon his return was, to send the duke of *Osuna* with a troop of guards to remove the queen dowager from *Toledo*, and to conduct her to *Burgos*. The people of the first-mentioned city had taken it into their heads, that she invited the *Portuguese* into *Castile*; and this afforded the court a pretence, under colour of providing for her safety, to carry her first to *Burgos*, and from thence to *Bayonne*, where she was received with all possible testimonies of joy and respect, and where she lived in great tranquillity upon her annuity of four hundred thousand pieces of eight ^m. Before the end of the year count *Mahony*, who had gallantly defended *Alicant*, made himself master ^c of *Cartagena*, and the marquis de *Baye* recovered *Alcantara* from the *Portuguese*. These small successes, however, made no amends for the loss of the islands of *Majorca* and *Ivica*, of the *Low Countries*, in consequence of the battle of *Ramillies*, and of the duchy of *Milan*, which followed upon the defeat of the army of the two crowns before *Turin* ⁿ.

Methods pursued by him, in order to re-establish his affairs. It must be allowed, that king *Philip*, by the advice probably of cardinal *Portocarrero*, availed himself prodigiously, at the beginning of this year, of those disgraces which had been suffered in the last. He confiscated the estates of the conde de *Oropesa*, the conde de *Cordona*, the conde de *Cisuentes*, and, in general, of all the nobility that had declared for *Charles III.* and obliged their families to quit *Castile*, and retire to *Barcelona*; which was alleged to be a necessary severity, to prevent that kind of intelligence which might have been fatal to his affairs ^o. He annexed several hereditary offices of great profit to the crown, which, though at any other time it would have been liable to censure, was now applauded. He drew great sums from the clergy, by an adroit management of the danger they were under, if the arms of heretics should prevail. He solicited the voluntary assistance of his subjects, and accepted very graciously the smallest marks of it, either in money or in men ^p. Some fortunate circumstances concurred with these endeavours; a few ships from *America* arrived safely at *Brest*, and they brought a free gift of a million from the duke of *Albuquerque*, as a testimony of his subjects loyalty. The count de *Villars*, brother to the marshal, recovered the island of *Minorca*, which had revolted; and the queen's pregnancy was declared, which filled the people with joy and hopes ^q. On the 18th of *April* the duke of *Orleans*, afterwards regent of *France*, arrived at *Madrid*, where the king ^c caused him to be received as an infant of *Castile* ^r.

Marshal Berwick beats the army of the allies in the plains of Almanza. MARSHAL *Berwick* was in the field with the army, to prevent the enemy from returning into *Castile*; and, when joined by the troops he expected, to proceed in the conquest of the kingdom of *Valencia*. The marquis de *las Minas* and the earl of *Galway*, with about sixteen thousand horse and foot, began the campaign early, in hopes of destroying the *Spanish* magazines, and covering the kingdom of *Valencia*. They did destroy several magazines, which they had better have kept, since they afterwards resolved to besiege the castle of *Villuna*. It was a place of little strength, and no great consequence, yet the duke of *Berwick* marched to relieve it, for he knew the allies wanted subsistence, and thought their retreat before him would raise the spirits of his soldiers, and add reputation to his arms. The earl of *Galway* was for fighting, and prevailed upon the other generals to come into his opinion, upon which they advanced into the plain of *Almanza*, where they attacked the duke of *Berwick* on the 25th of *April*. The *English* troops, at the beginning of the action, penetrated through the centre of the *Spanish* army; but the *Spanish* cavalry having broke the *Portuguese*, and the *French* infantry making a dreadful fire upon their flanks, the army of the allies was at last broke, and, when it was almost dark, began their retreat. Colonel *Hill* carried off the remains of thirteen battalions towards the river *Xucar*, which, if they could have passed, they

^a BURNET's History of his own Times, tom. ii. p. 448, 449. QUINCY, Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

¹ Mercure historique & politique. ^m Histoire generale d'Espagne, Mercure historique & politique, BURNET.

ⁿ Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Histoire generale d'Espagne, le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, BURNET's History of his own Times. ^o Mercure historique & politique, A. D. 1707.

^p Histoire general d'Espagne. ^q Mercure historique & politique.

^r QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

- a might have been safe; but as they marched in the morning as soon as it was light, and had fought till it was dark, their fatigue obliged them to halt; and this gave the *Spaniards* an opportunity to surround them, so that they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. In short, the victory was complete; there was a great number killed and wounded, several thousands taken prisoners, many of whom were *French*, who had taken service with the allies after the defeats of *Hochstet* and *Ramillies*, and who, returning to their standards, replaced those who had fallen in the battle. The marquis *de las Minas* was dangerously wounded, and his mistress, in the garb of an amazon, killed by his side. The earl of *Galway* had two cuts cross the face, which, though not dangerous, hindered him from seeing, or giving orders. One hundred and twenty standards, with all the artillery and baggage, were taken. The duke of *Orleans*, b tho' he did not arrive time enough to have a share in the battle, came very opportunely to improve its consequences, and, in that respect, did all that could be desired^c.

THE town of *Requena* was the first that surrendered to the duke of *Orleans*; this was followed by the capital, and most other places in *Valentia*, except *Xativa*, *Denia*, and *Alicant*. The duke then entered the kingdom of *Arragon*, where *Saragossa* opened its gates on the 25th. The duke of *Noailles* recovered *Cerdagna*, and the marquis *de Baye* retook *Castel Rodrigo* from the *Portuguese*. Thus the kingdoms of *Valentia* and *Arragon* were once more obliged to their own Don *Philip*, who made them pay very severely for embracing the cause of his competitor; and for some affronts which they had offered to his government, the city of *Saragossa* was obliged to pay forty-five thousand pistoles, and the rest of the kingdom ninety-thousand^d. In *Valentia*, the town and castle of *Xativa* being reduced, the whole place was burnt down, except the church, and one hundred and thirty houses belonging to those who had been disarmed, and made prisoners, for not concurring with the rest, and a column of infamy erected; but these were slight things in comparison of depriving both the kingdoms of their constitution, and subjecting them for the future to the laws of *Castile*. This was done by a decree dated the 29th of *June*, which was softened by another dated the 29th of *July*, by which the nobility of *Arragon* and *Valentia* were rendered capable of all offices and honours throughout the king's dominions, and leave was given to rebuild the town of *Xativa*, under the name of *St. Philip*^e.

- ON the 25th of *August* the queen was delivered of a prince, who was baptized by the name of *Lewis*, and immediately acknowledged presumptive heir apparent of the crown of *Castile* and its dependencies. Cardinal *Portocarrero*, upon this occasion, made a present of five thousand pistoles to the king's treasury; his example was followed by most of the grandees, and all the cities and great towns. Some of the nobility, who had withdrawn themselves, took this opportunity of making their peace; king *Philip* accepted their presents, and, to shew how much he was of their mind, ordered the duke of *Infantado* to be released, and recalled the conde *de Lemos*, the marquis *del Carpio*, and the rest of the exiles. He dispatched the first courier, with the news to the queen dowager at *Bayonne*, who made public rejoicings^f for three days, sent two of her gentlemen to compliment their majesties, with very rich presents for the queen and prince. On the 13th of *October*, *Lerida* surrendered to the duke of *Orleans*, as the castle did a month after, on the very day that, through the intrigues of the princess of *Ursins*, he received the king's orders to raise the siege; and the beginning of the month following he set out for *Paris*^g. About this time *Charles III.* espoused the princess of *Wolfenbuttle*, and, by his return from the army to *Barcelona*, stifled a dangerous sedition, occasioned by the people's apprehensions that they were abandoned, and that *Catalonia* would be exposed to the same chastisements the people of *Arragon* and *Valentia* had endured. This year also the kingdom of *Naples* revolted; and the duke of *Escalona*, being taken in *Gaeta* by count *Daun*, was, after being threatened with hanging, exposed on horseback, through the streets of *Naples*, to the insults of the populace, and then thrust into a prison, though he was a nobleman of the most unspotted character, and one who had never enriched himself at their expence. This revolution, though it cost *Spain* dear, saved *Toulon*, which was perhaps of equal consequence, even to king *Philip*^h.

AT the opening of this year the court of *Madrid* was very sensibly chagrined by the loss of the fortrefs of *Oran*, which for so many years had been defended against the *Moors*. This was owing to the desertion of the count of *Santa Cruz*, who carried the small squadron, and little body of troops with which he was intrusted for its relief, to *Charles III.* at *Barcelona*ⁱ. The duke of *Orleans* obtained at *Paris* a supply of five millions, that is, about two hundred and forty

^a BURNET'S History of his own Times; LIMIERS, & al.

BURNET, LIMIERS.

politique, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

^x QUINCY, LIMIERS, Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

tom. v. p. 57. BURNET, QUINCY, Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

politique, Histoire chronologique.

^c Mercure historique & politique, QUINCY,

^d Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, BURNET, Mercure historique & po-

litique, Mercure historique & politique, BURNET'S History of his own

^e Memoires de LA TORRE,

^f Mercure historique &

^g Duke of Or-
leans com-
mands the
king's troops
with success,
and yet a f-
pleasing h.m.

A. D. 1708. thousand pounds of our money, for the service of *Spain*, and carried back to *Madrid* the crown jewels, which had been sent into *France*, when their majesties were obliged to leave *Madrid*. The duke, when he came to the army, found things in a condition very different from what he expected, and was farther disappointed by the loss of a great convoy of provisions and ammunition, the greatest part of which was taken by the *English* fleet^a. The same fleet landed at *Barcelona* count *Starembergh*, an officer of great abilities and great reputation, who immediately took the command of the troops in *Catalonia*, and disposed things in such a manner, as to give the duke of *Orleans* all the trouble he could. This did not, however, hinder that prince from besieging *Tortosa*, a large place, well fortified, and exceedingly strong by situation. The siege was carried on slowly and cautiously; for, on one side, his royal highness was extremely sparing of men's lives, and, on the other, he respected the neighbourhood of count *Starembergh*, which obliged him to be constantly on his guard. On the 11th of *July* the place was taken, notwithstanding the duke received scarce any assistance from *Madrid*, where the princess of *Ursins* had insinuated to king *Philip*, that he had as much to fear from the duke of *Orleans* as from *Charles III.*; and tho' it is said the king was afterwards disabused upon this head, yet, on the duke's return from the campaign, he met with so dry a reception, that he quickly set out for *Paris*^b. The chevalier *de Arsfeldt* took *Denia* by storm, and put all the garrison and a great part of the people to the sword. After this he besieged *Alicant*, which was surrendered upon honourable terms; but being informed that the *Spanish* troops in *Minorca* had been put under arrest, on account of what he had done at *Xativa*, he sent a detachment of horse after the garrison of *Alicant*, and seized them in like manner. At *Barcelona*, *Charles III.* received his new queen in a very pompous manner; soon after which the duke *de Moles* was declared his prime minister, in the room of the count *de Oropesa*, who died suddenly^c. The intrigues of his party, but more especially the monks, caused an insurrection in *Sardinia*; so that the marquis of *Jamaica*, the governor of it, finding himself abandoned, embraced the offer of an *English* admiral to carry him to *Spain* on board his fleet. He was first brought to *Barcelona*, where king *Charles* would willingly have detained him, but, insisting on his capitulation, he was allowed to go to *Madrid*, where, to the amazement of *Philip's* court, he was very well received^d. General *Stanbope*, without any great difficulty, made himself master of the island of *Minorca*; and no endeavours were spared to bring about a revolution in *Sicily*; upon which count *Mahoni* was sent thither with a considerable force. Count *Starembergh*, who knew his army too weak to prevent the duke of *Orleans's* taking *Tortosa*, thought it strong enough to attempt the recovery of that important place; which he did on the 4th of *December*, and was near succeeding, but, thro' the care and courage of the governor, was at length repulsed, though it cost that brave man his life. There was no action this year on the side of *Portugal*; but, to console king *Philip* for the losses he had sustained, the galleons arrived safe, by which he acquired twelve hundred thousand pieces of eight, exclusive of nine hundred thousand sent as a present to the young prince of *Asturias*, whose birth had already brought him many other advantages, and of whom the *Spaniards* were so fond, that he was forced to be shewn to them from the balcony of the palace when he was scarce a week old^e.

King Philip, by the advice of cardinal Portocarrero, puts himself on the affections of his own people. 1709.

It had been the misfortune of king *Philip* to be distressed, from the very beginning of his reign, in point of revenues; and this distress had gone on increasing, notwithstanding all the methods that could be devised to prevent it, till, at the beginning of this year, things were found in such a situation, that it was equally difficult to find recruits for the army or subsistence for those regiments that wanted recruits. In all other respects the king's affairs were equally embarrassed; so that cardinal *Portocarrero*, and the grandees most sincerely attached to this interest, could testify it no other way than by giving him, as they did, the strongest assurances that they would perish with him. Out of this distress his enemies delivered him; his grandfather consented to treat of a peace; and the terms prescribed to him were, to treat of it on the foot of abandoning his grandson. He was compelled to submit, and, exclusive of the negotiation, his necessities were such, that he could no longer yield him any supplies, and was constrained to withdraw part of his forces. Cardinal *Portocarrero* hinted to king *Philip*, that he should seize this opportunity of putting his affairs intirely on a *Spanish* bottom. The king took his advice; the duke *de Medina Celi* was declared prime minister; the marquis *de Bedmar* secretary at war; the *French* ambassador was excluded from council, and sent home; some domestics of the duke of *Orleans* were arrested, imprisoned, and treated with great severity. To complete all, as soon as the preliminaries were made public, and dispersed by the allies, king

^a BURNET's History of his own Times, Histoire generale d'Espagne, QUINCY.

Mercurie historique & chronologique, QUINCY Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. LIMIERS, LARREY.

Memoires, tom. v. p. 163. Memoires historiques & chronolog.

Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE.

Histoire chronologique, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

^d Mercurie historique & politique.

^b Mercurie histo-

rique & chronologique, QUINCY.

^c LAMBERTI,

Memoires de J. A. TORRE,

a *Philip* addressed a circular letter to his subjects, penned with great plainness, and in terms the most pathetic. In this he exaggerated the hardships put upon his grandfather, not only to abandon him absolutely, but to assist in dethroning him; yet, in this, he said, the allies did him honour, since it shewed their opinion that he would defend himself to the last extremity; which he assured them was his intention, and that he was resolved to die at the head of the last *Spanish* squadron, and to tinge the dear earth of *Castile* with his blood. This had its effect; for the enthusiasm of this declaration diffused itself through the whole nation. The general assembly of the clergy not only granted a free gift, but the prelates, and those who were able, paid it upon the spot. The nobility sent their plate to be coined; the middle and the common sort of people acted with the like spirit, for the king had told them in his letter, that the allies had promised the duke of *Savoy* and the king of *Portugal* handsome rewards out of the *Spanish* dominions; that the emperor would take what he pleased; and that the archduke was to be content with the rest, upon such terms as those who conquered it for them should be inclined to dictate. The putting things into this form was the last service rendered by cardinal *Portocarrero*, who died in the month of *September*, at the age of seventy-four, and was succeeded in the see of *Toledo* by Don *Antonio Ibamiez*, archbishop of *Saragossa*, and inquisitor-general ^f. In respect to military affairs, there happened nothing material. Marshal *Berzons* commanded the army of the two crowns, and he had instructions from *Lewis XIV.* not to act offensively. Count *Staremborg*, with his army, passed two rivers in his sight; upon which king *Philip* wrote the marshal a very smart letter, and went in person to the army, where, tho' he was able to do nothing, yet this stroke of vivacity pleased the *Spaniards* highly. However, the castle of *Alicant*, after a blockade of several months, surrendered to the chevalier *d'Arfeldt*; and the marquis *de Baye* beat the earl of *Galway* and the *Portuguese* army in the plain of *Gudina*, and made fifteen hundred prisoners, which prevented their besieging *Badajoz*. Vast levies were made, and all possible precautions taken, in the winter, to act with the greatest vigour in the spring, more especially in *Catalonia*, where king *Charles* was master only of *Barcelona*, *Gironne*, and *Tarragona*, covered by the small army of count *Staremborg*, who very wisely waited for supplies ^g.

At the opening of the year, Monsieur *d'Iberville* arrived at *Madrid*, with the title of *The prime minister* ^h envoy extraordinary from his most Christian majesty; the king received him in public but very coldly, and, upon his demanding a private audience, referred him to the duke of *Medina Cæli*. The business of this minister was to qualify the offer that his master had made, of depositing cautionary towns in the hands of the states, till his grandson was driven out of *Spain*, and to furnish the expences of the war. His stay was but short; king *Philip* withdrew his countenance from the *French*; and the queen, giving way to her repentment, went somewhat farther, and treated them so ill; that some returned home ⁱ. *Philip* did not think fit to publish another circular letter; but in a short edict for raising recruits, he declared that his sole resources were the unshaken fidelity and heroic courage of the *Spanish* nation ^j. There wanted not some, however, who insinuated, that he used this language only in compliance with his circumstances; but it fell out luckily, that the flotilla arrived on the 2d of *March* at *Cadiz*, with about ten millions on board. Two of these ships were *French*, and were very desirous of sailing home with their cargoes, which however the king obliged them to debark, and insisted upon an extraordinary indulto, which the captains refusing to pay, they were put in prison. These proceedings gratified the *Spaniards* extremely; and the king drew out of the money about two millions, which were of inexpressible service at that juncture ^k. It was resolved that the marquis *de Baye* should command in *Estremadura* against the *Portuguese*; and the marquis *de Villedarias* the grand army in *Catalonia*, which consisted of twenty-three thousand men, under the king, who resolved to make the campaign in person. The marquis set out from *Madrid* on the 15th. of *April*, in the evening of which day there happened a very extraordinary event. About eight at night the king sent for the duke of *Medina Cæli* into his cabinet, and, after having conferred with him for some time, directed him to go to the secretary of state's office about certain dispatches. The duke no sooner came thither, than he was arrested, and conducted in a coach and six out of town, to a castle on the road to *Segovia*. When the officer parted from him, he furnished him with a night-gown, a box of chocolate, a purse with a hundred pistoles, and some other necessaries; for which civility, when the duke testified great acknowledgements, the officer told him they belonged to the king, who had taken care to provide them for him. As this nobleman was prime minister, and governor to the prince of *Asturias*, this affair made a very great noise, and it was said that he had undertaken to betray the king or the prince into the hands of their ene-

^f QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. LARREY, Memoires de LA TORRE, Mercure historique & politique, A. D. 1709. Histoire generale d'Espagne, Histoire chronologique, BURNET's Hist. of his own Times,

^g QUINCY, Memoire de LA TORRE, BURNET's History of his own Times, LARREY, LIMIERS, Memoires historiques & chronologiques. ^h Mercure historique & politique, A. D. 1710. ⁱ Histoire generale d'Espagne, Mercure historique & politique, BURNET, QUINCY. ^k Mercure historique & politique,

mies¹. It is certain that his misfortune arose from a letter delivered to the king by the confessor of the marquis of *Astorga*, who died that morning, and whose sister the duke had married. The junto appointed to examine his papers condemned him four months after to suffer death, for giving intelligence to the king's enemies, particularly with respect to the real intentions of his most Christian majesty; but the king changed this sentence into imprisonment, and, being transferred from *Segovia* to *Pampeluna*, and thence to *Fontarabia*, he there ended his days^m.

King Philip's
army totally
defeated near
Saragossa by
count Sta-
rembergh.

THIS strange affair prevented the king from going so soon to the army as otherwise he would have done; and, when he came thither, he found the weather so bad, that he was able to make but little use of his superiority over count *Starembergh*. However he took *Cervera*, where he found a magazine of cloaths and linen for four thousand men; but he was not able to make the siege of *Balaguer*. After count *Starembergh* had received the supplies he expected, the face of affairs quickly changed, and he began to act offensively; and a part of *Philip's* forces received a severe check at *Almanara*, by the vigour and good conduct of general *Stanhope*; which gave the king so indifferent an opinion of the marquis of *Villadarias*, that he sent for the marquis *de Baye*, and gave him the command of the army, which, for want of subsistence, was obliged to march to *Saragossa*. Near that city, on the 20th of *August*, they were defeated by count *Starembergh*ⁿ. The armies were nearly equal, and neither of the kings were in the action; for *Philip* was ill of a fever, and the generals of *Charles III.* would not suffer him to expose his person. The marquis *de Baye* made the best retreat he could to *Lerida*, where, after some days, he assembled about nine thousand men; but the king immediately set out for *Madrid*, where, notwithstanding his misfortune, he was received with great joy. Upon the news, however, that the allies were in full march for that capital, he found it necessary to quit it with his queen and family, followed by all the grandees and councils, on the 9th of *September*^o. The marquis *de Baye*, as soon as his troops were in a condition to move, prosecuted his march to *Tudela*, on the side of *Navarre*, where, by the activity of the count *d'Aguilar*, the army was recruited in a surprising short space of time; and the duke of *Vendosme*, being arrived from *France*, began to advance towards *Valladolid* with an escorte of about three thousand horse, which king *Philip* withdrew from the army in *Andalusia* (C).

¹ BURNET'S History of his own Times, History of Europe for the year 1710. Histoire generale d'Espagne. ^m Mercure historique & politique. ⁿ BURNET'S History of his own Times, QUINCY. Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE. ^o QUINCY, Histoire generale d'Espagne. Mercure historique & politique. BURNET'S History of his own Times.

(C) The affairs of a prince could scarce be in a worse condition than those of king *Philip* after the battle of *Saragossa*. It will contribute to the reader's information, as well as amusement, to have some particulars relating to this subject set in a true light. The shock at *Almanara* affected the spirits of the *Spanish* troops very much, as they relied chiefly upon their cavalry, who had been fairly beat by the *English* and *Dutch* (1). It was this induced them to encamp almost at the gates of *Saragossa*, where such precautions were used in posting the troops, that, from the prudence of count *Starembergh*, it was concluded, that he would not attack them; and, this being publicly discoursed in the army, they were half-beaten when attacked. The *Walloon* regiments, upon which they most depended, finding their communication with the army cut off, threw down their arms and surrendered prisoners of war. This was another terrible misfortune, as they were looked upon to be the best infantry in the army (2). *Saragossa* revolted behind them while they were yet engaged, and, as soon as they were broke, they found it the same thing as if they had been in an enemy's country, the peasants doing them all the mischief that was in their power. The marquis *de Baye*, with the shattered remains of the army, could not have defended *Navarre*, if the allies had followed him. King *Philip* went in a manner alone to *Madrid*, a place of no strength, and without troops: he was still indisposed, could hope for little assistance from *France*, found several great lords inclined to make terms with the conqueror; and, in fine, was

without money, without an army, and without resource. The princess of *Ursins*, a woman of a high spirit, is said to have exerted herself to a degree of indecorum in speaking to the king. She told him, that a crown was never to be resigned but with life; that, as things promised fair at the beginning of the campaign, fortune might come about again before the end of it; and that his own firmness and diligence, operating upon the despair of his subjects, might recover all. The queen abhorred the thoughts of being otherwise; and perhaps abhorred still more the thoughts of living as a suppliant in the court of *France*, subject to the humours of her sister; which transported her so far, that, when she went out of *Madrid*, she held out her son to the people, and said, "When the kingdom is lost, I will die, with my infant in my arms, in his own hereditary mountains of *Aspasia*". (3). Before they got to *Burgos*, they had the consolation of knowing that their own condition was hardly worse than that of king *Charles*, a letter of his own being intercepted, written to his queen at *Barcelona*, importing, that he was carried to *Madrid* against his will; that the soldiers had been without bread for two days; and that his victorious army was mouldering away with sickness, famine, and fatigue (4). After all, when *Spain* had been lost by a numerous, regular, well-disciplined army, it was recovered the same campaign by raw and fresh-raised troops, conducted by excellent officers, who made the utmost advantage of every error the enemy committed, and of every inconvenience to which they were exposed (5).

(1) Mercure historique & politique, tom. xlix. p. 227.

Siecle, par M. de Lamberti, tom. vi. p. 227.

politique, Hist. gen. d'Espagne, tom. ix.

(2) Hist. de la Cour de Madrid, p. 123. Mercure historique & politique, Hist. gen. d'Espagne, tom. ix. p. 303. Mercure historique & politique, tom. xlix. p. 656. Lamberti, Histoire de Louis XIV.

(3) Reflexions historiques & politiques de M. le Marquis de Santa Cruz de Mazanardo, tom. viii. p. 77.

(4) M. de S. Cruz, Campagnes de D. de Vendosme, &c.

a It is impossible for human wisdom to foresee the consequences of great events, and, what-
 ever politicians might afterwards pretend, it was impossible they should so much as suspect
 that the battle of *Saragossa* would prove the ruin of his competitor's affairs, and become the
 means of fixing *Philip V.* upon the throne; and yet this was actually the case. General *Charles the*
Stanhope vehemently pressed marching directly to *Madrid*, to which it is said neither king *third takes*
Charles nor count *Starembergh* were inclined, as having no magazines, and being to march *possession of*
 through a country so disaffected, that the people burnt their corn, and starved themselves, to *Madrid and*
 prevent the allies from having any thing to eat. General *Stanhope* prevailed, and the march *Toledo, but*
 was resolved. He took it for granted that the *Portuguese* army would advance and join *is not able to*
 them, and that this might have opened a free communication with *Portugal*. But, after some *keep them.*
 b deliberation, the court of *Lisbon* absolutely rejected this measure, though general *Stanhope* had
 advanced with a strong detachment to favour this junction. He then demanded a thousand
 horse and three thousand foot from that army, which was refused. Lastly, he asked the
 troops of the maritime powers, and their ministers at *Lisbon* offered to defray the expence;
 but this was likewise denied. King *Charles* remained about six weeks at *Madrid*, where his
 necessities obliged him to tax the inhabitants at forty-two thousand pieces of eight *per* month.
 At length it was found requisite to retire, and to quit both that city and *Toledo*. On the 11th
 of *November* king *Charles*, under an escorte of a thousand horse, set out for *Barcelona*,
 upon intelligence that the duke of *Noailles* was on the point of entering *Catalonia* with
 an army ^p. Soon after the king was withdrawn, the army of the allies marched to *Gua-*
 c *dalaxara*.

KING *Philip* and the duke of *Vendosme* marched with numerous forces from *Valladolid*, and, *King Philip*
 knowing the great distress of the people, sent a vast convoy of provisions before them to *Ma-*
drid. The people received him with frantic demonstrations of joy, and, crowding about the *takes gen*
 coach of the duke of *Vendosme*, saluted him prophetically the deliverer of *Spain* ^{Stanhope as}. King *Philip* *Brihuega, and*
 lost no time in passing the *Tagus*, and surrounding general *Stanhope* with eight battalions and *beats count*
 four regiments of horse and dragoons, on the 9th of *December*, in the little town of *Brihuega*. *Starembergh,*
 They made a great and glorious defence, disputing every inch of ground in the streets. At *at Villavi-*
 length the people of the place barricaded their doors, and, beating up the tops of their houses, *ciosa.*
 threw the tiles and stones upon their heads, which obliged them to surrender prisoners of war;
 but they were allowed to keep their baggage. Count *Staremberg*, upon hearing that they were
 invested, marched back to their relief; upon which the duke of *Vendosme* ordered the cavalry to
 march, and form themselves before *Villaviciosa*, whither the infantry followed as fast as it was
 d possible. King *Philip* commanded the right in person, having under him the marquis de *Val-*
decanas, captain-general; the duke of *Vendosme* was on the left, with the count de *Aguilar*; the
 conde de *la Torres* and the marquis de *Thouy*, both captain-generals, were in the centre. This
 action, which happened on the 10th of *December*, began about three in the afternoon. The king
 quickly forced the left wing of the allies, defeated them intirely, took the generals *Belcastle* and
St. Amand prisoners; but the right and the centre made a gallant defence, and, night coming on,
 count *Staremberg* made a slow and well-conducted retreat. He sent such a relation of this action
 to *Barcelona*, that they sung *Te Deum*, and made rejoicings for the victory, which certainly was
 not on their side, all their cannon and most part of their baggage being taken, with a great num-
 e thousand men. This action closed the campaign, and secured to king *Philip* all *Arragon*,
 which had again revolted after his defeat, very near the same place where this important vic-
 tory was gained ^r.

THE duke of *Noailles*, who had opened his trenches before *Gironne* on the 23d of *December*, *Both courts*
 found himself in a very critical situation; obstinately opposed by a strong garrison, under the *busy in prepa-*
 command of general *Tattonbach*, within the place; in frequent danger of having his own com- *ration, but*
 munication with the country behind him cut off by the *Miquelets*; and at last himself and *neither for-*
 his army in the utmost perils from the inundations. His firmness and prudence overcame *ward in action.*
 with much ado all these obstacles; so that at length he made himself master of the lower town
 on the 23d, and of the upper, by capitulation, on the 25th, of *January*. The news of this
 f was very acceptable to king *Philip*, who kept his court at *Saragossa*, and who had sent for his
 queen thither ^s. The duke of *Vendosme* retired to that city, in order to confer with him about
 the operations of the campaign, and to determine whether *Tarragona* or *Barcelona* should be
 first besieged. The princess of *Ursins*, who was a declared enemy to this prince, pretended sick-
 ness, that she might avoid coming to *Saragossa*, before he took the field. The arrival of a *A. D. 1711*

^p Histoire chronologique, BURNET, QUINCY, Mercure historique & politique, Histoire generale d'Espagne,

^q Histoire de Campagnes du Duc de Vendosme, p. 18.

^r QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

BURNET's History of his own Times, Mercure historique & politique, LIMIERS, Histoire generale d'Espagne,

Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Histoire des Campagnes du Duc de Vendosme.

^s Mercure histo-

rique & politique, 1711. Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

flotilla at *Cadiz* put it in the power of king *Philip* to give a real proof of his gratitude to the duke; and he did it at a review, by putting into his hands an order for 50,000 pieces of eight for his equipage. The duke was somewhat surpris'd, but, turning suddenly to the line, "These," said he, "are those brave men that fixed the fortune of *Spain* at *Villaviciosa*; and these only are worthy of the king's favour;" which he caused to be distributed in necessities amongst the private men^c. After all this, the campaign was spent in little more than preparations, which was chiefly owing to the death of the emperor *Joseph*, on the 17th of *April*, soon after which there were secret negotiations for a peace^a. *Charles III.* quitted *Barcelona*, in order to return into his hereditary dominions, but left his queen there, and declared count *Staremburg* his viceroy. A little before his departure he fell into suspicion of some of the *Spaniards* about him, and carried this so far, as to cause the duke of *Moles*, his secretary, to be arrested. On the other hand, the duke of *Uzeda*, who had been king *Philip's* ambassador at *Rome*, and had quitted that city to retire to *Genoa*, upon the pope's being obliged to acknowledge *Charles III.* to the surprize of all the world, quitted that city, to come and acknowledge the same prince himself^b. The queen being much indisposed, the king passed a great part of the summer with her and the prince of *Asturias* at *Corella*, for the benefit of the waters. From thence, in *October*, they proceeded to *Aranjuez*, and returned from thence to *Madrid*. About this time marshal *Staremburg* formed a scheme for recovering *Tortosa*, and burning all the *Spanish* magazines; which he had certainly effected, if the duke of *Vendosme's* steward, who had obtained a passport for going into the camp of the allies, in order to procure fresh fish for his master, had not overheard something of it, which he communicated to the duke by the trumpet that was sent with him, who gave timely notice to the governor, which prevented the surprize, and cost the allies the lives of some hundred men^c. At the close of the year king *Philip* had upwards of thirty, and king *Charles* upwards of twenty, thousand regular troops in *Catalonia*, where the latter possessed only *Barcelona*, *Tarragona*, and *Montalban*.

Negotiations
for a peace,
upon which
king *Charles*
the third quits
Catalonia.
A. D. 1712.

AT the very beginning of the year, that is, in the month of *January*, the congress for a general peace, the preliminaries of which were already settled, was opened, with the accustomed ceremonies, at *Utrecht*^d. King *Philip* had named the marquis of *Monteleon*, and other plenipotentiaries; but they did not repair thither, as being apprised, that, till the king's title was acknowledged, they could not have been received. The difficulties of raising money were to the full as great as they had ever been; and perhaps it would have been a point too hard for all their politicians to accomplish, if, in the month of *March*, the galleons had not arrived at *Cadiz*, under the escort of *Monsieur de Casse*^e. The king's necessities forced him to take a high indulto, which, though not very willingly, was paid, and enabled the duke of *Vendosme* to resume the military preparations, which had been suspended in a manner for some time for want of money. About this time the king disgraced the conde d'*Aguilar*, lieutenant-general and captain of his guards, knight of the *Golden Fleece*, and generally esteemed the best officer in *Spain*. This occasioned a great noise, and no small discontent, for his fidelity, his courage, and his conduct, were without reproach; his only fault lay in his temper; the king had supported him against the duke of *Orleans* and marshal *Bezons*, but he would not support him against the duke of *Vendosme*. He submitted with great duty; and, when he resigned his command, said, "As it is your majesty's pleasure, I am content; if it proves for your service, I shall rejoice." He retired to his own house, and spent the remainder of his days as a philosopher, and died as much beloved as he had always been esteemed^f. The king's affairs in *Catalonia* went but indifferently: count *Staremburg* had an army of 24,000 men, with which he formed the siege, or rather the blockade, of *Gironne*, defended by the marquis de *Blancas*, now marshal of *France*, for eight months, under the utmost extremity of famine, till at length the siege was raised^g. As for the army of *Spain*, it was scarce ever in a condition to take the field, more especially after the death of the duke of *Vendosme*, which happened suddenly at *Vignaros*, on the 11th of *June*, of an apoplexy, as some say, or, as others report, of an indigestion, arising from his eating too heartily of fresh fish. The king ordered him to be interred in the *Escorial*, with the same honours that had been paid to Don *Juan of Austria*^h. One great cause of the inactivity of this campaign was, the desire the king had to see the *English* and *Portuguese* separated from count *Staremburg's* army; which at

^a Histoire des Campagnes du Duc de Vendosme, Mercure historique & politique, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

^b LARREY, tom. iii. p. 309. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, BURNET's History of his own Times.

^c Memoires de LA TORRE, LAMBERTI, QUINCY, LIMIERS, BURNET. ^d Mercure historique & poli-

tique, Histoire generale d'Espagne, QUINCY, tom. vi. p. 589. Histoire des Campagnes du Duc de Vendosme, page 328. ^e Histoire du Congrez & de la Paix d'Utrecht. ^f Mercure historique & politique,

A. D. 1712. Histoire generale d'Espagne. ^g Mercure historique & politique. ^h Histoire generale

d'Espagne. ⁱ Mercure historique & politique, QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. vii. p. 115. Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

a length happened; and then it was hoped that the *Catalans* would have submitted, but in that they were deceived.

On the 18th of *October* lord *Lexington* arrived at *Madrid* ^d, and, on the 5th of *November*, ^e the king, in the presence of his council, signed the act of renunciation ^{nunciatio} in the *Cortes*, or general assembly of the states. By this act he renounced, for himself, his heirs and successors, all pretensions to, and all power of inheriting, the crown of *France*, in favour of his brother the duke of *Berry*, his uncle the duke of *Orleans*, his cousin the duke of *Bourbon*, and the rest of the princes of the blood. On the 7th that renunciation was ratified and approved by the assembly of the states, and declared to be a fundamental law for regulating the succession to the dominions of *Spain* in all times to come. They likewise approved the entail made by that act on the house of *Savoy*, in case the royal family should become extinct, and the perpetual exclusion of the house of *Austria*. They farther took this opportunity of altering the rule of succession in another respect, and settled the crown on the next heir male; whereas hitherto females, if nearest in blood, had been capable of succeeding ^f. By this solemn ratification of the king's act, the great obstacle was taken away that retarded the peace, the prospect of which, and the queen's safe delivery of Don *Philip*, afforded the court and the nation great satisfaction; though they were still at a loss about *Catalonia*, where they were very unwilling to employ arms, if the possession of that country could have been recovered any other way; as well to avoid provoking the allies, as to take from the *Catalans* any colour of being obliged to form themselves into a republic for their own security; and it was chiefly with a view to this that the king published a general amnesty, without any reservation or exceptions ^g. The princess of *Ursins* still maintained herself in the favour of their catholic majesties, though she did not meddle so much or so openly in public business. The king, however, promised, and procured for her, a principality in the *Low Countries* ^h; notwithstanding that, in the beginning of the year, he had by a solemn act ⁱ transferred the sovereignty of all the *Spanish* provinces to his electoral highness of *Bavaria*, in compensation for the great losses he had sustained by his steady attachment to his interests; and the great object of the court was, to get these points settled by the peace.

In order to answer all the great ends of government, there is nothing so requisite as to have the finances in good order. King *Philip* was sensible of this from the very moment he assumed the royal title to this time; and being also persuaded that nothing could contribute so much to the preservation of peace at home, or procuring respect abroad, as having this point once for all settled, he sent for Mr. *Orry* a third time out of *France*, and gave him full powers to regulate the whole revenue of the *Spanish* monarchy; which he did so effectually, and in so short a time, that he fixed it at forty millions for this year. He likewise framed the military establishment upon the foot of one hundred and twenty battalions and one hundred and thirty squadrons, exclusive of the household troops. He bought, repaired, and equipped, twenty-one men of war and frigates; he provided three hundred pieces of cannon, forty mortars, and prodigious quantities of powder, bullets, and bombs. These regulations were indeed attended with murmurs and complaints, against which the court shut their ears; and indeed the *Spanish* ministers and grandees were so much surprised, and so well pleased to see the monarchy in such a situation, after so long and so expensive a war, that they confessed it better for some individuals to suffer by the loss of old debts, and the introduction of new methods, than that *Spain* should continue in that distressed and dejected condition in which they had seen her for a long series of years ^k. The arrival of the galleons was another favourable incident, which, by fixing the indulto so high as eight *per cent.* produced a very considerable supply; and the duke of *Albuquerque*, who was just returned from his viceroyalty in the *Indies*, was obliged to lay down a round sum in gold, to prevent an inquiry into his administration. These circumstances, together with the regularity observed by the generality of the towns in paying their free gifts, when they saw that things were put in order, and that a like regularity was observed in all public payments, spread a spirit of firmness and tranquillity which was visible enough in the language and in the conduct of the ministers, during the negotiation and conclusion of the several treaties of peace by which this long and ruinous war had been ended, on terms much superior to what were expected but the very summer before. This brings us to

^d BURNET'S History of his own Times, vol. ii p. 612. ^e Actes de la Paix d'Utrecht, tom. ii. p. 330. Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. Part i. p. 310. LAMBERTI, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. tom. vii. p. 528. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Mercure historique & politique, BURNET'S History of his own Times, Histoire generale d'Espagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, ^f Corps Diplomatique, tom. viii. part. i. p. 313. ^g Mercure historique & politique, Histoire generale d'Espagne. ^h Corps Diplomatique, tom. viii. Part i. p. 272. ⁱ Histoire generale d'Espagne. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, Corps Diplomatique, tom. viii. Part i. p. 288, 289. ^k Mercure historique & politique, A. D. 1713.

The substance
of the treaty
between the
crowns of
Spain and
Great Britain.

By this treaty their majesties reciprocally acknowledged each other's titles; the catholic king recognized the protestant succession, as settled in the illustrious house of *Hanover*; revived and restored all the privileges the *English* nation had enjoyed in the reign of his uncle and predecessor; yielded to the crown of *Great Britain*, in full dominion and sovereignty, the town and fortrefs of *Gibraltar*, the island of *Minorca*, and the harbour and fortrefs of *Port-Mahon*, on condition that neither *Jews* nor *Moors* should be permitted to inhabit in either; that the *Roman catholic* religion should be permitted and protected in the latter; and that if either or both should be at any time sold or alienated by the crown of *Great Britain*, the crown of *Spain* should have a right of pre-emption. His catholic majesty farther granted to the subjects of *Great Britain* the *Affiento de Negros* for the space of thirty years, upon the terms, and according to the conditions, mentioned in a certain instrument, which was to have the like force and virtue as if verbally recited in the said treaty. The inhabitants of *Catalonia*, of all ranks whatsoever, were to have a general amnesty, with the intire and full possession of their honours and estates, with all the privileges then enjoyed, or that might be thereafter granted to the inhabitants of the two *Castiles*, his majesty's most faithful and best beloved subjects. The treaties of commerce between the two powers were renewed. The island of *Sicily*, at the special instance and request of her *Britannic* majesty, was yielded to his royal highness the duke of *Savoy*, but without a power of alienation, and upon condition that, in case the male line of the house of *Savoy* failed, it should return to the catholic king. This treaty was signed at *Utrecht*, by the duke of *Osuna* and the marquis of *Monteleon* on one side; and by the bishop of *Bristol*, lord privy-seal, and the earl of *Strafford*, her *Britannic* majesty's plenipotentiaries, on the other.

Substance of
the like treaty
between his
catholic majesty
and the duke
of Savoy.

By the treaty with *Victor Amadeus* the second, duke of *Savoy*, which was signed the same day, at the same place, his catholic majesty declares, confirms, and renews, his several renunciations in respect to the crown of *France*, and those made by the princes of the blood in that kingdom, as also the new rule of succession, by which that prince and his family were called to the throne of *Spain*. He likewise yields and transfers, purely, simply, and irrevocably, to the said duke, to the princes his sons, their heirs male, and all the heirs male of the house of *Savoy*, the kingdom of *Sicily*, and all the islands adjacent, and dependent thereon; and promises to withdraw the marquis *de los Balbases*, then viceroy, and to give his

¹ Histoire generale d'Espagne; Mercure historique & politique, Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. P. i. p. 393. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, LAMBERTI, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. tom. viii. p. 445. Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. P. i. p. 389. 401. Mercure historique & politique, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

(D) As soon as the preliminaries with *Great Britain* were signed, the kings *Levis* and *Philip* looked upon the peace as made, and not without reason, for they were very sensible that the war in *Spain* had been made for some campaigns at the expence of *Great Britain*; and they were also morally certain, that, if it was carried on any longer, it must be carried on in the same way (6). For these reasons *Philip* was very forward to give that satisfaction which had been demanded on the part of queen *Anne*, which was the solemn renunciation, for himself and his family, of all rights to the crown of *France*; he published, therefore, a declaration and decree, both dated on the 18th of *July*. In the former he gives his subjects to understand, that he had at length hopes of a peace; that these hopes proceeded intirely from the favour of *Great Britain*; and were attended with the demand of a renunciation either of his rights to the crown of *Spain*, or to that of *France*. He affirms, that his grandfather had dissuaded the latter; but that, from the moment it came under his consideration, he determined to prefer *Spain*, and not barely *Spain*, but a part of it, to *France*, and to all the crowns upon earth; that therefore, with the greatest cheerfulness, and without the smallest mixture either of regret or complaint, he had subscribed the decree of renunciation which followed. In the decree he promises, that securing *Europe* from the danger that must result from the too great power of a monarch having

the crowns of *France* and *Spain* on his head, was the source of this long war; and it was natural, therefore, to provide in the fullest manner against it, previous to the conclusion of a peace; that, being sensible of the obligations he was under to the *Spaniards* both for giving him a crown and for sacrificing their lives and fortunes to keep it upon his head, when, through two signal reverses of fortune it was upon the point of falling, he thought himself obliged, as well in point of honour and out of gratitude, as from principles of affection, to comply with the instances made by the queen of *Great Britain*, in making, with the utmost cheerfulness and sincerity, an authentic renunciation of his own rights, and those of his posterity, to the crown of *France*, in favour of his brother the duke of *Berry*, and his uncle the duke of *Orleans* (7). The like renunciations were made by those princes with respect to their rights to the crown of *Spain*; and those renunciations were fortified in the strongest manner possible, by the approbation and recognition of the *Cortes* in *Spain*, and by their registering the renunciations in *France* by the king's authority, and with his consent, in all the parliaments of that kingdom (8). It appears, however, clearly, that the *British* ministers did not so much rely upon the renunciation, as upon their being inserted in the treaty of peace, under the guaranty of the allies, who thereby acquired a right of making them good at all times by force of arms (9).

(6) Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the use of History, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire. (7) Mercure historique & politique, Corps Universel Diplomatique, &c. (8) Histoire generale d'Espagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. Mercure historique & politique. (9) Lord Bolingbroke's Letters, published in the Report of the Secret Committee.

- a royal highness's possession, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, as also to maintain that possession, and to remit into his royal highness's power all the titles, papers, and documents, that concern the kingdom. On the other hand, his royal highness stipulates not to sell, yield, mortgage, exchange, or otherwise part with, the said kingdom, but to preserve the possession of it, till such time as it devolved to the crown of *Spain* for want of heirs male, or to a king of *Spain* of the house of *Savoy*. His catholic majesty likewise confirms all the cessions made to his royal highness by the emperor *Leopold* in *Italy*. To this treaty there is annexed an instrument of cession, subscribed by his catholic majesty on the 10th of *June*. There are likewise annexed two separate articles, by which his royal highness consents that this treaty shall be void, in case he opposes, directly or indirectly, the intentions of the king of *Spain*, before the conclusion of the general treaty of peace, as also in case he shall enter into any alliances contrary or prejudicial to the interests of his catholic majesty. We shall hereafter see what consequences these secret articles produced.
- b

Thus *Philip*, after a tedious war, and many cruel reverses of fortune, became at last master of *Spain* and the *Indies*, by the consent of those who had most vigorously opposed him; as, on the other hand, the two crowns were constrained to dismember the *Spanish* monarchy, and make in effect a new treaty of partition. This, as it restored them to tranquility, was extremely grateful to the bulk of the *Spanish* nation; tho' there wanted not some who complained of the dear rate at which they had purchased peace, and regretted that diminution of honour which the crown had sustained, notwithstanding they must have been sensible that the loss was inevitable, and that there was great reason to wonder that peace was obtained even upon these terms. Those, however, who did not carry their discontent so high, were not a little troubled at the consideration that many things remained yet unsettled; that, notwithstanding the emperor had the equivalent that was intended him in his hands, he still kept up his claim to the whole monarchy; that as yet the peace was not concluded with *Portugal*; and that the restitution of a great part of *Catalonia* was still in a state of uncertainty; so that, after all, the fire was only raked up in its ashes, and its flame might be easily rekindled by any accident that furnished it with fresh fuel. The court was also thoroughly satisfied of this, and very desirous of extinguishing it; but, however, judged very prudently, that great caution was necessary; and that though no time was to be lost, yet nothing ought to be precipitated, more especially as they were persuaded that their new friends were full as desirous as themselves to see this completed, and yet judged, as they did, that a matter of so great consequence ought not to be hurried.

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The first, and indeed principal, point was, the bringing about the evacuation of *Catalonia* by the *German* troops; and it proved more easy than could have been expected, on account of those circumstances which determined both parties to concur in that measure, who could agree in nothing else. His imperial majesty was desirous of withdrawing his consort, and found it necessary likewise at that juncture to withdraw his troops. A little before the empress embarked, she communicated to the *Catalans* the emperor's resolution to continue the war, and not to depart from his claim to the *Spanish* monarchy. To which they returned a very zealous answer, demanding, with the greatest warmth, his coming back to his faithful subjects, and promising to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in his service^a. This was kept very secret at that time, and was in reality one great source of the misfortunes of the *Catalans*; for, within the compass of the same month, the emperor consented to a convention for evacuating *Catalonia*, and for the neutrality of *Italy*, in which it was stipulated, that the imperial troops should embark at such times, and in such manner, on board the *English* fleet, as should be most convenient to count *Staremborg*: that a general amnesty should be granted to all the *Catalans* without exception, and also to the inhabitants of *Majorca*: that count *Staremborg* should quit either *Barcelona* or *Tarragona* first, as he thought convenient, of which he should give notice to the *Spaniards*, that they might take possession of the place he quitted, immediately on the withdrawing of his troops; and that he should leave behind him whatever cannon or ammunition belonged to *France* or *Spain*. This convention^o was of a very singular nature, since none of the parties took any title therein, but, when spoken of together, are called the powers at war; when separately, the power occupying, or the power retiring; and the due observance of all stipulated therein is guarantied by his most Christian majesty and her *Britannic* majesty. However, when the imperialists quitted *Tarragona*, they suffered the *Miquelets*, as count *Staremborg*'s relation says, to make themselves masters of the place; which indeed they attempted, and in which they were very near succeeding; but the archbishop and the magistrates, foreseeing what the consequences would be, and thinking they had made sacrifices enough already, dispatched an express to the marquis *Grimaldi*, lieutenant-general of his catholic majesty's forces, who ordered the marquis *de Lede* to march

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^a LAMBERTI, Memoires pour servir à l'Hist. du Siecle xviii. p. 400.

^o Mercure historique & politique.

with six battalions and seven squadrons to secure that city, as he did, and was received by the inhabitants with all the marks of joy imaginable ^a. It was with this marquis of *Grimaldi* that count *Starembergb* had signed a convention^c, dated the 22d of *June*, relative to the evacuation, in which it was stipulated, that the *Catalans* should be at free liberty to send a deputation to the duke *de Popoli*, whom the king had appointed their viceroy; but it does not appear that they made any use of it, but, on the contrary, count *Starembergb*'s relation expressly says, that he left the emperor's flags flying on *Montjuic*, and in the principal posts of *Barcelona* ^d.

The commons of Barcelona seize that city, and refuse to acknowledge the new government.

In the mean time those who were invested with the government of this province employed their agent, the count *de Ferran* to solicit *Great Britain* and *Holland* for assistance, representing in very strong terms the promises of support that had been made them from time to time by the maritime powers; and, according to the prayer of his memorials, both the queen and the states general did interpose on their behalf. The states, however gave out commissions for 20,000 men; took the *Spanish* troops of king *Charles*, that were left behind, into their pay, as they likewise did some *Palatines*, and their officers; appointed generals of horse and foot, and took all other measures possible for a vigorous defence ^e. It is not easy to discover what their intentions were; the general notion throughout *Europe* was, that they had a mind to render themselves an independent republic, after the example of *Holland*, which had been more than once in their heads before; but of this there is no kind of proof: on the contrary, from the language of their public acts, it is manifest they would be understood to mean, that they still considered the emperor as king of *Spain*, and themselves as his subjects; and therefore their conduct ought to be referred, if not to secret assurances, yet at least to expectations and hopes of succour and support from him; which is so much the more likely, as his imperial majesty procured, or, as the *Spaniards* say, extorted, the cardinal's hat for the bishop of *Barcelona*, who was the principal author of those martial resolutions ^f. The nobility and the clergy were of another mind, and were desirous of submitting, not only as it seemed to be the sole measure they had left, but also in point of prudence, that they might reap the benefit of the good offices of the maritime powers. In this, however, they were not able to carry their point.

Declare war against the crowns of France and Spain and are treated as rebels by the latter.

As soon as the court of *Madrid* had taken their measures for reducing the place, in case of resistance, the duke *de Popoli*, in quality of general of the army in the principality of *Catalonia*, summoned the city of *Barcelona* to open her gates on the 29th of *July*, on pain of being considered as obstinate rebels; to which the deputation answered, that their city, and the whole principality, persisted in their resolution of continuing the war, in virtue of that fidelity which they had always born to their sovereign ^a. This certainly was very explicit. However, they explained themselves farther, by making an attempt upon *Tarragona*, in which they miscarried; and at last, upon the 21st of *September*, they publicly declared war by sound of trumpet against both *France* and *Spain*; from which time hostilities were committed on both sides, and the *Spaniards* took all the precautions possible to block up *Barcelona*, as far as it was in their power ^b. Lord *Lexington*, who was still at *Madrid* with the character of the queen of *Great Britain*'s ambassador extraordinary, renewed his solicitations in favour of the *Catalans*; and says in his memorial, that it was not consistent with the honour or conscience of his mistress to leave a nation, whom the course of the war had brought into her interests, in a worse condition than she found it; and therefore pressed the king, in consideration of that friendship which God had been pleased to restore between their majesties, to grant those unhappy people their pardon and their privileges. In answer to this memorial, the *Spanish* ministers insisted upon the treaty, and the offers that had been made them of a general amnesty which they had refused. After this, when lord *Lexington* was upon the point of his departure, he wrote, with the consent of the court of *Spain* (though the contrary seems to be insinuated in the letter itself) to the *Catalans*, in order to persuade them to accept the amnesty, that it might be in his power to intercede for them farther, which he assures them he was inclined to do, though their answer should not reach his hands till he had quitted *Madrid*, and was come to *Lisbon* ^c; but it does not appear what effect this letter had, or whether it had any; but about this time his catholic majesty solicited the queen, or at least her ministers, very strongly, to permit some of her ships of war, that were in the *Mediterranean*, to assist in shutting up the port of *Barcelona*, and this under pretence that it was a point of no great consequence to the commerce of *Great Britain*, inasmuch as the *Catalans*, in their desperate circumstances, had solicited the *Moors*, and particularly the *Algerines*, for assistance ^d.

Reasons for concluding here

SUCH was the situation of things at the close of this year, which brings us to a conclusion of the general history of *Spain*, since, though the treaties with the *United Provinces* and *Por-*

^a Memoires historiques & chronologiques, LIMIERS, Histoire de Louis XIV. d'Espagne, & auſt. ſupra citat.

^b Mercure historique & politique.

^c Histoire generale

^d LAMBERTI, Memoires

pour ſervir à l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. tom. viii. p. 411.

^e Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE.

^f Mercure historique & politique, Histoire generale d'Espagne, QUINCY, Hiſt. Militaire de Louis XIV. LIMIERS.

^a LARREY.

^b LAMBERTI, Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſt. du Siecle xviii. tom. viii. p. 406—409.

^a *tugal* were not concluded and signed within the compass of it, yet the principal points were settled, and the king was acknowledged; and the reader will find a full account of both in their proper places. He was also so happy as to have another son born this year, viz. the infant Don *Ferdinand*, on the 23d of *September*, who afterwards succeeded to the crown of *Spain*^z, and his affairs in much better condition than, after so tedious and consuming a war, he could well have expected; at the same time that he saw himself courted by his neighbours; and found that the war, in which the emperor persisted against *France*, delivered him from all apprehensions of seeing himself attacked in his own dominions by so powerful a competitor. He saw the duke of *Savoy* in possession of the kingdom of *Sicily*, and from that circumstance attached to his interests; in favour of which likewise other *Italian* powers had pretty clearly explained themselves; and, which was a circumstance perhaps more satisfactory than all the rest, he found himself the first complete monarch of *Spain* in a strict and proper sense, since under all his predecessors it was not so much a monarchy as a conjunction of several kingdoms under one chief; and though the difference may not seem great to strangers, yet it was without question a matter of prodigious importance in itself, as the removing the difficulties with which it was attended could scarcely have proved practicable at any other juncture than that in which it was done, and by which alone the king endeared himself so much to his subjects of *Castile*, that, though the first prince of his house, and a stranger by birth, he found them not only more tractable and complaisant, but really more obedient, and more zealous for his service, than for any of those who had reigned before him, as will manifestly appear when we come to resume this history in the conclusion.

^z *Histoire generale d'Espagne.*

C H A P. II.

The History of Portugal, from its becoming a distinct sovereignty, down to the present times, from their own authors, compared with those of other nations.

S E C T. I.

The history of Portugal, from its being bestowed by Don Alonso VI. king of Leon and Castile, on Henry of Burgundy, with the title only of a county, to the proclamation of Don Alonzo Enriquez, in the plains of Ourique.

^d **T**HE history of *Portugal* naturally follows that of *Spain*, of which, with *Galicia*, it makes the whole western coast; and is consequently very happily seated in a mild and temperate climate, well watered by rivulets and springs, as well as several navigable rivers; in a word, rich, fruitful, and pleasant, in itself, and rendered famous throughout the world by the virtue and valour of its inhabitants.

^e WE find this country constantly stiled in *Latin*, at least by modern authors, *Lusitania*, which is not at all amiss, provided we annexed to this word a right idea, and are not led by the sound to conceive, that the modern kingdom of *Portugal* answered with any degree of accuracy to that province of *Spain* which was antiently stiled *Lusitania*; because if we do, instead of giving us a right apprehension of the ancient and modern geography, it will lead us into error and confusion^a. Even in ancient authors *Lusitania* does not always signify the same part of *Spain*. In those before the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, *Lusitania* seems to be bounded by the ocean on the north, and by the river *Tagus* on the south; considered in which light it comprehended all *Galicia*, and excluded two of the six provinces of *Portugal*^b. But in the stricter and more restrained sense of the word, as we find it used particularly by *Pliny*, it was bounded on the north by the *Durius*, now the *Douro*, and on the south by the river *Anas*, now the *Guadiana*^c, in which sense it was not quite so long as *Portugal*; but to compensate this it was broader, comprehending within the line of its eastern frontiers *Norba Cæsarea*, *Pax Augusta*, and *Emerita Au-*

^a PHILIP CLUVERII, *Introduct. Geograph. lib. ii. c. iii.* PETER BERTII, *Breviar. Orbis Terrarum. p. 4, 5.*
^b STRABON. *Geographia.* ^c PLIN. *Hist. Natural. lib. iii. cap. i. lib. iv. cap. xxii.* POMPON. MELA, *lib. iii. cap. i.*

gusta, now stiled *Alcantara*, *Badajos*, and *Merida* ^a. We must also observe, that though a great part of *Portugal* was comprehended within the dominions of the *Suevi*, yet these sovereignties were far from being exactly the same, since the *Suevi* were certainly masters of the best part of *Galicia*, but do not seem to have taken in the southern part of *Portugal*; that is, the two provinces beyond the *Tagus*, as we may collect from their having constantly the ancient city of *Bracara*, *Augusta*, or *Braga*, for their capital ^c.

The true etymology and meaning of the modern appellation.

IN respect to the modern name of *Portugal*, the etymology and sense of it are very far from being certain or determined. As to the common received opinion, it seems to be founded rather in fancy than in any kind of proof. It is said, that a great number of *Gauls* landed at *Porto*, from whence it received the name of *Portus Gallorum*, or the port of the *Gauls*, and in process of time, that name gradually extended itself over the country, being softened, or rather shortened, into *Portugal* ^f. But when this event happened, why these *Gauls* came thither, and what became of them afterwards, lie all buried in oblivion. It is alleged, however, that upon an eminence which overlooks the mouth of the river *Douro*, there stood an ancient town called *Cale*, strong and well peopled, but very ill seated for trade, and this occasioned the construction of a lower town or hamlet, which was called *Portus Cale*, that is, the haven of *Cale*, and in process of time *Portucalia* ^g. At length becoming so considerable as to merit an episcopal chair, these bishops subscribed themselves, as the records of ancient councils testify, *Portucalenses*, and the name of the city was transferred to the diocese, which was stiled *Portucalia* ^h. It is true, that after this these bishops changed their stile, and wrote themselves *Portuenses*, that is, bishops of *Porto*. But the before-mentioned facts are actually set down in ancient and authentic histories; and as the diocese of *Portucalia* comprehended in a great measure that little country in which the sovereignty originally began, the name extended itself, together with their acquisitions, and has remained to the kingdom, though, in process of time, a new name has prevailed with respect to the diocese, and perhaps this distinction arose from thence.

Great difference between the country originally so called, and that which now bears that name.

PORTUGAL, even in its present condition, and with the addition of *Algarve*, is but a small kingdom, though certainly the most considerable of any honoured with that title in *Spain*: but small as it is, we shall in the course of this history demonstrate, that it is incomparably greater than that in which the sovereignty began, and which, to say the truth, was nearly the same with the province between the *Minio* and the *Douro*, small in extent, but happy in situation; and so pleasant and fertile, that it has been sometimes stiled *Medulla Hispanica*, or the *Marrow of Spain* ⁱ. We shall shortly have occasion to describe it more particularly in a manner that will fully justify this appellation; neither ought it to be considered as any diminution of the credit of this monarchy, that it rose from so small and so weak an origin; but quite the contrary, since the same thing happened to the kingdoms of *Oviedo*, *Leon*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, and *Castile*, as we have already shewn, and all from the same cause, as they were gradually increased and enlarged at the expence of the *Moors*, by the prevalence of Christian arms, and by the courage and conduct of a long series of wise and warlike princes, who, by an indefatigable pursuit of honour, aggrandized themselves and their subjects, till by degrees, from inferior titles and small principalities, they rose into the rank of great kings, and extended their own authority and the influence of their subjects into all the quarters of the known world ^k.

From hence it appears the same country has not been both a county and a kingdom.

THE reader will discern from hence into how great an impropriety those writers fall who tell us, that *Portugal* was first a county, then a duchy, and at length a kingdom ^l. For this is not at all true of the same country, that is, the territory of which *Henry of Burgundy* gained the possession, in right of his wife and by the gift of her father, with the title of count, never became either duchy or kingdom: neither do we read in any author of antiquity, that *Henry* or his son *Don Alonso* were stiled dukes, and if they were stiled so in *Latin*, we must consider, that the word *Dux* is differently used, as expressing sometimes a dignity, and at others only a command. The truth is, that *Don Alonso* having extended his territories, augmented his power, and established his reputation by gaining a glorious and complete victory over the *Moors*, was saluted king by his soldiers in the field, which title was confirmed to him afterwards with great solemnity by his people, as will appear in its proper place ^m. But even at this time his dominions were much larger than those left him by his father, and his views incomparably more extensive, many of which he lived to accomplish, and left the rest to be achieved by his successors, to whom he transmitted the regal title and power, and with them that plan of conquest, which was executed in its utmost extent ⁿ. To some, perhaps these particulars may appear very minute, and yet it is for want of descending to these, that, generally

^a DIO CASSIUS, lib. liv. PLIN. Hist. Natural. PROLEM. Geograph. lib. ii. cap. v.

NONII Hispania, cap. vi.

^f HIERON CONESTAGGII de Portugal et Castel conjunct. lib. i.

DUARDI NONII in Joseph Teixeira Libellum de Reg. Portugal Origine, cens. ii.

^g L'Espagne et du Portugal, par Don JUAN ALVAREZ DE COLMENAR, p. 692, 693.

Lusitan. lib. iii.

^h See the histories of these kingdoms respectively.

ⁱ MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

^k BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA VASCONCELLOS.

^c LUDOVIC

^e Censuræ

^h Les Delices de

^j RESENDII Antiq.

^l HEYLIN'S Cosmography.

a speaking, the histories of nations are so indistinctly and confusedly understood, and errors being taken up either through the mistake of facts, or by supplying from conjecture such necessary circumstances, as, through a desire of brevity, were omitted, continue afterwards to infect the mind, and to produce a series of misapprehensions, that never can be corrected or purged out.

b THE *Spanish* and *Portuguese* historians agree, that Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon* and *Castile*, and son to Don *Ferdinand* the Great, bestowed his daughter Donna *Theresa* in marriage upon an illustrious stranger Don *Henry*, and gave him with her the frontier province, which he had conquered from the *Moors*, lying south of the river *Minbo* or *Minio*, with the title of count. But notwithstanding their unanimity in this particular, they differ extremely about all the circumstances that relate to it. They cannot agree who this Don *Henry* was, or at what time he came into *Spain* ° (A). The *Spanish* historians are clear, that Donna *Theresa* was the king's natural daughter by Donna *Ximena Guzman*; while the *Portuguese* are as clear, that she was his legitimate daughter, and that Donna *Ximena* was his wife, though divorced from him afterwards by the Pope † (B). There is as little harmony amongst them in respect to the time

° FARIA Y SOUSA Epit. Hist. Port. part 3. cap. i.
LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, tom. i. p. 71.

† Histoire generale de Portugal, par Monsieur

(A) In this note we shall endeavour to give the reader a tolerable account who this *Henry* of *Burgundy* was, and at what time he left *France* to go to the court of the king of *Leon* and *Castile*. As to his family, the bishops Don *Roderic Sanchez* and Don *Alonso de Cartagena* (1) assert, he was of the house of *Lorrain*, but do not mention who were his parents. *Duardi Galvan*, the ancient chronologist of *Portugal*, affirms he was second son to a king of *Hungary*; which opinion the famous poet *Camoens*, in his *Lusiads*, follows. *Damianus de Goes*, in the life of king *Emanuel*, says, he was son to *William*, baron of *Joinville*, and duke of *Lorrain*, and *Abida* of *Champagne*. *James de Valera*, and *Antonio Beuter*, bring him from *Constantinople*, grounding their opinion upon the history of *Spain*, writ by king *Alonso*, mistaking a quotation from the archbishop Don *Roderic* (2), who writes, that he was of the *Bisantine* province, meaning *Besancon*, the capital of *Burgundy*, which they take for *Bisantium*, or *Constantinople*. *Wolfgangus Laxius* inclines to think he was of *Limburgh* (3). *Duarte Nunez de Leon*, endeavours to prove that he was grandson to *Reginald*, earl of *Burgundy*, by his son *Guido*, earl of *Vernerville* in *Normandy*. *Lewis Gollut*, in his history of that earldom, says, he was brother to *Raymond*, both sons to earl *William*. All these doubts are cleared by the chronicle of *Fleury* (4), which being a fragment of *French* history, was writ in the time of this count *Henry*, for the author speaks as an eye witness of the three suns that were seen at the town of *Scyrs*, on the banks of the river *Garrone*, in the year 1108. It was wrote by a famous *Benedictine* monk, of that convent, and reaches from the year 897, till the year 1110. By this ancient manuscript it appears, that *Robert*, the first duke of *Burgundy*, younger brother to king *Henry I.* of *France*, had, by his wife *Hermengarda*, one only son, called *Henry*, who died before his father, leaving five sons by his wife *Sibila*, daughter to *Reginald*, or *Rainald*, count of *Burgundy*. These were *Hugo*, heir to his grandfather, who became a monk of *Cluni*, and died in the year 1092; *Eudo*, or *Otho*, who succeeded his elder brother; *Robert*, bishop of *Langres*; *Henry*, of whom we are speaking; and *Reginald*, an abbot. As truth is ever clear and consistent, so this genealogy agrees perfectly with the *French* and *Spanish*, as well as the *Portuguese* history, which it is not possible it should do if it was not truth: it is however strange, that when the *Portuguese* historians had gained so much light as this, with respect to the founder

of their sovereignty, they should not be better able to adjust the time of his coming into *Spain*; but contrive to embarrass themselves with a notion of his passing into *Spain* in the reign of king *Ferdinand*, and attending Don *Alonso*, in his exile at *Toledo*, without any shadow of probability, and wholly inconsistent with all the dates mentioned in the history of *Burgundy* (5). To give only one instance, Donna *Constantia* was the daughter of *Robert* duke of *Burgundy*, the sister of *Henry*, father to this count, and she was very young when she married Don *Alonso VI.* in 1080, how then should her nephew have been almost twenty years in *Spain* before that time? (6) Besides, the time of his coming into *Spain* is so well fixed to the year 1087, that those who adopt the old dates are forced to send him back again out of *Spain* into *France*, in order to conduct those succours (7), which are on all hands allowed to have been sent by *Philip* the first; and the best historians, in fixing the time of sending them to 1087 or 1088, have removed all difficulty; so that if we suppose him born about the year 1060, the series of his life will go on regularly (8).

(B) Some *Portuguese* historians affirm, that the mother of their queen, Donna *Theresa*, was Donna *Ximena Nunez de Guzman*, the daughter of Don *Garcia*, the third king of *Navarre*. That this prince had a daughter whose name was *Ximena* is true; but she was certainly younger than the mistress of Don *Alonso*, who, according to the *Spanish* historians, brought him this daughter in his youth, it may be before he was married (1). As to the divorce, that is clearly a mistake. He was indeed divorced, and divorced by Pope *Gregory* the seventh, not from Donna *Ximena*, but from Donna *Agnes*, daughter to the duke of *Guienne*, to whom they suppose that Donna *Ximena* was related; whereas, in truth, Donna *Agnes* was divorced under pretence of her being related to the princess *Aguda* or *Ela*, daughter to our *William* the Conqueror, who died soon after Don *Alonso* had married her by proxy, as appears from the bull of divorce (2). This was in anno domini 1080, and made way for Don *Alonso's* marriage with Donna *Constantia*, as this did with the the king's correspondence with *Burgundy* and *France*, she being daughter of duke *Robert*, and niece to king *Henry*, and consequently the cousin german of king *Philip*. But besides Donna *Theresa*, the king had another daughter by Donna *Ximena Nunez*, whose name was Donna *Elvira*, whom he likewise bestowed in marriage upon count *Raymond* of *Thoulouse*;

(1) *Historia Hispanica et Regum Hispaniæ Anacephalæosis.*

(2) *Roderic Tolet. de rebus Hispaniæ, lib. vi.*

(3) *Censuræ Duardi Nonii in Joseph Teixeira de reg. Portugal Origine.*

(4) *Fragm. historic. a rege Robert.*

ad Philip. I.

(5) *Histoire Generale de Portugal, par M. de la Clède.*

(6) *Histoire de España por*

D. Juan Ferreras.

(7) *Histoire generale du Royaume de Portugal, vol. i. p. 8.*

(8) *Nouvelle*

Abrege Chronologique de l'Histoire de France, p. 120

(1) *Cronica del Emperador de España D. Alonso sa*

cada de un libro antiguo y de muchas Escrituras per Pruden. de Sanudoval.

(2) *Histoire de España, por D. Juan*

time of this marriage, or of the age of the parties who contracted it (C). To come at an absolute certainty in all, or indeed in any of these points, is a task of insuperable difficulty, as the ablest and most accurate authors have ingenuously confessed; but as the reader will see we have taken some pains in this matter, and have from thence been enabled to give at least a probable account of them all, which, if not exactly agreeable to truth, must of necessity come very near it; and having done this we will now proceed to the thread of our history, without any farther introduction.

Genuine account of the manner in which it was established.

A. D. 1087.

1090.

THE king Don *Alonso*, apprehensive that his success in taking the city of *Toledo* would bring upon him the whole force of the *Moors*, as well out of *Barbary* as in *Spain*, sent to demand assistance from *Philip* the first of *France*, and the duke of *Burgundy*, whose aunt he had married. Both these princes listened to his request; and, according to the enterprising temper of the nobility in that age, and the nature of the military tenures then subsisting, Don *Alonso's* desire was no sooner known, than a numerous body of troops was speedily collected for his service, and at their head went *Raymond* count of *Burgundy*, *Henry* younger brother of *Hugh* duke of *Burgundy*, *Raymond* count of *Tboulouse*, and many others^a. On their arrival at the court of Don *Alonso*, they were received and treated with all possible marks of esteem and respect; and having shewed, in the course of some years, very high proofs of their courage and conduct, the king resolved to bestow his only daughter the princess *Urraca*, then a perfect child, being at most in her ninth year, upon *Raymond*, count of *Burgundy*, and assigned them the province of *Galicia* for the support of their dignity^b. This was very probably done at the motion of the queen *Donna Constantia*, who survived only two years. She preferred upon this occasion Don *Raymond* to Don *Henry*, because of the alliance in blood between them, which would have rendered their marriage illicit: but it is highly likely, that at the time *Galicia* was bestowed upon Don *Raymond*, the government of the frontiers and of the countries to the south of *Galicia* were given to *Henry* of *Burgundy*, with commission to further their improvement, by repairing old, and building new towns, and by such other methods as he should devise; to defend the province against the infidels, and to enlarge the boundaries of his jurisdiction at their expence, as occasion should offer, by the king's being in the field with an army. Then a diversion might be expedient or necessary, without any apprehension of the *Moors* entering into confederacies, or suspending those feuds that almost continually raged amongst themselves in order to overwhelm this new establishment, which, in the space of a few years, through the care of this great man, became much more rich and populous than before. Numbers of Christians, who had taken shelter in the adjacent mountains, and had lived there in a desolate and miserable condition, came down to settle in the plains, under his protection: so that by degrees he brought into perfect order the two provinces of *Entre Minho e Douro* and *Tra los Montes*, with a part of that of *Beira*, beyond the *Dauro*, at least so much as was held by the *Moorish* king of *Lamego* (D), whom he constrained to pay tribute^c.

ABOUT

^a Frag. Hist. à Rege Rob. ad Philip. I. ANDR. RESENDIUS, lib. iv. de Antiqu. Lusit. ^b HERNANDO DE PULGAR Historia de la ciudad y obispado de Placentia. Fragment Hist. Franc. ap DUCHESNE, tom. iv. p. 391. ^c MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.

and who accompanied her husband into the *Holy Land* (3); and both these daughters must have been older than *Donna Urraca*, the heiress of her father's dominions.

(C) The little regard some writers have shewn to chronology, has introduced prodigious confusion, and a variety of irreconcilable dates into this part of our history. As for instance, some have placed this marriage of *Donna Theresa*, with count *Henry* of *Burgundy*, before the year 1072, that is, as early as we can possibly suppose this lady to be born, and immediately on the return of Don *Alonso* from *Toledo* (4): but there are many, who, with *Mariana*, placed the birth of the infant Don *Alonso*, afterwards king of *Portugal*, in the very year where they ought to have placed his mother's marriage (5). If there had been any truth in the first date, and in those to which the same writers extend the life of this lady, she must have been at the time of her death about one hundred (6). It is also owing to these false dates, that the count Don *Henry* is made so much an older man than this princess; and that her son, the infant Don

Alonso, is considered as disputing the government with his mother, upon his coming out of his minority; when, according to these calculations, he was really thirty-four years of age (7). Where we have no positive proofs, we must be content with conjectures; and if we suppose this lady to be born during her father's misfortunes, and before his first marriage, which is highly probable, she might be twenty-four when she espoused the count Don *Henry*, somewhat turned of forty when she became his widow, and about sixty at the time of her death (8). This computation will make her ten years younger than her husband, and will perfectly agree with all the dates that are very judiciously assigned by *Ferreras*, from the ancient historians, such as the archbishop Don *Roderic*, the bishop of *Tuy*, and the old chronicle of *Alcobaza*, in which are contained the most authentic monuments of the *Portuguese* history (9), injudiciously altered and augmented by others.

(D) The design of this note is to give the reader some idea of the sovereignty possessed by the count Don *Henry*, by a succinct description of the three provinces

(3) *Roderic Tolet. de rebus Hispaniæ, lib. vi. c. 21. Manuel de Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.*

(4) *Histoire general de Portugal, par M. de la Cledé. Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, p. iii. c. 1.*

(7) *Manuel de Faria y Sousa, Mariana.*

(9) *Histoire de España, § xi.*

(5) *Emanuel de Faria y Sousa*

(6) *Duarte Nunes en Chron. dos Reis de Port.*

(8) The reader will observe these are the dates assigned in the text.

mentioned

- a ABOUT two years after the queen's death, Don *Alonso* being very desirous to express his affection and esteem for *Henry of Burgundy*, gave him in marriage a natural daughter of his, born while he remained in exile at *Toledo*, whose name was *Donna Theresa*; and upon this marriage he gave up in full property, as the *Portuguese* writers assert, all the country of which *Henry* had hitherto held the superintendence, with the title of count, and with permission to conquer what he could from the *Moors*, as far as the river *Anas*, or as the *Spaniards* call it *Guadiana*¹. There may possibly be some reason to doubt the first part of this assertion, because it does not seem consonant to what is styled reason of state, that a monarch should bestow absolutely, and without reserving homage, part of his dominions upon a stranger. But with regard to the latter part of the concession, one may take it upon less evidence, since the permitting count *Henry* to keep what he could get by his sword at the expence of the *Moors*, the reduction of whose strength was of great consequence to the king's subjects, was a grace that cost the king nothing, and seems to have added very little to the right that count *Henry* would otherwise have had to what he acquired^a.

What the country was given to Henry of Burgundy with Donna Theresa of Leon.
A. D. 1074.

- THE count Don *Henry* and his consort *Donna Theresa* fixed their residence in the town of *Guimaraez*, supposed by some to have been built out of the remains of the ancient city of *Araduca*; but certainly very pleasantly situated, in the midst of a small but fertile plain, on the banks of the river *Ave*. The remains of an ancient palace, belonging to some of their successors, are yet visible there; and on account of its having been the ancient capital, the king Don *Denis* granted its inhabitants an exemption from taxes, which they still enjoy^w. The *Portuguese*, encouraged by being thus rendered independent, and the presence of a prince of their own, did much upon the borders of the province betwixt the rivers *Douro* and *Minho*, till then not entirely subdued, of which we have no particular account. *Hecha*, king of *Lamego*, being tributary to count *Henry*, rebelled, and drawing together a powerful army,

He compels the Moorish king of Lamego to submit, and receive a colony of Christians.

¹ RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudens. Chron. BRANDAN, ED. NUNEZ, VASCONCELLOS, AND. RESEND, Histoire generale de Portugal, par Monsieur LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE. ^u FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, Histoire generale de Portugal, par M. DE LA CLEDE. ^w Chron. var. antiq. MAYERNE TURQUET.

mentioned in the text, which will be in other respects very useful. The province between the rivers, or, as the *Portuguese* call it, *Entre Minho e Douro*, though small, is very fruitful and pleasant. It extends in length about eighteen leagues, and in breadth about twelve: within this space, at the beginning of the current century, there was the archiepiscopal see of *Braga*, the episcopal see of *Porto*, three collegiate, one thousand four hundred and sixty parish churches, one hundred and thirty religious houses, richly endowed, six sea ports, and two hundred stone bridges. It is divided into four commarcas or counties, and the regular militia is fixed at about sixteen thousand men. The province of *Tra los Montes*, or on the other side the mountain, has *Beira* on the south, *Estremadura*, and the kingdom of *Leon*, on the east, *Galicia* on the north, and the province of *Entre Minho e Douro* on the west, very irregular in its form, but well watered, and tolerably fruitful. It is about thirty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth: it is divided into four commarcas; and in this province is seated the duchy of *Braganza*, which was the patrimony of the royal family before their accession to the throne. The settled militia amounts to ten or twelve thousand men. The province of *Beira*, as it lies between the two great rivers *Douro* and *Tago*, is very happily seated, having the ocean on the west, the *Portuguese Estremadura* on the south, the *Spanish* province of the same name on the south-east, the province of *Tra los Montes* on the east, and the river *Douro* on the north. It extends in length thirty-four leagues, and thirty in breadth, and is divided into six commarcas: within this province lies *Lamego*, where the first assembly of the states was held; the episcopal city of *Coimbra* or *Coimbra*, which is likewise an university; and *Viseo*, which is likewise a bishoprick, and was formerly the capital of a dukedom. The country is equally agreeable and fertile, producing corn, wines, and fruits in abundance, and the hills affording excellent pasture to cattle and sheep; the settled militia consists of about ten thousand men (1). The reader will

observe, that only part of this last-mentioned province was conquered from the *Moors* at this time, and that those conquests were very precarious. We must also observe, that tho' there must have been a very wide difference between the condition of those provinces then and now, yet in respect to their natural advantages arising from the wholesomeness of the air, the fertility of the soil, the great excellency of the rivers and rivulets, they must have been much the same; and this will serve to remove many doubts, under which the reader would otherwise labour, when he finds mention made of such numerous armies in so small a country. It must be also remembered, that during the troubles of *Galicia*, multitudes of people took shelter under the protection of count *Henry*; and that many thousands of Christians, who had lived either independently in the mountains, or in subjection to the *Moors*, took the opportunity of transporting themselves hither, and of occupying those lands of which the Infidels were dispossessed. On the other hand, multitudes of *Moors* chose rather to submit, and to remain in their native country under a gentle tribute, than be exposed to the severities that were exercised by the alcaides in the *Moorish* governments; and to those seditions and revolutions which were the continual effects of their feuds and ambition, as well as the principal sources of their misfortunes. These people, as they were very diligent and industrious, cultivated and improved their lands, and furnished those commodities and manufactures which even in these times maintained a considerable trade, as is apparent from the naval force which it appears from the text they were able to oppose to the joint fleets of *Barbary* and *Andaluzia*; and in the same proportion that the government became stronger and more secure, all the advantages derived from it must have been augmented; and that they really were so, will be evident from the numerous foundations and endowments made by this prince in the course of his reign, as in their proper place will be hereafter mentioned.

(1) *Resendii Antiq. Lusitan.* Gaspard Alvarez de Lausada. Ant. Vasconcellos Anacephalæosis, id est, summa capita æorum Regum Lusitanicæ. Jean Luyts Introduc. ad Geograph. Les Delices de l'Espagne et du Portugal, par Don Juan Alvarez Colmenar. Tour through Spain and Portugal, by Udal ap Elys.

did a great deal of mischief in his territories ^x. The count, with *Egas Moniz*, or *Nugnez*, a gentleman then famous for his valour and wisdom, afterwards governor to count *Alonso*, marched to recover the booty he had taken, and overtook him in a valley near the monastery of *Arouca*. The *Moorish* monarch, for greater security in case of misfortune, placed his queen *Axa Anzures*, and all the plunder his forces had taken, on the top of a mountain called *Sierra Seca*, and which he judged inaccessible. The Christian army encamped along the river *Alarda*; and *Egas*, seeing the enemy advantageously posted, undertook with a strong detachment in the night to go about the bottom, and so ascending the mountain at break of day, to be ready to fall upon them, whilst the Christian army charged the enemy below. This was accordingly put in execution; and, after an obstinate and bloody fight, the queen was taken upon the mountain, and the king in the plain ^y. Afterwards becoming Christians, the count bestowed the city of

A. D. 1102. *Lamego* upon them, paying tribute for the same. Upon this the *Moors* rebelling against their king for changing his religion, he fled to *Guimaraez* to desire assistance of count *Henry*, who, raising forces, marched directly to *Lamego*, which, having taken, he restored to that prince, who, fearing in the count's absence his subjects would again revolt, desired him to leave some *Portuguese* to secure the country, which was done accordingly; and the place peopled with inhabitants brought from the province betwixt the rivers *Douro* and *Minho*; that is, old *Galician* Christians, upon whose valour, as well as fidelity, the count Don *Henry* might absolutely depend ^z.

Donna Theresa after her father's death assumes the title of queen, but not of Castile or Leon.

THERE are some writers who assert that count *Henry* being chosen general of the forces that went from *Spain*, made a voyage to the *Holy Land*; and, after performing many glorious actions there, of which, however, there are no authentic testimonies, returned again into his own dominions. We know with greater certainty, that he was actually in *Portugal* at the time of the demise of his father-in-law, the king Don *Alonso*; and that soon after this *Aben Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, having attempted, but in vain, the reduction of *Toledo* and *Madrid*, fell into the territories of *Portugal*, and after defeating such forces as those who commanded on the frontiers could draw together, made himself master of *Santaren*, and several other places in the neighbourhood ^a. The reason that count *Henry* did not act in person against the *Moors* was, his being wholly taken up with the disputes in *Galicia*, about the tuition of the young prince *Alonso Raymond*, whom the people of that country had proclaimed their king, and the civil war that was broke out betwixt Donna *Urraca*, queen of *Castile* and *Leon*, and her husband Don *Alonso*, king of *Navarre*: the *Portuguese* writers give us very indistinct and improbable accounts of his conduct ^b. Some of them say, that his consort took the title of queen of *Castile* and *Leon*, as being the eldest daughter of the deceased king, and born in lawful wedlock. She might possibly take the title of queen, because, through the courtesy of those times, the daughters of kings were commonly so stiled after their father's decease; but for her entering into any competition with her sister, it seems to be mere fable, or rather calumny, without any foundation, and as to which the most ancient writers are entirely silent ^c.

1109.

The death of Henry count of Portugal, and his character.

1112.

ON the other hand it is very certain, that her husband, who never took any higher title than that of count of *Portugal*, assisted queen *Urraca* with all his forces, and this at a very critical conjuncture, when she was on the very point of being despoiled of her dominions by the king her husband, whom Don *Henry* forced to raise the siege of *Astorga*, in the kingdom of *Leon*; and entering into this city, after he had thus happily relieved it, he was seized with a grievous distemper, of which he soon after died ^d. His son Don *Alonso*, who was with him in the army, as some writers say, though that is certainly false, caused his body to be removed from *Astorga* to the cathedral church of *Braga*, in his own territories, where it was with great solemnity interred. *Diego de Souza*, who was archbishop in 1513, caused his corpse to be transferred from the place where it was first buried into a chapel, where he had erected a splendid tomb to his memory, with an inscription full of mistakes as to his country, his family, and his actions ^e. The *Portuguese* writers, who made him, some sixty-seven, some seventy-seven years of age, are certainly mistaken, for the reasons we have assigned in their proper places. He was a generous, wise, and gallant prince; defeated the *Moors* in seventeen engagements, governed his dominions with equal prudence and justice, and is said to have recommended three things to his successor in his last moments, or rather to have couched these instructions in his testament; *first*, that he should be zealous in promoting and protecting the Christian faith; *secondly*, that he should treat his subjects as if they were his children, and be very careful in enacting equal and good laws; *lastly*, that he

^x FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, LA CLEDE.

MAYERNE TURQUET.

^z BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA.

LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

TUDENS Chron. MARIANA, FERRERAS.

de Portugal, par LE NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, BRANDAN, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^y FARIA Y SOUSA Chron. var. antiq. MARIANA,

^a Histoire generale de Portugal, par

^b RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. LUC.

^c FARIA Y SOUSA Chron. var. antiq.

^d Histoire general

^e E.

NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal.

should

a should attend himself to their execution, and be more especially vigilant to prevent the powerful and the rich from oppressing their weak and indigent neighbours, since the strength of a government consisted in securing and preserving to its subjects the means of subsisting their families comfortably, and in preventing any from becoming so great as to despise, or so poor as to violate, the laws through mere necessity^f. At the very time we are writing this, his most faithful majesty of *Portugal* is soliciting at *Rome* the canonization of this prince, of whom we have been speaking, which shews how grateful a sense the people of *Portugal* still retain of the benefits resulting from his administration.

According to the best memoirs, rectified by the comparison and concurrence of events, which are the only certain guides in history, Don *Alonso*, the apparent heir of *Portugal*, was at the time of his father's decease barely entered into the third year of his age: his dominions therefore were governed by his mother queen *Theresa*, and this by a kind of mixed and undistinguished right of dowager of the deceased count, mother of the young prince, and proprietary, as she conceived herself, of this sovereignty as the gift of her father^g. In the administration of public affairs she was assisted by Don *Ferdinand Perez de Traba*, the son of that famous Don *Pedro*, who was governor and protector of the young Don *Alonso Raymond*, king of *Galicia*, son to queen *Urraca*, and nephew to queen *Theresa*, both these princes, *Alonso Raymond*, and *Alonso Enriquez*, being the grandsons of Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon* and *Castile*. The great capacities and moderate dispositions of these two able ministers; Don *Pedro* and Don *Ferdinand*, preserved both countries from feeling, at least in an extreme degree, those inconveniencies that usually attend long minorities and the reign of women^h. In *Portugal* more especially this calm continued for nine years, during which there happened nothing so remarkable as to deserve a place in history, except that the queen, by the advice of her minister, took great care of the frontier, and caused the strong fortrefs of *Souria* to be erected, in order to cover the city of *Coimbra* from the incursions of the *Moors*; which precaution had so happy an effect, that in all this space of time we hear of no attempt made by this busy and martial nation to disturb the peace of the *Portuguese*; though at the same time it must be allowed, that this might be in some measure owing to their being divided into a multitude of little principalities, none of them equal in point of extent or power to that of *Portugal*: so that they were not able to make a war on that side with any probability of success, but by the help of a confederacy; and their chiefs were so seldom upon good terms with each other, that, unless insulted by the power of the Christians, this was not easily formedⁱ.

The tranquillity which both nations enjoyed was disturbed by animosities between the two sisters. Queen *Theresa* insisted, that some part of *Galicia* belonged to her in virtue of her father's grants, or of his last will; and thereupon seized *Tuy*, an episcopal see and a place of some consequence. Queen *Urraca*, when her affairs were brought into some order, determined to recover what she thought was usurped from her, and having assembled a numerous army, went in person into *Galicia*: upon which queen *Theresa* quitted *Tuy*, and being much inferior to her sister in forces, passed the river *Minho*, took shelter in one of her own fortresses, and caused her army to be encamped round it^k. The archbishop of *Compostella*, who had vigorously assisted queen *Urraca*, and without whose assistance she could do nothing, believing she had now done enough, and that her troops might be much better employed than against her sister, demanded leave to retire with his vassals whom he had brought to her assistance. *Urraca*, provoked at this, and recollecting that he had formerly opposed her will, resolved to secure his person; of which queen *Theresa* gaining intelligence, gave that prelate timely notice; but he, either suspecting the intelligence, or being willing rather to suffer than to desert his prince, accompanied queen *Urraca* in her retreat; who, as soon as she had him in her power, seized and put him in prison; which act of violence having excited a general insurrection, delivered the *Portuguese* from their apprehensions^l. The queen Donna *Theresa*, either suspecting the inclinations of Don *Pelagio*, archbishop of *Braga* or offended at his not having espoused her cause so warmly as she expected against her sister, seized and threw him into prison; from which however he was quickly delivered by the Pope's bull, threatening her and her subjects with an interdict, in case he was not discharged: and this seems to have been the first signal cause of offence which the queen gave to her subjects. The death of her sister *Urraca* seemed favourable in some respects to her interest, or at least it appeared so, more especially when her nephew Don *Alonso Raymond* seemed to court her friendship; and in order thereto had an interview with her, in which all differences between their sovereignties were amicably determined^m. But not long after this, that young prince, finding himself obliged to march the whole strength of his dominions against his father-in-law the king of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, queen *Theresa* took this opportunity to cause a body of her forces

Queen Theresa governs this country during the minority of her son Don Alonso.

Her disputes with her sister Donna Urraca, and her nephew Don Alonso Raymond.

A. D. 1126.

^f FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET. antiq. MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^g BRANDAN, LA NEUFVILLE.

^h Chron. var.

LA CLEDE.

^k FARIA Y SOUSA, BRANDAN.

Chron. FERRERAS.

^l RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Espan. Luc. Tadenf.

^m Histoire generale de Portugal, par LA NEUFVILLE.

to repass the *Minho* and to re-possess themselves of *Tuy*; which, however, did not long remain in her hands, Don *Alonso* king of *Leon*, returning with a superior army into *Galicia*, upon which the *Portuguese* thought proper to quit their new conquest, and to secure themselves by a timely retreat ^a.

*Causes of Don
Alonso Enri-
quez's differ-
ence with his
mother queen
Theresa.*

DON *Alonso Enriquez*, whom his father count *Henry* had intrusted to the care of *Egas Munitz*, received from him an excellent education; and that he might discover to the people that he meant to follow the footsteps of his father, he went, according to the custom of those times, to the church of *Zamora*; and, after going through the usual ceremonies, received there the honour of knighthood ^o. Five years were almost elapsed since that time, and some of the *Portuguese* nobility, who either envied Don *Ferdinand Perez*, stiled by some writers count of *Trastemara*, or were really offended with the reports that were spread of his familiarity with the queen, and intention to marry her, and take the title of count of *Portugal*, persuaded Don *Alonso*, who was now near eighteen, to vindicate his own rights, and to let the people see that he would not tamely submit to such a violation of them. There needed not many arguments to persuade a young prince that he has either a claim or capacity to govern, more especially one whose title was so well founded in both respects as that of Don *Alonso*. He closed therefore immediately with the proposition that was made, assumed the sovereign authority, and was, generally speaking, cheerfully obeyed ^p. The queen his mother, however, had not governed so long without having a considerable party in her interests, who were ready to espouse them with their swords. Some, indeed most, writers say, that the queen advancing with her army towards *Guimaraez*, the king, without waiting till his governor joined him, engaged them, and was routed; but that afterwards the remains of his army being joined by the troops under the command of *Egas Munitz*, engaged the army of the queen a second time, and gained a complete victory. They farther assert, that the queen being made prisoner by her son, secretly implored the assistance and protection of her nephew Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon*; who, marching to her assistance, Don *Alonso Enriquez* gave him battle in the plain of *Valdiviez*, and after an obstinate engagement, in which the king himself received two wounds, and seven counts were made prisoners, totally defeated his army: from which the flat country where this battle was fought received the name of *Matanca*, that is, the *Butchery*. They then proceed to tell us, that the king of *Leon*, in revenge of this affront, having raised a more potent army than before, came and besieged Don *Alonso* in his capital city of *Guimaraez*, where he must certainly have been taken prisoner, if his tutor *Egas Munitz* had not gone privately to the king of *Leon*, and in his master's name concluded a treaty, by which he promised to do him homage; and upon this the king of *Leon* retired. Lastly they say, that Don *Alonso Enriquez* disavowing this treaty, and refusing to do homage when summoned, *Egas Munitz* presented himself before the king of *Leon* with a halter about his neck, to shew he was ready to suffer the penalty of having deluded that monarch by an engagement it was not in his power to perform. The king, however, admiring his loyalty and fidelity, dismissed him, not only unhurt, but with many commendations. All this is very pleasant and entertaining, but we see no sufficient reason to affirm, that there is one syllable of it true; but, on the contrary, the decision of this quarrel between the mother and the son happened in quite a different manner. The nobility about Don *Alonso* persuaded him to give battle to the queen's forces, which he did, and gained a signal and complete victory ^q. Queen *Theresa*, after her defeat, retired into the castle of *Legonaso*, and as for Don *Ferdinand Perez*, he retired with his brother, whom the scandal of those times had reported to have been the queen's first favourite, into *Galicia*. Instead of pursuing them, Don *Alonso* invested the fortrefs in which his mother had taken refuge, and having obliged her to surrender, caused her to be kept in prison during the remainder of her life, with chains upon her legs ^r; which some say she bore very impatiently, and uttered grievous execrations against her son, on account of this ill usage. We are farther told, that she procured the Pope to interpose in her favour, so far as to send a cardinal legate into *Portugal*, who put the count Don *Alonso* and his dominions under an interdict; but with such privacy, that he was in hopes it would not have reached that prince's ears till he was out of his territories. In this he was mistaken; Don *Alonso* had timely intelligence, followed him, and clapping a sword to his breast, compelled the cardinal to absolve him, and to take off the interdict; and then bid him assure the Pope, that he should find him always an obedient son of the church, while he acted towards him with the affection of a spiritual father. It happens unluckily, that, for the sake of accuracy, the name of this Pope is mentioned, and said to be *Eugenius III.* instead of *Innocent II.* who then occupied the chair of St. *Peter*, and whose circumstances were such, that, if he had been ever so well inclined, he durst not have taken a step of this nature. Upon the whole it is most probable, that Don *Alonso*,

*He defeats her
forces, assumes
the govern-
ment, and
imprisons his
mother.*

^a FARIA Y SOUSA, RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.
^o BRANDAN, E. NUNEZ, ANT. PAEZ DE VIEGAS Principios del Reyno de Portugal, LA CLEDE. ^p Hist.
generale de Portugal, par LA NEUFVILLE, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^q BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA, MA-
RIANA, FERRERAS. ^r MAYERNE TURQUET.

a being well acquainted with the queen's violent temper, judged it expedient to keep her under a gentle restraint, to prevent fresh troubles, till the time of her demise, which happened in somewhat less than two years, upon the first of *November*¹, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and thirty.

Don *Alonso*, count of *Portugal*, having now the full and free possession of his dominions, repulsed with great loss a *Moorish* prince, who, thinking to take advantage of their domestic troubles, had made an inroad, and taken the town of *Francofa*, which, though not without difficulty, Don *Alonso* recovered, and having again defeated the infidels, who attacked him in his return to his capital, he entered *Guimaraez* in triumph, and caused the trophies of his victories to be placed in the principal church. He was very desirous of recovering the places

Makes several attempts in order to recover what his mother held in Galicia.

b the queen his mother had formerly possessed in *Galicia*, and, under pretence of prosecuting his quarrel against Don *Ferdinand Perez*, he made more than one irruption into that country; but with no great success. At length an opportunity offered that seemed to flatter his hopes. Don *Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, being jealous of the great power of Don *Alonso* king of *Leon* and *Castile*, who assumed the title of emperor of the *Spains*, proposed a league to Don *Alonso Enriquez*, for their mutual advantage. This tempted him to invade *Galicia* a third time with better success than before, since he defeated those who opposed him, and took and fortified several places; but the return of the emperor with a superior army constrained him to abandon his enterprize, together with his new conquests, in order to retire into his own dominions².

A. D. 1132.

c THESE disappointments, together with the news of an irruption of the *Moors* into his own country, engaged this young prince to drop his animosity against the emperor, which proceeded chiefly from his considering him in quality of count of *Portugal* as his vassal, and turn his arms entirely on that side where a *Moorish* king had actually besieged *Coimbra*. His force was so much superior to that of Don *Alonso*, as afforded him little hopes of raising the siege; but the plague, breaking out in the *Moorish* army, destroyed such numbers as enabled him to constrain them to retire: after which he took *Leyria*, which he gave to the monks of the *Holy Cross* of *Coimbra*, from whom the *Moors* quickly took it: but the king not only returned and recovered it, but likewise added *Torres Novas*, *Beja*, *Serpa*, *Moura*, and *Evora*³. In all probability he would have pushed his conquests still farther, if the emperor

He makes peace with the emperor Don Alonso, and renders his dominions tributary to the pope.

d Don *Alonso* had not entered his country with a numerous army, and begun to lay it waste with fire and sword. Don *Alonso Enriquez* marched against him with all the forces he could raise, and understanding that the count Don *Ramiro*, with a great body of troops, moved at some distance from the emperor, he, by a forced march, surprised and routed him with great slaughter. This, however, did not hinder the emperor from marching directly towards him; but the count being persuaded by some of the nobility about him to offer a treaty, on account of the *Moors* having invaded his territory, the peace was easily made, all places and prisoners taken on both sides being restored. The Pope's legate being very instrumental in this, the count Don *Alonso*, in a high fit of gratitude or piety, declared himself tributary for all his dominions to the holy see, and promised to pay annually in that quality four ounces of gold, as appears from his own letter on this subject to Pope *Lucius* the second⁴.

1137.

e THE progress of the *Christians* in *Portugal* being reported to *Abu-Ali-Texefin*, the miramolin, or chief monarch of the *Moors* in *Barbary*, he directed *Ismar*, whom some authors call *Ismael*, his lieutenant in *Spain*, to assemble all the forces of the southern provinces, and with them to oblige the *Christians* to repass the *Douro*. In consequence of these orders, he directed the alcaides of *Badajoz*, *Elvas*, *Evora*, and *Beja*, to assemble the troops of their respective governments; and having joined these with the forces he brought from *Barbary*, the whole army were very numerous. He was scarce in readiness to march, before he had intelligence that Don *Alonso Enriquez* had passed the river *Tayo*, and was in the neighbourhood of a place called *Castro Verda*. This appeared very favourable to the *Moorish* general, as it gave him an opportunity of drawing up his cavalry, in which his strength principally consisted, with all possible advantage, in the plains of *Ourique*; and therefore he took all possible precautions to prevent the *Christians* from repassing the river, and gaining thereby an opportunity of fighting upon more equal terms. However, Don *Alonso* had so early intelligence that he might have retired, to which he was advised by most of his generals, if he had been so disposed; but it seems he declared himself of a contrary opinion. He judged that such a retreat would discredit his arms; and that such a multitude of *Moors* breaking into his dominions might render it impracticable for him to reinforce his fatigued army, so as to be in a better condition to fight than he was at this time, and his soldiers shewing great alacrity, his generals came over to his opinion, and it was determined to wait and receive the

Ismar lieutenant to the miramolin, invades Portugal with a prodigious army.

1139.

¹ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, BRANDAN, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS. Tolet. LUC. TUDENSI. LE CLEDE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. LE CLEDE.

² FARIA Y SOUSA, RODERIC ³ FARIA Y SOUSA,

⁴ BALUZ Miscellanea, tom. ii. p. 320.

Infidels where they were. This resolution being taken, they chose their ground, so as to gain all that could be gained in point of situation; and having thrown up some intrenchments to cover their infantry, divided their horse into four corps, and in this position waited the attack *.

Don Alonso
Enriquez
gives him
battle with a
small body of
forces.

ISMAR divided the *Moorish* cavalry into twelve corps; and making sure of the victory, was chiefly intent upon disposing them in such a manner as to cut off all possibility of retreat, and hinder, if it might be done, so much as a single man from making his escape. By thus enlarging his front, he lost, in a great measure, the weight which his superiority might have given him. The *Portuguese* infantry, being attacked in their intrenchments, made so gallant a defence, that the enemy could not force them; and their flanks being covered with morasses, the *Moorish* cavalry, destined to prevent their escape, were of no use. At length the *Moors*, fatigued by repeated and ineffectual assaults, began to fall into confusion, which as soon as the *Portuguese* infantry perceived, they sallied from their intrenchments, and attacked them in their turn with great fury. Don *Alonso* seconded them with his cavalry, and after a bloody and obstinate dispute, which lasted six hours, the *Moors* were totally routed with prodigious slaughter, the nephew of *Ismar*, who had commanded the attack, and the four alcaides already mentioned, being killed upon the spot †. Amongst the almost innumerable prisoners that were taken, were upwards of a thousand Christians, of those stiled *Mozarabians*, whom, at the request of *Theotonus*, prior of the Holy Cross, Don *Alonso* set at liberty, with their wives and children, and procured them establishments in his territories. This glorious victory, which was indubitably the foundation of the *Portuguese* monarchy, was gained upon the twenty-fifth of *July*; and the anniversary thereof has ever since been celebrated to preserve the memory of so signal a favour vouchsafed to the Christian arms by the blessing of Divine Providence ‡.

Many fabulous
and absurd ac-
counts of the
victory in the
plains of
Ourique.

THIS is as clear and as concise an account, as, from the comparison of different authors, we were able to get; but at the same time we must confess, that we have omitted numberless extraordinary circumstances, related with great confidence by the *Portuguese* writers. *Ismael*, they say, was king of *Badajoz*, and brought with him into the field twenty princes, his vassals, of whom four were in great consideration, in comparison of the other sixteen; who, notwithstanding, had each his corps of troops, so that the whole army amounted to three hundred thousand, according to the most moderate computation; others say, to four hundred and eighty thousand; and some swell them to six hundred thousand: whereas the army of Don *Alonso* is agreed on all sides, not to have exceeded thirteen thousand. They tell us likewise, that, two days before the battle, their prince, being in no small perplexity, sat down to comfort and compose his mind, by the perusal of the Holy Scriptures; and that having read the story of *Gideon*, he sunk presently into a deep sleep, in which he saw a very old man, in a very remarkable dress, come into his tent and assure him of victory. His chamberlain waking him, told him there was an old man who was very importunate to speak with him. Don *Alonso* ordered him to be brought in, and no sooner saw him, than he knew him to be the old man of whom he had been dreaming. This person acquainted him that he was a fisherman, and had led a life of penance for sixty years on an adjacent rock, where it had been revealed to him, that if the count marched his army the next morning, as soon as he heard a certain bell ring, he should receive the strongest assurances of victory. Accordingly, at the ringing of the bell the count put his army in motion, and suddenly beheld in the east quarter of the sky the figure of the Cross, and Christ upon it, who promised him a complete victory, and commanded him to accept the title of king if it was offered him by the army. Soon after, his forces, being disposed in order of battle, suddenly shouted for joy, and cried out, Long live Don *Alonso Enriquez*, king of *Portugal*: they add, that, as a standing memorial of this miraculous event, Don *Alonso* changed the arms which his father had given of a cross azure in a field argent, for five escutcheons, each charged with five bezants, in memory of the wounds of Christ; while others allege, that he gave in a field argent five escutcheons azure, in the form of a cross, each charged with five bezants argent, placed salterwise, with a point sable, in memory of five wounds himself received, and of the five *Moorish* kings slain upon the spot, the name of the place also being changed into *Cabeças de Reies*, i. e. the Heads of the Kings, in order to add a new testimony to the truth of this event. The most irrefragable evidence however of all these wonders, is a charter of the king Don *Alonso*, the first dated in 1142, in which the story of the vision is related upon oath. The *Spanish* critics, notwithstanding, have discovered many inconsistencies in this piece; they find the language intermixed with phrases not then in use: it bears the date of the year of our Lord when that æra had not been heard of in *Spain*; and *John*, bishop of *Coimbra*, signs as a witness before *John*,

* FARIA Y SOUSA.

FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.

† Chron. var. antiq. BRANDAN, GARIBAY, MARIANA, VASCONCELLOS,

‡ MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS, FARIA Y SOUSA,

LE CLEDE.

a metropolitan of *Braja*, which is against the rules ^a. Upon the whole, all these wonderful circumstances may, without any great fear of violating the regard due to veracity, be considered as so many inventions, by which, instead of adding to the honour of their prince, and of their country, they have really obscured it in a very high degree: nor should we have taken so much pains upon this occasion, if it had not been to have furnished the judicious reader with a sufficient apology for dropping such romantic particulars upon many other occasions.

THERE is, however, under this mass of fable and superstition, a very important matter of fact concealed, which is incontestably true; and that is, the proclaiming Don *Alonso* king in the plains of *Ourique*, immediately after this victory ^b; and it is to heighten and adorn this fact, so as to cut off all pretensions of homage to the crown of *Spain*, that so many wonders have been fabricated upon his assuming it. It must, notwithstanding, be owned, that it is much more probable that the regal title was given him after the battle than before, though the point is not in itself of any great consequence. We shall see hereafter, that even in these rough times, when things are fairly and truly represented, mankind were not so ignorant and barbarous as to suffer a change in government to be made without any further ceremony than a tumultuous huzza: for though it be true that Don *Alonso* was stiled king, from the very day in which this victory was gained; yet the essentials of the regal dignity, together with the form and constitution of the monarchy, were not settled till some years after; and then in such a manner as will plainly shew, that Don *Alonso Enriquez* was a very wise and judicious prince, who knew very well what he was doing, and how to conciliate, what it is so difficult to bring into a state of true harmony, the vigour of monarchical authority, with a just claim to liberty in the subject. There was therefore the less need to bestow so much false colouring, and disagreeable daubing, to set off a character so bright in itself, and which will appear so to every critical enquirer, in spite of these officious attempts to magnify, which prove in the end rather endeavours to lessen the reputation of him who founded this kingdom; with which remarkable point of fact we are to conclude this section, and in the next to resume the history of the monarchy, under the long reign of this prudent and victorious prince and his immediate successors.

Don Alonso Enriquez stiled king of Portugal.

^a Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, BRANDAN, GARIBAY, VASCONCELLOS, E. NUNEZ, DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, GASPAR ESTACO varias antiquidades de Portugal, Histoire generale de Portugal, par M. DE LA CLEDE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERR.

^b Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, GARIBAY, DAMIEN DE GOES, BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA.

S E C T. II.

The history of Portugal, under the reigns of Don Alonso I. Don Sancho I. Don Alonso II. and Don Sancho II.

d THE defeat which the king of *Portugal* had given the *Moors*, opened him a free passage for his return into what might be properly stiled his own territories. This battle was fought on the frontiers of *Algarve*, and the rivulets are said to have carried their waters deeply stained with blood into the *Guadiana*, where Don *Alonso* was not as yet the peaceable possessor of all the countries north of the *Tago*. He judged it therefore convenient to repass that river as soon as he could do it with safety, disposed his army into quarters about *Coimbra*, and dispersed the captives he had made through the interior places in his dominions ^a. Don *Raymond*, count of *Barcelona*, and regent and possessor in right of his wife, of the kingdom of *Arragon*, having proposed a league to Don *Alonso* against the emperor, his jealousy of that potent prince induced him to accept this offer. In pursuance of his engagements, though he had always hitherto been unsuccessful in that country, he entered *Galicia* with a great force, while Don *Raymond* fell upon the emperor's dominions on the other. The scheme of these two princes was well laid, yet neither of them succeeded; as for Don *Alonso* he met with a severe check in his expedition into *Galicia*, where, in a smart engagement, he received a dangerous wound in the loins from the son of count *Ferdinand Gomez*, governor of that province for the emperor, and at the same time some of the nobility who attended him were taken prisoners. This misfortune, together with the news that the *Moors* had invaded his territories, induced him to retire; and though he did this without loss of time, yet he did not arrive early enough to prevent the infidels from taking the fortress of *Leyria*, the gar-

The king Don Alonso makes war on the Christians and Moors, with various success

A. D. 1740

^a BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

rison of which they put to the sword, and afterwards demolished the place, which affected a him with no small concern ^b.

Renders him-
self master by
surprize of the
important post
of Santaren.
A. D. 1143.

1144.

1145.

Causes his
titles to be re-
cognized, and
the constitution
settled, by an
assembly of the
states.

In order to repair this mischief, the king took the field with a good army, and while his troops were employed in slight excursions, he caused the fortress of *Leyria* to be rebuilt, and rendered stronger than it was before, into which he put a numerous garrison: but it does not appear he undertook any thing farther this campaign ^c. The next year the *Moors* invaded his dominions with a very great army, defeated his generals, and carried a considerable number of his subjects into slavery. We have no account where the king was at this time; but it is very certain that he did not renew the war against the emperor, as being perhaps convinced that it served only to give advantage to their common enemy, and to waste his own forces, who fought unwillingly against their neighbours ^d. It seems also, that he was embarked in a negotiation at *Rome*, where he was very desirous of getting his new title confirmed, having already meditated another step of importance, as soon as the bulls should be received. In the mean time coming to *Coimbra*, and having a good number of his nobility and forces about him, he formed a project for attacking *Santaren*, which is about twelve miles from *Lisbon*, a large place, well fortified, according to the manner of those times, and provided with a numerous garrison. Upon close examination, he saw there was little hopes of succeeding by a regular siege, as the *Moors* would have time enough before he could take the place to assemble an army for its relief. He determined therefore to attempt it by surprise, and was lucky enough to succeed in that undertaking, at which he assisted in person. This was a conquest of very great consequence, inasmuch as it procured him a considerable tract of country, covered his frontier, and at the same time restored to their liberty a multitude of his subjects, who were prisoners in the place ^e.

THIS glorious success encouraged him to execute without delay a project he had very much at heart. He called an assembly of the states of his dominions at *Lamego*, which consisted of the prelates, nobility, and commons. At the opening of this assembly he appeared seated on the throne, but without any marks of his regal dignity: then *Laurence de Viegas* demanded of the assembly, whether, in consequence of the election in the plains of *Ourique*, and the briefs of pope *Eugenius* the third, they were content to have Don *Alonso Enriquez* for their king? To which they answered they were content. He then demanded, if they desired he should continue king only during his life, or that his dignity should remain to his family? ^d They declared their intention to be, that the crown should descend to his heirs male. "This being your intention, added *Laurence de Viegas*, is it your pleasure that he be invested with the ensigns of royalty?" The people having answered in the affirmative, the archbishop of *Braga* placed the crown upon his head, the king having his sword drawn in his hand. Then turning to the assembly, he said, "Blessed be God, who has always assisted me, and has enabled me to deliver you from the hands of all your enemies with this sword, which I shall ever wear for your defence. You have made me a king, and it is but just that you should share with me in taking care of the state. I am your king, and as such let us make laws proper to secure the tranquility of this kingdom." The people having assented, the king consulted with the prelates and nobility, and having framed eighteen short statutes, they were assented to by the people. At length *Laurence de Viegas* proposed the great question, whether it was their pleasure the king should go to *Leon*, do homage, and pay tribute to that prince, or to any other? Upon which every man drawing his sword, cried with a loud voice, *We are free, and our king is free, and we owe our liberty to our courage, and if he shall at any time submit to such an act, he deserves death, and shall not reign either over us, or amongst us.* King *Alonso* rising up, approved this declaration, and declared, that if any of his descendants consented to such a submission, he was unworthy to succeed him, and should be reputed incapable of wearing the crown. The people in their turn having approved the king's declaration, the assembly was dissolved ^f (A).

THE

^b Chron. var. antiq. Cronica del Emperador de España Don Alonso, sacada de un libro antiguo y de muchas Escrituras por PRUD DE SANDOVAL, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQU. MARIANA, FERR. ^c BRANDAN, GARIBAY, MAYERNE TURQUET, LE CLEDE. ^d BRANDAN, FERRERAS. ^e FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. ^f Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUVILLE, BRANDAN, E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, G. SPAR ESTACO, GARIBAY, DAMIEN DE GOES, VASCONCELLOS, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MAYERNE TURQUET.

(A) It will be of considerable use in the reading the remaining part of this history, and it cannot but afford satisfaction to the reader, to be acquainted with some of the principal points established by these constitutional laws. By the third it is provided, that if the king died without heirs male, his brother shall succeed him, but shall only reign for his life, unless the here-

ditary right be fixed in his family by a new election. By the fifth, the infantas of *Portugal* are called to the succession, in case the male line of the Royal Family fail; but upon condition, that the heiress of the crown marry a nobleman of *Portugal*, who is not to bear the title of king, till after the queen is delivered of an heir male. In all public places he is to walk on the left

- a THE next year the king, very probably by the advice of the nobility and clergy of his realm, judged it expedient to marry, and made choice of the princess *Mafalda*, or *Matbilda*, daughter to *Amadeus* count of *Maurienne* and *Savoy*, which marriage was celebrated with suitable magnificence, and to the general joy and satisfaction of his subjects^s. When this solemnity was over, he spent some time in visiting the several provinces of his dominions, giving directions for rebuilding such places as, either through time or the rage of war, had been brought to decay, and resettling episcopal sees in such places as were known to have enjoyed that honour in the time of the *Goths*; and at this season, in all probability, he made a vow of building a noble monastery for monks of the *Cistercian* order, in case Providence blessed him with success in the great enterprize then in his mind. This was the recovery of *Lisbon* out of the hands of the *Moors*, and it is said, that he invested it with a powerful army: but it is probable the reader will scarce credit this, when he hears the place was defended by a garrison of two hundred thousand men. It is a strange thing that men of parts and learning will disfigure their histories, not only with improbabilities but impossibilities, and put it thereby out of the power of those who came after them to do that justice to the courage and conduct of their ancestors, to which they are sincerely inclined. All we can collect from their relations, amounts to no more than this; that the king undertook this siege with a small army, and that he was able to make but little progress in it, partly from the strength of the place, and partly from the numerous garrison that was in it. At length, very fortunately for *Don Alonso*, a fleet of adventurers, *French*, *English*, *Germans*, and *Flemings*, that were going to the *Holy Land*, anchored at the mouth of the river *Tagus*, whose assistance he demanded, as not altogether foreign to their purpose of making war upon the infidels, and his request was readily granted. Here again we are oppressed with absurdities and impossibilities; for, exclusive of a king of *Denmark*, a duke of *Burgundy*, and other princes whom we cannot find out, we are assured that the fleet and army was commanded by *William Longsword*, duke of *Normandy*, who flourished only two hundred years before this event happened. But whoever these adventurers were, or whoever commanded them, it was by their help that king *Alonso* took the place, and having gratified them out of the plunder, they departed well satisfied^b. This conquest so raised this monarch's reputation, and brought such numbers to recruit his victorious army, that before he quitted the field he added *Mafra*, *Almada*, *Palmela*, *Cintra*, *Obidos*, *Trancofo*, *Alenquez*, *Serpa*, *Beja*, *Elvas*, *Coruche*, and *Cezimbra*, to his dominions^c (B).
- b By the assistance of the *Crosses* he reduces the city and haven of *Lisbon*.
- c A.D. 1147.

THE

^s Chron. var. antiq. ^b FR. BOSQUETUS, ROBERT DU MONT, ROGER in Steph. JOHAN. BROMTON, NIC. TRIVET, HELMOD. Chron. lib. i. cap. lx. FARIA Y SOUSA, Histoire generale de Portugal, par LE CLEDE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. ^c Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

est hand of the queen, and is not permitted to set the crown upon his head. The sixth runs in the king's name, and in these words. "This last law shall be always observed, and the eldest daughter of the king shall never espouse any other than a *Portuguese* nobleman, that foreign princes may never become masters of this kingdom. If the daughter of the king espouse a prince, or a lord, who is a foreigner by birth, she shall never be acknowledged for queen, because we will not that our people should be obliged to obey a king who is not born a *Portuguese*, because they are our countrymen as well as our subjects, who, without the assistance of strangers, and who, by their own valour, and at the expence of their own blood, have made us their king." By the ninth it is declared, that all of the blood royal, and their descendents, shall be considered as princes. The *Portuguese*, who have fought for the person of the king, for his son, for his son-in-law, or in defence of the standard-royal, shall be reputed noble; but the descendents of *Moors*, the sons of *Jews*, or the children of Infidels, shall not aspire to nobility. If a *Portuguese* is made prisoner of war by the Infidels, and dies without changing his religion in captivity, his children shall be noble; he who has killed the king of an enemy, his son, or who gains a royal-standard, shall *ipso facto*, become noble: the ancient nobility shall be always esteemed as such; and all who bore arms in the glorious battle of *Ourique* shall be reputed noble, and the ancient vassals of the crown. In the tenth are set down the causes for which nobility shall be forfeited;

such as, cowardice, treason, striking a woman, perjury, deceiving or concealing truth from the king, blasphemy, robbery, deserting to the *Moors*. Theft was to be punished the first time by sitting in the pillory, the second by being marked in the forehead, for the third offence the thief might be condemn'd to death, but not executed without the king's special command. In case of adultery, the law is very singular, for upon due proof both the guilty persons are to be burnt; but if the husband will forgive his wife he may, and in that case the law pardons the man also. Murder is to be punished with death; as also the rape of a woman noble by birth, who is also to be entitled to the estate of the ravisher. The ravisher of a woman who is not noble, is by the law obliged to marry her, let the difference in point of rank or riches be what they will.

(B) The conquest of *Lisbon* was the most remarkable event of this reign, and it would require some sheets to discuss all the particulars that relate to it, more especially who those strangers were that so seasonably assisted *Don Alonso Enriquez* in the reduction of it. All historians agree, that the *English* made up a great part of them. The town of *Villa-Franta* was peopled by them, and they called it *Cornualla*, either in honour of the country from whence they came, or, which seems to be more probable, from the rich meadows in its neighbourhood, where prodigious herds of cattle are kept, as in the *English Cornwall*. *Almada*, on the other side the *Tagus* over against *Lisbon*, was also peopled by them; and the king also gave them a great part of the country in property (1). With respect to

(1) *Tour through Spain and Portugal, by Udal ap Rhys, p. 273, 230, 281.*

Governs his
dominions
with great
prudence, dili-
gence, and
prosperity.
A. D. 1148.

THE king, knowing that the glory of a monarch arises no less from the glory of knowing ^a how to keep, than how to acquire, very wisely applied himself to put all the places he had lately conquered into repair, and to provide as far as possible for their protection and preservation. Amongst other cares of this sort, he restored the episcopal see of *Lisbon*, and appointed Don Gilbert, an *English* divine, whom he had prevailed upon to stay with him instead of going to the *Holy Land*, the first bishop of that see ^k. He also founded in the pleasant town of *Alcobaco*, so called from its standing between the two rivers *Alcoa* and *Baca*, in pursuance of his vow, a royal convent, which was amply endowed, and which he intended for the burial place of the kings of *Portugal*. He prosecuted the war against the infidels without relaxation; and sent an ambassador to *Rome* to support his cause against the emperor, as well as that of the archbishop of *Braga*, with whom the archbishop of *Toledo* had a long suit about the primacy ^l. ^b Many years after, that we may put an end to this subject, Don *Alonso* procured a bull from Pope *Alexander* the third for the confirmation of his regal dignity: all steps of this kind being directed to the same end, which was freeing his country from all vassalage to the crown of *Leon*, on account of part of it being formerly annexed to the government of *Galicia*. If the reader is desirous of knowing how the Popes came by a power of bestowing kingdoms, all we can say is, that from the time of Pope *Gregory* the seventh, they assumed a power of bestowing all countries in the hands of infidels; asserting that, when they were recovered, they belonged of right to the holy see. It is, however, highly probable, that so wise a prince as Don *Alonso* was not at all the dupe of this strange notion; but very prudently made use of the Pope's authority against the claim of the kings of *Leon*, as believing that their ^c bulls was a cheaper and more effectual way of supporting this claim to independency than armies: for it does not appear, that the tribute stipulated to the pontiffs was ever regularly paid them; and, in process of time, the kings of *Portugal*, as well as other princes, distinguished between the spiritual and temporal power, allowing the former to be in the Pope, but asserting the latter to belong to themselves, without account to any, save God and their subjects ^m.

Enlarges his
territories,
restores decayed
cities, and im-
proves his do-
minions, &c.

It would be of little consequence to the reader, supposing it was practicable, as indeed it is not, to have an exact detail of all the expeditions made by the king Don *Alonso* into the territories of the *Moors*; and on the other side, the history of their excursions into the dominions of *Portugal*, in which the same places were taken and retaken almost every year, ^d with singular and extraordinary circumstances. We will content ourselves then with saying, that having with great courage and indefatigable diligence cleared the province of *Estremadura* and *Beira* from infidels, he became entirely master of four of the six provinces that compose the kingdom of *Portugal*, and raised the reputation of his arms to a very high degree, in an age when courage was most respected, and in a country where the most authentic proofs of it were given by as brave and gallant commanders as any history have recorded. In saying this, we by no means intend to exclude the *Moors*, who certainly defended their country with great spirit and resolution, as appears by the length of time it required to drive them out of those conquests which they originally obtained almost within the compass of a single year. We must also assert, though the *Portuguese* historians furnish us with but slender proofs upon ^e this head, that he was no less provident in peopling and improving, than enterprizing in the

^k FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, LE CLEDE.
Don Alonso, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET.
MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^l Chron. var. antiq. Cronica del Emperador de Espana,
^m FARIA Y SOUSA, BRANDAN, LE CLEDE,

Lisbon, it was the most considerable conquest he could have made, as it put into his hands a most noble port, and secured to him the possession of the whole province of *Estremadura*; of which we will first give a succinct account, and then add a few remarkable heads in respect to this city. This country is divided into two unequal parts by the river *Tagus*: it is bounded on the north by the province of *Beira*, on the east by that of *Alentjo*, on the south by the same province, and by the ocean, which likewise bounds it on the west. It is computed to be thirty-five leagues in length, and eighteen in breadth, and is divided into six commarcas. The soil of this province is excellent, and the climate admirable, so that pasturage, arable land, and vineyards, are equally fruitful, the prospect finely diversified, and all the towns and villages seated therein equally wholesome and pleasant (2). The city of *Lisbon* is at present distinguished in almost all the means by which a

place can be rendered famous. It is not only the capital of a province, and of the kingdom of *Portugal*, and the royal residence, but is also the seat of a patriarch, and of the first parliament in the kingdom; besides, it has one of the finest ports in *Europe*, and is, and has been always a place of very great trade. In point of situation, it is pretty irregular, as it is generally said to be built upon seven hills; but notwithstanding this, the streets are many of them very regular, and the houses very well built. It contains forty parish churches, twenty convents, and eighteen nunneries. It is fortified by an old *Moorish* wall, flanked by seventy seven towers; comprehends between thirty and forty thousand houses, and is about six miles in length, and fourteen in circumference. The air is wonderfully healthy, and the season so temperate, that people live there to a great age; and roses and other odoriferous flowers blow there all the year long (3).

(2) Merula, p. i. Geogr. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. 31. Andr. Resendius in antiq. Lusitan.
Gois Descript. Olisip. Linschot. Voyag. Delices de l'Espagne et Portugal, par D. Juan de Colmenar, p. 747.

(3) Damien

- a acquisition of territories : and on this head it may not be amiss to observe, that it was certainly one maxim of his policy to invite and allure strangers, who either came into his country on the account of trade, or, during the long progress of the holy war, put into his ports for refreshment, to remain and settle amongst his subjects ; of which, though we have but a few, and those dark and perplexed, hints in their histories, yet we have a clear and satisfactory proof in the language of the *Portuguese*, which consists of a mixture of *Spanish*, *Latin*, and *French*, with some sprinklings of other languages, which sufficiently denote their being a mixt people. Neither is this any imputation upon them, but quite the contrary ; since in those days it was not the low and vulgar, but the bravest and the best men that quitted their own countries, to signalize themselves in other climates ; and very probable the most moderate and prudent made it their choice to stay in so fine a country, and to carve out their fortunes under the protection of so generous a prince, who piqued himself upon being equally the protector of letters and armsⁿ.
- b

He was seconded in all his great and good designs by his queen *Mathilda*, a princess ^{Is very unfortunate in his} equally famous for her exquisite beauty and singular piety. She was also conspicuous ^{war against} for her great capacity, which she discovered in the management of civil affairs, when the ^{his son-in-law} protection of his subjects called the king her husband into the field. By her he had a numerous offspring, which enabled him to strengthen his interests by great alliances. His eldest ^{Don Ferdinand king of} daughter *Donna Mafalda*, or *Mathilda*, he married to *Don Alonso* king of *Arragon* ; his second, *Donna Urraca*, to *Don Ferdinand* king of *Leon*, the son of his old antagonist the emperor *Don Alonso* ; and the third, *Donna Theresa*, to *Philip* earl of *Flanders*^o. The marriage of his second daughter did not prevent him from having disputes with his son-in-law *Don Ferdinand*, who, as we have shewn in another place, had the good fortune once to make him prisoner, and the generosity and good sense to remember that he was his father-in-law, and to forget that he had been his enemy. We have also shewn, that when this misfortune befel him, he met also with another, that of breaking his leg, which, through his impatience, rendered him ever after so lame that he was unable to mount on horseback ; which the superstitions in those days ascribe to the curses of his mother, but some writers, who were perhaps better informed, give us another account of the matter. They say, that his impatience to recover his liberty, induced him to submit to the hard condition which *Don Ferdinand* imposed, of coming in person to *Leon*, there to do homage for his dominions as soon as he should be able to mount on horseback ; and that for this reason he ever afterwards affected to drive in a calash, and would never get on horseback more^p. This did not at all abate his military ardour ; for notwithstanding this inconvenience, joined to the weight of years and infirmities, his courage transported him into the field, wherever the safety or the interest of his people called him ; so that there was no relaxation in the whole course of his reign, but the same activity distinguished the latter, that had done honour to the earlier, part of his administration. It is true, that the infant *Don Sancho* was a great stay and relief to his father, whom he very much resembled in the impetuosity of his valour, and his early affection for a military life ; but as this heat perhaps made him unfortunate in his first enterprizes, so repeated checks made him more cautious, and taught him that, to be a great captain, conduct was at least as necessary as courage ; and as he derived the former from nature, so by degrees time and experience taught him the latter^q.

c

d

TOWARDS the latter end of the king's reign, an opportunity seemed to present itself, of ^{Embarked at} obtaining once for all an entire release from the disagreeable pretensions of the king of *Leon*, ^{the close of his} and this was the quarrel between that monarch and his nephew *Don Alonso* of *Castile*. The ^{reign in wars} latter sought the friendship of *Portugal*, and *Don Alonso Enriquez* closed too readily with ^{with the} Christians and the proposal. *Don Ferdinand* of *Leon* having intelligence of the measures they had concerted, ^{with the} and that the infant *Don Sancho* was advancing towards *Ciudad Rodrigo*, assembled his ^{Moors.} troops on the frontier with such diligence, that he was enabled to attack the infant very unexpectedly, and, after a very warm dispute, defeated him^r. The *Portuguese* writers are silent ^{A. D. 1178.} upon this head, though in its consequences this untoward event proved very beneficial to their country : for *Don Ferdinand* understanding that the infant, piqued at his disgrace, was recruiting his forces with great diligence, he gave him to understand, that they might be much better employed against the infidels, who, expecting the issue of this war, remained careless and unprepared. *Don Sancho* made proper use of this salutary advice ; and, after making some motions purely for amusement, made a sudden irruption into *Andalusia*, and penetrated as far as *Triana*, which is one of the suburbs of *Seville*. The *Moorish* alcaides assembled as great a force as they were able, in order to attack him on his retreat. The infant *Don Sancho*

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ⁿ Chron. var. antiq. ^o Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIN DE LA NEUFVILLE, RODERIC Tolet, de rebus Hispan. Luc. Tudent. Chron. MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. ^p FARIAS SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, LE CLEDE. ^q BRANDAN, GARIBAY, JAHN DE GOES, LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS, MAKIANA. ^r Chron. var. antiq.

having first fatigued them by the celerity of his march, at length chose a strong camp, and having given his troops some time to repose, drew them out, and offered the enemy battle; in which being victorious, he returned into *Portugal* with spoils to an immense value. The next year *Aben Jacob*, lieutenant for the miramamolin, to revenge this affront, made an irruption into *Portugal*, and besieged *Abrantes*, on the bank of the *Tayo*; but upon the infant Don *Sancho*'s advancing towards him with the troops of *Portugal* they retired. The year following the miramamolin sent both a fleet and an army out of *Barbary*, and expressly directed they should be employed in a joint expedition against *Portugal*. Don *Fuas Raupino*, who commanded on the frontier, and who had a stronger corps of troops than the *Moors* expected, posted them behind the rocks adjacent to a little castle, which *Gama*, alcaide of *Merida*, who commanded the infidels by land, must of necessity attack, and while he was busy in this service Don *Fuas* fell upon him behind, routed his forces, and sent him and his brother prisoners to the old king at *Coimbra*. After this the same gallant officer took the command of the fleet, and having routed one of the enemy's squadrons, sent nine of their gallies to *Lisbon*, and then proceeded with twenty-one sail to engage the *Moorish* fleet composed of fifty-four large gallies. This act of temerity cost them dear; for the *Moors*, having drawn his small squadron towards the center, surrounded and destroyed them, so that the sea, which had so lately furnished him with trophies, now supplied him with a tomb.

A.D. 1180.

Gains a glorious and complete victory over the latter at Santaren.

THE war was continued without any very remarkable events for the next three years; during which *Joseph* king of *Morocco*, and emperor of the *Almohades*, having transported at several times both men and military stores into *Andalusia*, at length followed in person, and having collected a prodigious army under the command of thirteen alcaides, swept all before him as far as the *Tayo*. He presented himself before *Santaren*, into which, not able to keep the field, the infant Don *Alonso* had retired, with a choice body of troops. There he sustained for the space of a week several assaults; and, notwithstanding the great superiority of the infidels, repulsed them with loss, till, as the *Spanish* writers say, he was relieved by Don *Ferdinand* king of *Leon*, and the archbishop of *Compostella*; but, as the *Portuguese* writers affirm, by his father Don *Alonso*, by whom the *Moors* being totally defeated, the miramamolin having received a wound from the hand of the infant Don *Sancho*, perished in repassing the river. There are indeed very strange variations in the different recitals we meet with even in ancient authors concerning this battle, and the princes who were present therein; for some will have the *Moorish* monarch to have perished by a fall from his horse, and others will not allow that there was any fight at all; but that the *Moorish* army, fatigued with the siege of *Santaren*, and much diminished by the losses received in their several assaults, abandoned their baggage and their camp on the approach of the Christians, and in the confusion of their precipitate retreat their miramamolin came by his death, concerning which there were various reports. This decisive stroke was given upon *Midsummer-day*; and the consternation of the infidels was so great, that they left the *Portuguese* at liberty to improve the interior part of their country, and to fortify their frontiers all the next year.

Dies with universal regret of his subjects, after a long and prosperous reign.

THIS repose was very seasonable to the good old king, who passed the time at *Coimbra*, surrounded by his nobility and prelates, with whom he concerted the properest means for preserving the territories he had gained by his arms, and the title bestowed upon him by his people, without impeachment of any kind, till, being quite worn out with cares and fatigue, he departed this life, to the great sorrow of his subjects, on the sixth of *December*, one thousand one hundred and eighty-five; having governed *Portugal*, from the time he assumed the sovereign authority, fifty-seven years, and as a king, in the forty-seventh year of his reign. Some *Portuguese* historians make him ninety-one, others ninety-three years of age; but according to our computation, which likewise agrees with the most accurate accounts, he was in the seventy-sixth year of his age at the time of his demise (C). His body was interred with

¹ Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.

BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

² ANT. VASCONCELLOS Anacephalæosis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitanie. BRANDAN. FARIA Y SOUSA, Don RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudensis Chron. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS, Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE. Histoire generale de PORTUGAL, par LE CLEDE.

³ BRANDAN, Chron. var antiq. Annal Tolet. Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, GARI-BAY, DAMIEN DE GOES, VASCONCELLOS, E. NUNEZ, GASPER ESTACO, ANT. PAES DE VIEGAS, Monarchia Lusitania, FERRERAS.

(C) In this note we pretend to assemble various particulars relating to the person, character, and private history of Don *Alonso Enriquez*. In the first place, it is reported that he was born with both his legs growing together, and that he was cured by the prayers, of his tutor *Egas Nunez* (9). One may, however,

(9) Brandan. Monarch. Lusitan. Faria y Sousa.

a. with great funeral solemnity in the church of the *Holy Cross* at *Coimbra*: and we find in the works of an esteemed historian *, a description of the funeral lamentations at the death of this monarch, which differs but very little from those that were in use not very long ago in countries now under the dominion of the crown of *Britain*. This shews that these customs were derived from a more ancient people, who, by conquest or transmigration, became possessors of all these countries.

Don *Sancho* succeeded his father in the flower of his age, being then in his thirty-first year. Don *Sancho* I. With him was seated on the throne *Dulcia*, the daughter of *Raymond* count of *Barcelona*, succeeds with and the sister of the king of *Arragon* (D). It must appear strange, that this prince, who before his accession was so extremely restless and unquiet that he was almost continually in the much reputation, and governs very wisely. b field, from the moment he was seated on the throne became a lover of peace, and began to apply himself with great vigour, to repair the cities that had suffered most by the war,

* FARIA Y SOUSA.

collected from hence, that even from his birth there was something amiss about his legs; so that there is no need of introducing a judgment, or any thing stupendous or miraculous, to account for his weakness and infirmity in his old age. According to the pictures that are preserved of him, he was of a gigantic size, not less than seven feet high; his visage long, his eyes large, black, and full of fire, his mouth wide, his complexion good, and his hair somewhat redder than his father's (1). He instituted two orders of knighthood: the first was that of the wing, because in the battle of *Santaren*, against the *Moors*, he saw a winged arm fighting near him, which he took to be that of St. *Michael*. He instituted it at the monastery of *Alcobaza*, upon his going thither for a month, after he had obtained that victory (2). The badge of this order was a scarlet wing in a field of gold, its patron St. *Michael*: the prelate of the order was the prior of *Alcobaza*, who administered the oath to the knights companions; these were the king and the principal nobility: and the principal duty was to guard and cover the king's standard whenever it was carried into the field. As the king gave no lands for the support of this foundation, though the first knights were persons of the greatest distinction in his dominions, they proved notwithstanding the last (3). In *Portugal*, as well as in *Spain*, honours, if unwatered by royal bounty, have the misfortune to be unsought. The other order was that of *Avis*; of which we shall speak more largely in another place, as it still flourishes in that kingdom with honour. It is also reported, that he received the order of St. *James* of *Compostella*, in a full assembly of the states, and by their consent (4). He was very generous to the knights templars, and to the knights of St. *John* at *Jerusalem*, and was extremely respected in quality of an accomplished knight throughout all *Europe*, which may be one probable cause of the many absurd and incredible stories that we are told of his military exploits (5). These obscure and throw into shade other parts of his character, that we have reason to wish had been better explained. The constitutions of *Lamego*, if they be, as they are generally held, authentic, do not speak his times so barbarous as we find them commonly represented; and in this respect they are particularly remarkable, that through the whole record the king proposes, the prelate and peers deliberate, and the commons approve. He took care to have these laws, as well as his own election, sanctified by bulls from *Rome*. He knew they could do him no hurt; and it appears plainly that through the course of his reign he lived not only in a good but close correspondence with the holy see.

(D) Don *Sancho* having married, in the lifetime of

his father, Donna *Dulcia*, daughter of *Raymond Berenger*, count of *Barcelona*, had by her Don *Alonso*, his successor; and *Ferdinand*, who by the marriage of *Johanna*, the daughter of *Baldwin*, emperor of *Constantinople*, became earl of *Flanders*. The French monarch, *Philip Augustus*, is said to have been very instrumental in making this match; but he made him pay dear for it, by the cession of *Air* and *St. Omer's*. This occasioned a quarrel between them, in which, tho' *Ferdinand* was the aggressor, *Philip* had the advantage, and took from him great part of his country. He was taken prisoner by him in the battle of *Bouvines*, and remained long in captivity. He was afterwards set at liberty and restored to his dominions by queen *Blanch* (6). Don *Pedro*, the third son of king *Sancho*, was born in 1187, and made a great figure in the world, both in prosperity and adversity. He married the countess of *Urgel*, and, as we have shewn elsewhere, held for a time the kingdom of *Majorca*. Don *Henry*, the fourth son, died young. Donna *Theresa*, became queen of *Leon*; but her marriage being annulled by the pope, she retired to the monastery of *Lorvum*, where she died with the reputation of a saint. Donna *Mafalda*, or *Mathilda*, married *Henry* the first, king of *Castile*; but her marriage had the same fate with that of her sister. She founded the monastery of *Arouca*, where she died in 1290. Donna *Sancha* was abbess of *Lorvum*; she founded at *Alenquer*, the first monastery of *Franciscans*, in the life-time of St. *Francis*, as he is called. Donna *Blanca*, styled the lady of *Guadalajara*, lived and died in *Castile*; from whence her body was brought into *Portugal*, and buried at *Coimbra* (7). Donna *Berengara* espoused *Waldemar* the second, king of *Denmark*; and accompanying that monarch into the field, was killed by an arrow in 1220 (8). By his mistress Donna *Maria Anez de Fornellos*, the king had *Martin* of *Portugal*, count of *Trafemara*, who commanded the armies of the king of *Leon*, against his brother Don *Alonso* and Donna *Urraca* of *Portugal*. By another mistress of his, Donna *Maria Paes de Ribeira*, the king had *Martin Sanchez*, who became afterwards count of *Trafemara*, and high steward of *Leon*; *Gil* or *Giles Sanchez*, who became an ecclesiastic; *Ruy Sanchez*, killed in the battle of *Porto*; Donna *Urraca*, married to *Laurence Suarez*; Donna *Theresa*, who married *Alonso Tollez*, from whom are descended the noble family of *Monefes*, counts of *Marialva*; and Donna *Constantia*, who founded the monastery of St. *Francis* at *Coimbra*, on the banks of the river *Munda* (9). It may not be amiss to observe, that the king had these children by Donna *Maria Paes*, before his marriage, and his son and daughter, by Donna *Maria Anez*, after the queen's demise.

(1) *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, lib. iii. c. 2. Nunez de Leon, as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal.

(2) Robert de Monte. Nic. Triwet. Chron. Ferialitium Fidci.

(3) D. Manuel Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iii. c. 2.

(4) Paul. Emil.

(5) Robert de Monte. Nic. Triwet. Chron. Ferialitium Fidci.

(6) Paul. Emil.

(7) Brandon, Monarch. Lusitan.

(8) Faria y Sousa, la Neufville, Le Châle.

(9) Faria y Sousa, la Neufville, Le Châle.

and to repeople the country round them. He was also very solicitous in respect to their a government, appointing magistrates every where, granting charters and marking out, with great exactness, the several districts that were to depend upon every great town in his dominions. His delight in, and steady attention to, things of this nature, by which in the space of a few years he entirely altered the appearance of his territories, and out of ruined hamlets, and a country frequently ravaged by barbarous enemies, brought well-built towns and innumerable villages to the spectator's eye, procured him the glorious title of restorer of cities, and the father of his country. He was likewise very solicitous in providing proper alliances for his family; and with this view very willingly bestowed his daughter Donna *Theresa* on the king of *Leon*, without considering the misfortunes that had arisen from the marriage of his own sister Donna *Urraca* with the father of this young prince, by which b Donna *Theresa* stood in so near a relation to him, as brought the like difficulties and distresses upon them. So blind is ambitious policy, even when it pretends to foresee things at a great distance y!

Gains the ad-
venturers who
touch on his
coasts, to render
him important
services.

A. D. 1189.

A fleet composed for the most part of *English* vessels, but having on board a great body of adventurers of all sorts, bound to the *Holy Land*, entering into the river of *Lisbon*, was very kindly received and supplied with all sorts of refreshments by the king Don *Sancho*, who took this opportunity of soliciting them to assist him in a design he had formed for attacking the city of *Silves*, in *Algarve*: to which they readily yielded. He joined a squadron of his own galleys, and marched a body of troops by land; and though the place was well defended, it was at length taken, and the *English*, according to their agreement, rewarded with the c plunder, which was very rich z.

1190.

This so alarmed *Jacob Aben Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, that he passed the next year from *Afric* into *Spain*, with a great body of troops, and having joined the forces raised by his alcaides, passed the *Guadiana*, and laid siege to *Silves*; but an *English* ship being in the harbour, all that were on board joined the garrison, and by their assistance the place was preserved. The king of *Morocco* then marched to *Santaren*, the harbour of *Lisbon*, the king, by their help, and with the assistance of his son-in-law Don *Ferdinand* of *Leon*, forced the *Moors* to retire a. The next year, however, the emperor of *Morocco* returned into the kingdom of *Algarve*, with such a superior army, that he not only recovered *Silves*, but all the places the *Portuguese* had taken in that kingdom; while d

1191.

Don *Sancho* was forced to act upon the defensive. The war that followed between the *Moors*, and the monarch of *Castile*, diverted their forces from the dominions of *Portugal*; but a body of troops that Don *Sancho* sent as auxiliaries to the prince before-mentioned, were cut to pieces in the fatal defeat at *Alarcos* b. The kingdom of *Portugal* having been put under an interdict by the Pope, on account of the marriage of the king of *Leon* with the infanta Donna *Theresa*, obliged the two monarchs to submit to the sentence of divorce; upon which, that innocent and unhappy princess returned to her father's court c. The arrival of a fleet of *German* and *Flemish* ships, furnished the means of recovering *Silves* once again out of the hands of the *Moors*; but Don *Sancho*, being sensible of the difficulties that would attend keeping it, caused it to be demolished. He then set himself to form a regular e frontier for the protection of his subjects; and while he was thus employed, the queen Donna *Dulcia* died, to the great grief of the king, and of the whole nation d.

1195.

In the course of this king's reign, there happened, as all the ancient writers agree, a long train of grievous calamities, which were considered as so many judgments from heaven; such as famines, pestilences, earthquakes, feuds amongst the nobility, and great quarrels and disputes amongst the clergy. These the monks took care to attribute to the obstinacy with which the king had opposed the marriage of his daughter, and to some other differences with the court of *Rome*; but these calumnies made no impression except upon the vulgar. The king Don *Sancho* was in truth so far from being at all instrumental in bringing evils upon his people, that it was entirely owing to the vigilance and prudence of his conduct, that they f did not suffer much more by these calamities, which were of such a nature, as, in conjunction with the incursions of the infidels, must have ruined the kingdom, under an administration less frugal or less attentive to the welfare of the subject. Don *Sancho* was in reality the author of their domestic œconomy; he settled the limits of dioceses, and obliged their prelates to be content with them; he brought all the grants made to monasteries into exact order;

Sustains his
government,
under a long
train of ca-
lamities, by
his steadiness.

y ZURITA Annal. Arragon. ANT. VASCONCELOS Anacephalæosis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitanæ, Histoire generale de Portugal, par LE CLEDE, Annal Tolet. FERRERAS. z E. NUNZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, VASCONCELOS, FARIA Y SOUSA, JOHAN DROMTON, ROG. HOVEDEN, FERRERAS. a Histoire generale de Portugal, par LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA, LE CLEDE. b RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chronicon. FARIA Y SOUSA, BRANDAN. VASCONCELOS. c Epiit. Innocent III. LUC. TUDENS. Chron. FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS. d Histoire generale de Portugal, par LA NEUFVILLE, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

a he settled commanderies for all the knights of different kinds that were established in his dominions; he abolished many bad customs that had been long in use, and others that had been lately borrowed from the *Moors*, from strangers, and from those who resorted to *Portugal* on many accounts; he connived, in some measure, at the sanguinary contentions amongst his nobility, that, by weakening their forces, his authority might at length take place, without any shew of tyranny, and with the general approbation of the wiser and better part of his subjects ^e.

His last enterprize was the reduction of *Elvas*, which the miramamolin, during the time of his superiority, had recovered, and with the conquest of which the king was extremely pleased ^f. He caused the churches to be purified, the fortifications to be repaired, and, by granting many privileges and immunities, invited thither a multitude of new inhabitants. He is reputed to have been the best œconomist that ever sat upon the throne of *Portugal*; for, without oppressing his subjects with taxes, and being esteemed rather liberal than avaritious, he left behind him a treasure of upwards of seven hundred thousand crowns in ready money, besides fourteen hundred marks of silver, and one hundred of gold plate, which he disposed of some time before his death, by his last will and testament; for the due performance of which he took the infant Don *Alonso*'s oath. Authors are not perfectly agreed as to the time of his death; those who are most accurate in other things fix it to the month of *March*, in the year one thousand two hundred and twelve, when he had reigned twenty-six, and lived fifty-seven years. He was interred, by his own command, with much less pomp than his father, on the left side of the altar of the *Holy Cross*, in *Coimbra*, Don *Alonso* lying on the right. His body being taken up four hundred years after, by order of the king Don *Emanuel*, that it might be placed in a new tomb, erected to his memory, was found uncorrupt ^g. A circumstance singular and worth recording, independent of any superstitious prejudices.

Don *Alonso* succeeded his father at the age of twenty-seven, or thereabouts, and is distinguished in the *Portuguese* history by the surname of *the Fat*. At the very entrance of his reign he did two very popular acts; he sent a body of infantry to the assistance of the king of *Castile*, who behaved with great reputation in the famous battle of *Navas de Tolosa*; and he gave the castle of *Avis* to the knights of that order, since distinguished by this title, upon which Don *Ferdinand Yanez*, their grand-master, removed thither from *Evora* ^h. But notwithstanding this, the lustre of his reign was eclipsed in the very dawn. His father had observed, that he had no great tenderness for his brethren and sisters, which induced him to put the former as much out of his power as possible, by making provision for them in money and jewels; and to the latter he gave some of the best places in the kingdom, with their revenues. To Donna *Theresa*, queen dowager of *Leon*, he left *Monte-major* and *Esquerrã*; and to Donna *Sancha*, *Alanquer*. The king laboured to persuade them, that it was not in his father's power to dismember his dominions; and when he found his eloquence vain, he had recourse to arms. The two princesses, who were much favoured by the nobility, defended themselves vigorously; and at the same time applied themselves to the king of *Leon*, and to Pope *Innocent* the third, for their interposition, which they obtained. Don *Ferdinand* entering the dominions of *Portugal*, from *Galicia*, with an army, and the pontiff threatening an excommunication, Don *Alonso* endeavoured to defend himself against the one, and to excuse himself to the other. Authors differ about the success of the war with *Leon*; but they agree, that, by the mediation of the crown of *Castile*, these differences were at last appeased: but, however, the peace of the royal family was so far from being restored, that the infant Don *Ferdinand* retired to the court of *Castile*, and the infant Don *Pedro*, who had served in the army of the king of *Leon*, withdrew after the peace, and demanded the protection of the miramamolin ⁱ. These events created great jealousies and heart-burnings amongst the *Portuguese* (E), some being moved by the king's arguments, and believing that one government

^e FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^f BRANDAN, VASCONCELLOS, LA NEUFVILLE.

^g FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES, E. NÚÑEZ, GARIBAY, FERRERAS.

^h BRANDAN, RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudens Chron. FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.

ⁱ FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

(E) In his father's lifetime, the young infant Don *Alonso* married Donna *Urraca*, daughter of *Alonso*, the noble king of *Castile*, by whom he had issue four sons and one daughter (1). Don *Sanko*, the eldest, became afterwards his successor. Don *Alonso*, the second, became, in right of his wife, earl of *Bologna*, and was actually in *France* when the people of *Portugal* recalled him home, for reasons that will appear hereafter. Don

Ferdinand, from a lordship he had of that name, was stiled the Infant of *Serpa*. He distinguished himself at the head of a corps of troops sent to the assistance of Don *Alonso* of *Castile* against the *Moors*. He espoused Donna *Sancha*, the daughter of *Ferdinand*, count de *Lara*, by whom he had an only daughter, Donna *Leonora*. The infant Don *Vincent*, who was the youngest, died in his cradle. The infanta Donna *Leonora* became

(1) Faria y Sousa Epitome Historias Portuguesas, iii. 3.

vernment only can subsist in one state ; while others, whom Don *Sancho* had sworn to see a his will obeyed, respected their oaths ; and others again doubted the kindness of a prince to his subjects who shewed so little to his own family.

Compelled by the pope to compromise matters with his family.

THE thunder of the Pope's excommunication had some effect in *Portugal*, where, though it might not terrify the king, yet it filled the minds of his subjects with such fears and uneasinesses, that Don *Alonso* could not help perceiving how much it was his interest to recover the good graces of Pope *Innocent* the third. He first sent his agents to represent, that his disputes with his sisters had no connection with ecclesiastical affairs ; that the places his father had bestowed upon them belonged to the crown, and therefore he had no right to separate them from the rest of his dominions ; that it was a dangerous precedent, and had a tendency to subvert a sovereignty, raised by the valour, and at the expence of the blood of the *Portuguese*, b to whom Don *Sancho*, or at least his father, stood indebted for the crown he wore, and could not therefore lessen its value, by impairing its territories ; and that lastly, the advantages gained by the king of *Leon*, and the party of the infantas, were no proofs of the justice of their cause, but were plainly beneficial to the infidels, by the losses they brought upon both kingdoms. All this was without effect, the Pope was as obstinate as the king of *Portugal* ; and at length Don *Alonso* found it expedient to be reconciled to his sisters, in order to have the excommunication recalled, which was accordingly done, and the king absolved with great solemnity^k. The calm that was thus restored had not subsisted long before it was disturbed by the incursions of the *Moors*, who from *Alcaccer-do-Sal*, where they had an impregnable fortress seated on a rock, came with such large corps of cavalry into the flat country, along the c banks of the *Tagus*, that the king found it equally difficult to repel them, or to make himself master of a place, the neighbourhood of which occasioned him so much disturbance. However, a favourable accident, or, to speak with greater propriety, the unexpected interposition of Providence, enabled him to accomplish his wishes. The *Germans* and *Flemings* had equipped a numerous fleet, which authors of established reputation assert consisted of three hundred sail, with a great army on board, destined for the *Holy Land*. In their passage, being dismally beaten by tempests, they were constrained to put into the harbour of *Lisbon* to refit, at the time Don *Alonso* was forming an army that might block up at least, if not besiege, *Alcaccer*.

By the assistance of the crosses takes Alcaccer-do-Sal, and beats the Moorish army.

The king instantly deputed some of the principal persons among his clergy to solicit the crosses for their assistance, alleging, that as they might employ their arms against the *Moors* in d *Portugal*, it would answer the ends of their vows as effectually as if they proceeded to the *Holy Land*. *William* earl of *Holland*, and most of the generals, came readily into this proposition ; but about a third part of the fleet, with those on board it, quitted them, out of a scruple of conscience, and, as soon as they were able to put to sea, endeavoured to prosecute their voyage ; in which, however, they were frustrated, and obliged to retire into a port of *Italy*, where they wintered. The earl of *Holland*, with most of the nobility and gentry landed, and very frankly offered the king of *Portugal* their services. On this it was agreed, that they should proceed by sea and block up *Alcaccer-do-Sal*, while the *Portuguese* army, reinforced by the knights of all the military orders, marched and invested it by land. The *Moors*, knowing the importance of the place, and foreseeing the consequences that must follow from the loss of it, e resolved to make their utmost efforts for its preservation. Accordingly the alcaides of *Seville*, *Jaen*, *Cordova*, and *Badajoz*, marched an army of fifty thousand men to its relief : the Christians thereupon raised the siege, gave them battle, and defeated them, the alcaides of *Cordova* and *Jaen* being in the number of the slain^l. The *Portuguese* writers unanimously affirm, that the banner of the cross was displayed by angels : and that they were sensible of supernatural assistance in the battle. On the 21st of *October* the fortress surrendered, and was bestowed on the order of *St. James* ; but notwithstanding the strongest applications that were made to Pope *Honorius*, he would not be prevailed upon to permit the crosses to remain in

A. D. 1217.

^k BRANDAN, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.

^l ANT. VASCONCELLOS Anacephalæosis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitanie, GODEFRID MONACH, MATT. PARIS, ALBERIC, Histoire generale de Portugal, par LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, Histoire de Espana, Part vi. §. xiii. BRANDAN, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 112, 113, 114.

the wife of *Waldemar*, prince of *Dinmark*. Besides these, the king had one natural son, *Juan Alonso*, who lies buried in the church of *Alcobaza* (2). As Don *Alonso* was in the twenty-seventh year of his age at the time of his accession, and had served with great courage and reputation against the infidels, and was withal married to a princess of very high spirit, he was

the less able to bear any restraint ; and having had no share in the difficulties and dangers by which his ancestors had raised this sovereignty to the rank in which he found it, he had nothing to temper that haughtiness of spirit which the sense of his own greatness inspired (3).

(2) D. Nunez, Brandan, Faria y Sousa, Ferreras.

(3) *Saints-Martin*, Histoire generale, &c. Mariana, Fer-

a *Portugal* another year, which gave great discontent to all the Christians in *Spain*^m. It seems the Pope was desirous of having these troops, and their commanders, at a greater distance.

THE progress of the war being thus interrupted, civil dissensions broke out afresh; the people complained of the severity of the laws; the archbishop of *Braga* took it amiss, that the king expected the clergy should contribute in troops and money to defend the kingdom against the infidels, and excommunicated those who attempted to levy such taxes by the royal authority: upon which the king seized his revenues, and obliged him to quit his dominionsⁿ. In the midst of these troubles died queen *Urraca*, on the 3d of *November*^o. The next year the Pope, by his commissioners, excommunicated the king, and put his dominions under an interdict, which of consequence threw things into the utmost confusion: to put an end to which the king, though a prince of great spirit, entered into a kind of negotiation with his subjects; but while this was depending, Providence removed him out of this life on the 25th of *March* 1223, in the twelfth year of his reign^p, and before any thorough reconciliation had taken place between him and his sisters. He was interred with little ceremony, under a plain tomb, in the conventual church of *Alcobaca* (F). His kingdom was left in great confusion, as having been for many months under an interdict, which, depriving the people of all exterior offices of religion, threw them first into amaze, and next into a dissolute course of life, and a contempt of all religion, from whence they were not easily recovered. But at *Rome* this was little considered, because they knew that the nobility, and better sort of people, feeling the bad effects of such a degeneracy in manners, would be more assiduous to bring their monarch and his ministers, right or wrong, to a compliance with the pontiff's pleasure. A strain of policy that had dismal consequences, and first let in those streams of Judaism and Mohammedism that have been so fatal since.

Differs with his clergy, and dies under ecclesiastical censures, and his dominions under an interdict.

A. D. 1220.

Don *Sancho* the second, surnamed *Sancho* with the Hood, succeeded his father when about twenty years of age; a prince of a gentle spirit, and much more indebted to nature than to education. He no sooner ascended the throne, than he found himself oppressed by the mischiefs that had sunk his father into his grave in the flower of his age; that is, the quarrel with the clergy and the princesses his aunts^q. In regard to these two difficult points, he took very different measures. He intimated to the archbishop of *Braga*, that men had no right to be judges in their own causes; that if he would leave the disputes between the crown and the church, to the arbitration of ecclesiastics of established characters, he was disposed to give them whatever satisfaction they should judge reasonable; and the prelate having condescended to this, satisfaction was accordingly given, and the interdict removed^r. This young prince was not so complaisant to the infantas as he had been submis-

Don Sancho II. succeeds his father, and begins his reign with great reputation.

^m MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA.

ⁿ RAINALD, BRANDAN, FERRERAS, *Histoire de Espana*.

^o LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, tom. i. p. 115. BRANDAN, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^p ANT. VASCONCELLOS, MARIANA, FERRERAS, MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA.

^q E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, LUCÆ TUDENSIS CHRONICON. BRANDAN, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^r BRANDAN, RAINALD, MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS.

(F) This king was in his person above the common size, and very fat, though his height hindered it from being disagreeable to the eye; his forehead large and open; his eyes full of vivacity; the rest of his features regular; his complexion delicate, and his hair of a bright red, which he wore long flowing upon his shoulders. He was brave, as well as uncommonly strong, which induced him to expose himself so much in the field, that after having been once buried under the slain, and with great difficulty drawn out alive, his subjects took care to restrain him in the field. His reign was full of trouble and disturbance, and yet he was far from being an ill man, or a bad king (4). He was a great promoter of justice; but it was not the name he loved, but the thing, which rendered his conduct liable to misrepresentation. The laws of *Lamego* had appointed judges in every town: the king did not think this enough; and therefore he caused a general body of laws to be framed, by which they were to render justice, which most of those magistrates considered as curtailing their authority. They were still less pleased with a particular law, by which he gave damages against a plaintiff who brought his action without any just cause of suit. He directed a stay of execution for twenty days, in all capital cases, because in them justice might

be at any time carried into act, but injustice could never be redressed. But the regulation which created those troubles he could never appease, was giving redress to the laity, in the king's courts, whenever they were injured by ecclesiastical judges (5). It was for this the archbishop of *Braga* excommunicated *Gonzalo Mendez*, his chancellor; for the king's resenting which, the pope excommunicated him. *Honorius* took another step, which was to the full as strong; he wrote a very abusive letter, in which he told him over and over he was a tyrant. He might be indeed a tyrant; but if it consisted only in hindering the priests from being tyrants over his own subjects, he was a tyrant of a very singular kind; but he was never esteemed so by the bulk of his people, in whose favour he made a law, to hinder the price of necessaries from being raised for the sake of private profit, and to exempt them from taxes, that all who would work might eat (6). This preserved their affection to his person, and their veneration for his memory, in spite of papal censures, which served only to raise confusion in his dominions, and to hinder the progress of his arms against the infidels, who, notwithstanding, through their own intestine divisions, were hindered from doing him much hurt.

(4) Brandan, *Monarch. Lusitan.* lib. xiii. Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, Ferreras.

(6) Honor. *Epist.* lib. ii. Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa.

(5) Mariana, Mayerne Turquet,

five to the priests ; he insisted upon the surrender of the fortresses they held, and threatened ^a to reduce them by force. His aunts upon this had recourse to the king of *Leon*, who entered *Portugal* with an army, and either took or had some places surrendered to him. Don *Sancho* sent him word, that he had no inclination to kindle a war between the two nations ; that he meant no injury or injustice to his aunts, but that one king in one realm was sufficient : upon these grounds the dispute was referred to arbitration ; and the decision was, that the infantas should do homage to the king ; that the inhabitants of their towns should acknowledge his authority, but that they should enjoy all the rents and revenues to their own use. Security being given on both sides for the due performance of articles, the places taken were restored, and Don *Sancho* left in the free possession of his kingdom ^b ; which however was sadly rent into factions through the too great power of the nobility.

Visits most parts of his territories ; does vast charities, and many acts of justice.

A. D. 1228.

As soon as peace was restored, the king thought proper to visit his territories, to receive homage from his subjects, and to regulate whatever might have fallen into confusion during the disturbance of his father's government. In this progress he did justice, and left marks of compassion and mercy wherever he came. After this, he turned his arms against the *Moors*, in conjunction with the king of *Leon*, and obtained several advantages against them, uniting, amongst other places, the town of *Serpa* to his dominions ^c. Pope *Innocent* the fourth sent the cardinal bishop of *Sebina* to hold a council in *Portugal*, in order to reform the corruption of manners, which, through the interdict cast upon that kingdom by his predecessor, had been chiefly introduced. Where he held that council does not appear, or what was done in it : all we know is, that the legate obliged the king to engage, that whatever canons were made therein should be strictly executed. The king shewed great justice in the quarrel between St. *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile* and *Leon*, and his sisters, which he might easily have improved to his own advantage. That monarch was so sensible of this, that having had an interview with Don *Sancho* at *Sabugal*, he restored to him the fortress of *Chaves*, of which his father had been dispossessed ^d. Some stirrs still continued amongst the clergy in *Portugal*, where it is on all hands agreed, that their discipline was very much relaxed. The king himself was very intent on carrying on the wars amongst the *Moors*, and advanced once more into the kingdom of *Algarve* ; where he might probably have done great things, if he had not been perplexed with perpetual complaints against him to the court of *Rome*. As it was, he reduced several small places, and kept his own dominions entirely free from those unwelcome

1235.

A sudden and strange turn in his subjects' dispositions to his monarch's ruin.

HITHERTO Don *Sancho* had maintained his credit with his subjects tolerably well ; and they were content to allow, that a prince, very affable in his manners, brave in his person, who did good to many, and injury to none, was a blessing. But now, by a strange turn of fortune, many of the nobility forgetting their duty to the king, committed great exorbitancies ; and because he did not punish these, when in truth it was out of his power, the people began to clamour against him. The infant Don *Ferdinand*, having violated the immunities of the church, the prelates, notwithstanding the mischief done by the last, had recourse to another interdict ; and the king, though he had no share in the offence, was obliged to make a deep submission, while the infant made a tour to *Rome*, and underwent a severe penance before he could be again received into the church. It was from these troubles, which had their source in the too great lenity of the king towards a lazy and luxurious nobility, that those terrible disorders arose, which afterwards threw the kingdom into confusion, and drove him out of his dominions. But to set this matter in a clear light, and to shew how this monarch, who is not charged with any glaring vice, such as cruelty, oppression, drunkenness, or debauchery, came to be dethroned, at the instance of his people, by the Pope, will require some compass, though we shall endeavour to confine ourselves within as narrow bounds as truth and perspicuity will allow. ^e

The causes, pretended and real, of this great defection of the people in Portugal.

THE bulk of the *Portuguese* writers agree, that their king Don *Sancho* espoused, not long after his accession, Donna *Mencia*, the daughter of Don *Lopes dias de Haro*, lord of *Biscay* ^f by Donna *Urraca*, the natural daughter of *Alonso* the ninth, king of *Castile*, a lady of exquisite beauty ^{*} ; who held Don *Sancho* in such close captivity, and governed his thoughts and actions with an influence so arbitrary, that, according to the superstitious notions of those times, she was believed to have disturbed his senses by a draught, as if such effects were not every day wrought without any other charms than those which the sex derive from nature. Those who were about the king, who loved his person, and supported his authority, were stigmatized, to render them odious in the sight of the people, by the name of favourites, and said to hold their employments, not through merit, or even the king's choice, but by the

^a MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, FERRERAS. VASCONCELLOS, E. NUNEZ, BRANDAN, FERRERAS.

LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, tom. i. p. 121.

^{*} MAN. DE FARIA Y SOUSA, ANT. VASCONC. Monarchia Lusitania.

^b RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. ANT.

^c RAINALD, Chron. St. Fernand. FERRERAS,

^d BRANDAN, RAINALD, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

a recommendation of the queen. The clergy, who had not so great power at court as they desired, concurred in and conducted this clamour, which, as we observed before, had its first rise from the youthful errors of the infant Don *Ferdinand*. Don *Pedro* of *Portugal*, an older man, and who had seen more of the world, was in the secret of the malecontents, and fomented those confusions, which he hoped might at least place regal power in his hands, if not the regal title; which ambitious scheme did the king great mischief, though it did himself no good; a fate common enough to such disturbers of the public peace.

The king Don *Sancho*, seeing his nobility rent into factions, and finding it impossible to carry on the war against the *Moors* in person, and in a manner suitable to his dignity, committed the care of it to Don *Pelayo Correa*, of the order of St. *James*; who, with the help of the knights of that and other orders, performed great things in *Algarve*; the king himself, before he quitted the army, having taken *Elvas*, and thereby effectually secured the province of *Alentejo*. Don *Pelayo* was a nobleman, who, with the most intrepid courage, had a large proportion of coolness and prudence, which enabled him to take every advantage offered by the disputes amongst the *Moors*, who at this time had thrown off the yoke of the miramolin, and by forming various small principalities, while they thought in their own imagination to strengthen their respective sovereignties, were in reality compassing their common destruction. Don *Pelayo*, who saw this clearly, took sometimes a town from one, and sometimes a town from another; and at length understanding, while he was employed in one of these sieges, that *Aben-Afan*, governor of *Silves*, was in full march, with the greatest part of his garrison, for the relief of *Paderna*, before which he lay, raised the siege in the night, and by another road arrived unexpectedly before *Silves*, and invested it. The *Moorish* general, to repair one mistake committed another; he drew out the forces that were in the last-mentioned place, and returned with all possible expedition to *Silves*. He attacked the Christians in their camp, with forces harrassed by their great fatigue; and after a brisk assault was repulsed. Those in the town making an effort at the same time, were likewise driven back, the Christians entering with them into the city, which, by this means, was suddenly and unexpectedly taken; and the castle, which was very strong, soon after surrendered upon terms. The reputation of this conquest brought great reinforcements to Don *Pelayo*, who returned by a quick march to *Paderna*, and having given the necessary orders, before the troops were in motion, began a general assault as soon as he came before the place, which was presently taken by storm, and most of the inhabitants put to the sword. These great exploits, however, deprived Don *Sancho* of this able officer; for Don *Rodrigo Yunquez*, grand master of St. *James*, dying at this juncture, the commanders elected Don *Pelayo*, upon which he went to take possession of his new dignity in *Castile*.

Conquests gained notwithstanding by their forces under the king's auspices against the Moors.

A. D. 1242.

It was not long before the loss of this able and fortunate general was severely felt, from the incursions made by the infidels into the territories of *Portugal*; and this, though without cause, the malecontents placed to the account of the king, and made it one of their principal motives for applying to the pope, in order to his being deprived of the administration, as a prince who was either negligent or incapable of government. Some historians very honestly confess, that they had come much nearer the truth, if they had owned themselves incapable of being governed; for after all they could fix nothing upon the king, and not much upon those whom they stiled his favourites. There was a spirit of faction and anarchy abroad; and the king and his friends were forced to exert what little strength they had, in order to compel obedience to the king's commands, in points of the greatest consequence to the public safety. Pope *Innocent* the fourth had called a general council at *Lyons* in *France*, where he and his prelates deposed the emperor *Frederic*; thither the *Portuguese* commissioners, who were the archbishop of *Braga*, the bishops of *Porto* and *Coimbra*, and two noblemen, repaired; and having set forth their business, the pope very roundly, on the 24th of *July*, deprived Don *Sancho* of the administration of his dominions, and declared his brother Don *Alonso* regent; and he being at *Paris*, the commissioners repaired thither, and upon the 6th of *September* administered an oath to him, that he should execute the office of regent faithfully. The infant Don *Alonso* went immediately to *Bologne*, where he settled the government of that county in the hands of his consort, to whom it of right belonged, and then prepared for his voyage to *Portugal*. In the mean time, as most writers say, *Raymond Portocarrero* seized upon the person of the queen *Donna Mencia*, and carried her away prisoner, so that she was never heard of more. This affected the king in such a manner, that he resolved to provide for his own safety, and accordingly withdrew into the territories of St. *Ferdinand*.

The regency of Portugal conferred, by Innocent IV. on the infant Don Alonso.

1245.

Y E. NUNEZ DE FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQ. FERR.

QUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FERR.

BRANDAN.

DE LA NEUFVILLE.

FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQ. FERR. MARIANA.

Z MAN. DE FARIA Y SOUSA, LE

* E. NUNEZ, MAN. DE FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, FERR.

c MAYERNE TURQ. RAINALD, ANT. VASCONCEL. LEQUIEN

d Epist. Innocent IV. RAINALD, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, BRANDAN,

e LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, tom. i. p. 126.

king of *Castile*, where he was very kindly received by the infant Don *Alonso*, who wrote to a the Pope in his behalf; and after insinuating how dangerous a precedent he had made, suggested many reasons to prove, that the regent Don *Alonso* was in reality the author of those miseries which were falsely ascribed to the king. How much soever this act of friendship, and the high honours that were paid him, might console Don *Sancho* under his misfortunes, they did not in the least relieve them: however, the prince Don *Alonso* promised, and did all that was in his power to keep his word^f, and would have kept it effectually, provided the pontiff had not interposed.

Attempt made by the king to recover his territories, by the assistance of St. Ferdinand. As general as the defection seemed to be in *Portugal*, some of the most considerable among the nobility adhered steadily to their duty, and garrisoned several places of strength for the king: amongst these, *Ovedos*, *Celerico*, and *Coimbra*, were the chief. The regent Don *Alonso* left nothing unattempted, in order to shake the fidelity of their governors, but without effect. At length he caused *Ovedos* to be besieged, and reduced by force. This example he

A. D. 1246. judged would have frightened the rest, but he was mistaken. Don *Ferdinand Rodriguez Pacheco* defended *Celerico* with such obstinacy, that the regent was compelled to raise the siege^g. Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile* besieged *Seville* the next year, then in the hands of the *Moors*; but the prince Don *Alonso* prevailed upon him to spare a part of his army for the service of his unfortunate friend, with whom he entered *Portugal*, and bore down all before him, till the regent sent some priests into his army, who by scattering the Pope's bulls in favour of the new government, and threatening excommunication to all who opposed it, struck such terror into the army of *Castile*, that the king, the prince, and Don *Lopez de Haro*,^c thought it expedient to retire. But the lords of the king's party were proof against the bulls, and every thing else, and took the advantage of this invasion to recruit their garrisons, and re-victual their fortresses; so that the regent found himself obliged to besiege *Coimbra* in form^h.

Being disappointed in this expedition, he retires to Toledo, and dies. THE unfortunate Don *Sancho* returned again to *Toledo*, where he spent the short remainder of his days in acts of penitence and piety, and dyingⁱ in the month of *January* 1248, was interred with great magnificence in the cathedral of that city, no less deplored by the *Castilian* than by the few *Portuguese* noblemen, who were the companions of his disgrace. Such was the melancholy end of this reign, in its twenty-fifth year (G). Here it ought naturally to conclude; but as the *Portuguese* historians add another event, the reader will probably excuse us for following their example. *Martin Freitas*, who defended *Coimbra*, gave the regent Don *Alonso* so much trouble, that as soon as he had the news of his brother's death, he sent him notice of it; but the governor would not believe him, upon which he offered him a pass and an escorte to go to *Toledo*, which he accepted. When he came thither, he demanded to see his master's body; when the tomb being opened for that purpose, he deposited the keys of *Coimbra* by his side: after they had lain a little time, he desired his leave to

^f Chron. St. Fernand, BRANDAN, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, RODERIC. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudenf. Chron. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^g BRANDAN, FERRERAS. ^h TURQUET, MARIANA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE. ⁱ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, E. NUNEZ, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS, LE CLEDE, MARIANA.

(G) This unfortunate monarch was of so weak and tender a constitution in his youth, that his mother, queen *Urraca*, dedicated him to St. *Augustine*; and he was actually educated and brought up amongst the canons regular (1). In process of time, however, he outgrew this weakness: his countenance was beautiful; his forehead high and open; his eyes had somewhat of a greenish colour; his complexion pale; and his hair long and light (2). In some of the royal palaces he is represented in scarlet robes, with the crown upon his head, a book in one hand, and a scepter in the other, on the top of which is a dove, intimating the constancy and sweetness of his nature (3). The *Spanish* historians speak of him as a prince very brave in his person, prudent, mild, punctual in his administration of justice, and who by no means sought to oppress his subjects, or to injure his neighbours (4). There are great doubts about his marriage; for, notwithstanding the best part of the *Portuguese* historians relate it very positively, and even assert, that it was cancelled and declared null by the Pope, yet *Brandan*, who is one of the most accurate and judicious, positively asserts the king was never married to Donna *Mencia*, which he thinks is sufficient-

ly proved, by there not remaining any charter, grant, or other record, amongst the archives of the kingdom in which she is mentioned, which could not have happened if she had been really queen (5). It may be she was never acknowledged by the states; and therefore, though the king's wife, was not considered as his queen. We know not how or when she died, but her corpse lies buried at *Najara* (6). Pope *Innocent* pretended to depose Don *Sancho* as his lord paramount, *Portugal* being a kingdom tributary to the holy see, yet not from his title or dignity, but from his administration only; which he committed to Don *Alonso*, count of *Bologna*, on account of his brother's incapacity. The *Portuguese* writers however in general agree, that Don *Sancho* wanted only that boldness, or that cunning, which enables princes to deal with factions, to deceive those who would deceive them, or to destroy, while it is in their power, such as seek their destruction. His brother repaired his loss; he had many of his virtues and good qualities, and withal a spirit of intrigue, and other properties necessary in those times, which Don *Sancho* wanted (7).

(1) *Brandan*, *Vasconcellos*, *Nunez*. (2) *Faria y Sousa* *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*. (3) *Nunez*, *Vasconcellos*, *Brandan*. (4) *Mariana*, *Mayerne Turquet*, *Ferreras*. (5) *Brandan*. (6) *Manuel*, *Faria y Sousa* *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*. (7) *Nunez*, *Vasconcellos*, *Faria y Sousa*, *Mariana*, *Mayerne Turquet*, *Ferreras*.

a deliver them to his brother, and so taking them up, returned back to his garrison^k. An action which appeared heroic and extraordinary even to *Spaniards*.

Don *Alonso* the third ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and was certainly a prince of very great abilities, exclusive of his immeasurable ambition, to gratify which he had corrupted many of his brother's subjects, and bribed several governors to deliver up the places they held. But being once become the legal monarch of *Portugal*, he changed the scene, had little or no regard to such as had served him at the expence of their honour; but received all the lords who had been in his brother's interest to the last into his favour and councils; amongst these was *Martin Freitas*, governor of *Coimbra*, whom he not only continued in his office, but refused to accept either homage or an oath of fidelity, which favour he would have extended by patent to four generations; but *Martin* told him bluntly, that though it was a good compliment, it was a bad precedent; and that he would lay his curse upon any one of his posterity who should dare to command in the king's town without having first rendered homage, and sworn allegiance. The king more and more struck with this man's virtue, submitted, and let him take the government in his own way^l. In the second year of his reign, he made a great irruption into *Algarve*, having a good fleet upon the coast, as well as a numerous army, with which he besieged the city of *Faro*, then esteemed the capital of the *Moorish* territories; which after a long siege submitted, the *Moors* promising upon oath to be the king's obedient subjects. It fell out otherwise at *Loule*, a town of no great strength, lying to the north-west of *Faro*, but very populous; and though the king over and over offered them good terms, they obstinately persisted in their resolution to defend the place. The king, upon this, caused it to be attacked, and being carried by storm, every living creature in it was put to the sword, which rigorous severity frightened all the adjacent country into submission^m, and thereby added a considerable district to the dominions of *Portugal*.

THESE enterprizes, undertaken with spirit, and executed with prudence, raised his reputation at home and abroad, rendered him respected by his neighbours, and dreaded by his enemies. His conduct in civil affairs corresponded with this: while he stood upon so good terms with his subjects, he held an assembly of the states, in which he suggested several wise and just laws, which were readily enacted, and by which he was enabled to reform a multitude of abuses. His power and his popularity were by this means so much increased, that he did, without much difficulty, what his brother ought to have done, and would have done, if he had been able, that is, he punished the licentious and the factious; but he took them singly, and in the most distant parts of his dominions, taking care to efface immediately, by a successful expedition against the *Moors*, the memory of any punishments that became necessary at home. He took care likewise to remain upon good terms with Pope *Innocent* the fourth, who had many essential reasons for paying great attention to the king of *Portugal*, from whose dominions he drew a large revenue, and of whose maritime power he stood sometimes in great need: in a word, Don *Alonso* distinguished himself as a soldier in the field, and as a statesman in the cabinet, with no small reputation to himself, and with great advantage to his crown and subjects.

THE prosperity which had hitherto attended his councils and his arms, elevated the thoughts of Don *Alonso* so much, that having pushed his conquests southward within sight of the ocean, he began to think of extending his frontiers on the east, being equally tempted by the weakness of the *Moors*, and by the beauty and fertility of *Andalusia*. His next irruption, therefore, was on that side; and his design was to despoil *Mohammed Aben-Afen*, king of *Niebla*, of his small territories, which he might have easily accomplished. But *Mohammed* having put himself under the protection of Don *Alonso the Wise*, who had lately succeeded *St. Ferdinand* in the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, demanded succours of that monarch, who took the field with a powerful army, and making use of his superiority, over-run the kingdom of *Algarve*, and erected the town of *Silves* into a bishoprickⁿ. The king of *Portugal* was too wise a prince not to discern the danger he was in; and therefore had recourse to the interposition of the Pope, who readily interfered, and disposed Don *Alonso the Wise* to listen to an accommodation^o. Don *Alonso* of *Portugal*, understanding that this prince had a great affection for a natural daughter of his, *Donna Beatrix*, whom he had in his youth by *Donna Maria de Guzman*, discovered an inclination to marry her, to which the king of *Castile* very readily consented, notwithstanding there were many, and amongst them some very strong, obstacles to such a marriage. In the first place, the king had already a wife; but he found certain divines who judged her sterility a sufficient cause to dissolve that marriage. In the next place, the ties of consanguinity stood in the way; but by his interest with the Pope, it

^k FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE.

FERRERAS.

^m BRANDAN, FERRERAS, LA NEUFVILLE, tom. i. p. 136, 137.

LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS.

^l BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, MARIANA,

^o RAINALD, Cronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, FARIA Y SOUSA.

ⁿ BRANDAN,

was hoped a dispensation might be obtained. Besides all this, there was a great disproportion in point of age; Don *Alonso* was in his forty-third year, and Donna *Beatrix* not ten. However, the marriage was concluded; and the monarch of *Castile* gave the kingdom of *Algarve*, reserving homage, and the town of *Silves*, in dowry with his daughter^p. The next year the king of *Portugal* held another assembly of the states at *Leyria*, where several useful regulations were made, and the interior concerns of the kingdom settled, to the general satisfaction of all his subjects, except the clergy (H).

This marriage disapproved by the Pope, and the kingdom put under an interdict.

A. D. 1254. THE marriage between Don *Alonso* and Donna *Beatrix* was celebrated as soon as that lady was turned of twelve years of age; and the rejoicings on that subject were hardly over, before Pope *Alexander* IV. who had succeeded *Innocent*, on the application of the countess *Matilda*, directed the archbishop of *Compostella* to separate the king and queen, till the merits of the cause could be heard, to which the king would not give ear. The countess herself made a tour to *Compostella*, to quicken the motions of the Pope's legate^q. Some *Portuguese* historians say, that she came to *Cascaes* in that kingdom by sea; but the fabulous circumstances they add destroy the credit of this relation. All that we know with certainty is, that the countess returned into *France*, and applied herself to St. *Lewis*; and that the Pope's legate, finding the king obstinate, put his kingdom under an interdict^r. The king remained, notwithstanding, inflexible, and having brought his nobility into subjection, proceeded in repairing, fortifying, and peopling his dominions, with so much the more spirit, as he had now a son and a daughter to inherit them. In the mean time *Alexander* being succeeded by *Urban* the fourth, Don *Alonso* resolved to try whether he might not be softened; and while he meditated this application, the countess *Matilda* died, and not only forgave him on her death-bed, but left him also a very considerable sum of money, as a testimony of her sincerity^s. These lucky incidents induced the king to call a general assembly of his clergy, upon whom he prevailed to address themselves unanimously to the Pope on the behalf of himself and his family, which they did: and Pope *Urban* at their request granted a dispensation, legitimated the children of Donna *Beatrix*, and removed the interdict, the rather because it had hardly ever been observed^t. In order to prevent all disputes in succeeding times with the crown of *Castile*, the two kings caused the boundaries between their respective dominions to be settled by commissioners, and recognized this settlement by a settlement dated the fifth of *June*. At the same time the homage of *Algarve* was reduced to the sending fifty lances to the assistance of the monarch of *Castile*, when demanded; and in all probability *Silves* was likewise restored, since we find it in the next year in the hands of the king of *Portugal*, who augmented the privileges of its inhabitants^u. The happy issue of his enterprizes, and the flourishing state of his territories, occasioned by his frequent progress from one part of them to another, induced the king to extend the authority of the crown, and to oblige the clergy, and even the prelates, to contribute to the welfare of the state, and to the discharge of those expences which he thought requisite for the safety and welfare of his people. This quickly revived the old disputes; and *Martin* archbishop of *Braga* pushed things so far as to put the kingdom again under an interdict: after which he made his escape to *Rome*.

^p RAINALD, E. NUNEZ, FERRERAS, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

FERRERAS. ^q LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA.

RAS. ^r BRANDAN, RAINALD, LE CLEDE.

FARIA Y SOUSA, Chronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio.

^s BRANDAN, RAINALD,

BRANDAN, LA NEUFVILLE, FERRE-

^t Histoire generale de Portugal, par NEUFVILLE,

(H) As we have given the reader a succinct account of the other five, we will also speak to this sixth and last province of the kingdom of *Portugal*, and which, though small, has been, and still is reputed a kingdom. It is unanimously agreed, that *Algarve* is taken from the *Arabic* word *Algarbia*: and it is almost as universally agreed, that this signifies a fertile country; but it may be, this etymology was derived rather from the nature of the province to which it refers, than from the genius of the language from which it is supposed to be deduced; for there is no doubt that in *Arabic* the genuine signification of the word is no more than the west point (8). It is the most southern of all the provinces of *Portugal*, being bounded, on that side, as well as on the west, by the ocean; on the east by *Andalusia*, from which it is separated by the *Guadiana*; on the north by a ridge of hills, called *Sierras de Calderaon*, which divides it from the province of *Alentejo*. It is in all respects perhaps the best fortified country by nature in the world, since the steep banks of the *Guadiana*, and the mountains behind them, may be con-

sidered as impenetrable intrenchments; and the same thing may be affirmed of the mountains of *Calderaon* (9). It extends about twenty-seven leagues in length, but is scarce any where so many miles broad, though there are commonly reckoned about thirty-five leagues of coast. But this narrow space produces great abundance of corn, that which grows about Cape St. *Vincent* being esteemed the best in *Portugal*. Besides this, there are numberless vineyards, and whole woods of fig trees, which with raisins, almonds, and a plentiful fishery upon its coasts, have justly gained it the reputation of a very rich country. In ancient times it had the title of a county, and Don *Alonso* was the first who assumed the title of monarch of *Portugal* and *Algarve*. The arms of this kingdom, given by Don *Alonso*, were sanguine semee of castles, or. Over them he placed the arms of *Portugal*; so that the castles of the former made an orb to the latter. He also made an alteration in the number of bezants in each escutcheon of the *Portuguese* arms, leaving but eleven in each, whereas before there were thirteen. (1)

(8) *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana*, tom. i. p. 291.

(1) Manuel Faria y Sousa *Építome de las Historias Portuguesas*.

(9) Nunez, Colmenar, de la Neufville.

a It appeared, however, necessary to Don *Alonso* to give the Pope very strong assurances of his respect and obedience; and at the same time to inform him, that the prelates who had quitted his kingdom did it without any real necessity, and that they might return without any apprehensions. He then went with his queen and the infant *Denis*, heir apparent of his dominions, to *Seville*, to pay a visit to her father, who was so well pleased with his grandson, that for his sake he remitted all claims whatsoever upon the crown of *Portugal*, and declared its monarchs free from all kind of homage, which gave his subjects no small offence *. After he returned into *Portugal*, Don *Alonso* dispossessed the knights of several orders of the places they held, and annexed them to the crown, under various pretences; but in reality he thought fortresses in the hands of subjects a thing incompatible with the safety of the monarchy. These and some other steps taken, he began to think it time to perfect his reconciliation with the Pope, and after various altercations, called an assembly of the states at *Santarem*, to enquire into and redress the grievances of the clergy; but as this did not produce immediately all that was expected from it, the Pope talked in higher terms, and threatened to release his subjects from their obedience and their oaths of fidelity, which likewise had but little operation, though this threat was repeated more than once *. Obtains an exemption from all claims from Castile, by an act of address. A. D. 1277.

THE whole reign of Don *Alonso* was a scene of policy well conceived, and executed with very great address. The king rewarded and punished with equal justice (1). He was extremely active and vigilant in points of real concern to his government; and perceiving that it was no longer practicable to extend his dominions, very prudently bent his whole care to their improvement. In some places he founded new cities, in others he repaired old ones: he granted new privileges to a multitude of places, and was particularly solicitous for the relief of the common people. He caused many churches to be erected, and founded and endowed some convents. In his differences with the clergy, he acted as he thought fit; but never without plausible reasons, had his agents constantly at the court of *Rome*, and amused more than one pontiff during his whole reign, with a fruitless negotiation. He received the cardinals and legates that came into *Portugal* with all possible respect, treated them with the utmost magnificence, and left nothing unattempted to gain their friendship; but in point of action he was more sparing, till at length, finding himself sinking under the weight of a mortal disease, he took a resolution of being reconciled to the church: having made a full submission, done some things, and directed the infant Don *Denis* to perform the rest, he received the absolution from the hands of *Stephen* abbot of *Alcobaza*, and departed this life on the sixteenth of *February*, 1279, in the thirty-first year of his reign, and the sixty-ninth of his life *. He left the kingdom of *Portugal* complete to his successors, which had been gradually augmented by himself and his predecessors †; and therefore his reign naturally puts an end to this section. Reconciled on his death-bed to the church, Pope, and clergy.

¶ FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, FERRERAS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.
* BRANDAN, LA NEUFVILLE. † FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, Histoire de Espana, part vi. sect. 13.
LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE. ‡ FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

(1) This prince was very remarkable in his person, being in stature much above the ordinary size of men, which appeared not only from his pictures, but from the view of his body, when at the command of king *Sebastian*, his tomb was opened: his countenance was open and pleasant; his eyes small, but sparkling; his hair black; his complexion ruddy; he was very adroit in all the exercises becoming a prince; very gallant in his person, and formed to attract the love and esteem of all about him. In times of peace, and when his revenue would permit, he affected magnificence; but when his affairs required it, he was extremely prudent and frugal. He loved to be called the friend of the poor, to which he had a good title, since he pawned his crown to furnish them with bread in a time of scarcity. His familiarity and interest with the people, made him respected by the nobles, and obeyed by the clergy, even against the wills of several Popes. It appears, by their epistles, that his horrid and grievous oppressions of the clergy were in reality nothing more than obliging them to do justice, and to live suitable to

their characters, by punishing them as well as he did the rest of his subjects, if they were deficient in either. He is blamed by the *Portuguese* for his complaisance to Don *Alonso* the wife, of *Castile*; but the *Spaniards* say, that he made him pay so dear for it, that he had a better title to be stiled the wife than he; it may be, his claim may be better supported from these maxims to which he steadily adhered: he had many counsellors, but no favourites; he punished severely, and rewarded generously; his income was the rule of his living, and though he loved pleasure and expence; he chose to retrench rather than impose any new taxes upon his subjects; but he was exact in levying his revenue; and when he resumed the grants he had made while regent, he gave no other reason than that those to whom he made the grants did not deserve them (2). In a word, he acted the politician whenever it was necessary, and as far as it was necessary; but at other times he was as frank, as gentle, and as liberal as his brother, whom if he had used better, his reputation had been without stain.

(2) Nunex, Brandan, Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras, de la Neufville, le Clede, &c.

S E C T. III.

Containing the reigns of Denis, Alonfo IV. Pedro I. Ferdinand; and the interregnum that followed upon his demife, and which lafted eighteen months.

*Accession of
of Don Denis
the liberal, or
father of his
country, and
quarrel with
his mother.*

A.D. 1280.

1283.

*New disputes
with the cler-
gy, which are
at length com-
promised by the
court of Rome.*

1284.

THE king Don *Denis*, surnamed *the Liberal* and *the Father of his Country*, succeeded his father in the nineteenth year of his age, and began his reign in a manner that gave great offence to the *Spaniards*, and which is highly commended by the *Portuguese* historians. It seems the queen dowager, *Donna Beatrix*, thought herself entitled in that quality to take a large share in the government, which the king was by no means inclined to permit; upon which she retired in great displeasure to her father the king of *Castile*, who, at her request, made a journey to *Badajoz*, and solicited the king of *Portugal* to make him a visit there; but the young king, being determined not to depart from his point, and foreseeing that in this case such an interview might be attended with disagreeable consequences, contented himself with sending the princes and princesses of the royal family to pay their respects to the monarch of *Castile*; but could not be prevailed on by any intreaties to make him a visit, which was so ill taken by his mother, that she refused to return into *Portugal*, believing that she should be less considered there than in the dominions of the king her father^a. As for *Denis*, he consulted the principal nobility about his person on the important subject of his marriage: and by their advice was determined to send three of the principal lords of his court to demand *Donna Isabella*, the daughter of *Don Pedro* king of *Arragon*, who was very justly reputed the most amiable princess in *Spain*, as well for her virtue and prudence as for her exquisite beauty; which negotiation was speedily accomplished to the great joy and satisfaction of both kingdoms, though the marriage was not celebrated till two years after^b. The infant *Don Sancho* of *Castile*, having about this time formed a resolution of assuming very unjustly the administration during the life-time of his father, demanded the friendship of the kings of *Arragon* and *Portugal*, which, from motives of policy, they granted him, though not long after they had just reasons to repent^c. It was, however, in some measure owing to this alliance, that the new queen *Donna Isabella*, passing through *Castile*, in her way to *Troncoso*, where the marriage was to be solemnized, was received by queen *Violante* and part of the royal family, by whom she was treated with all possible marks of affection and respect. On her arrival on the frontiers of *Portugal*, she was received by some of the principal nobility, who conducted her to *Troncoso*, where the marriage was celebrated with all the splendor suitable to such a ceremony, and to the disposition of the king, who was the most magnificent prince of that age^d.

THE joy and satisfaction which diffused itself through the kingdom of *Portugal* upon this occasion, were quickly interrupted by the revival of the old disputes with the clergy, which very soon ran as high as ever: for the king, being very intent on correcting those disorders which the last interdict had brought into the kingdom, and in which the ecclesiastics had as great a share as the rest of his subjects, the prelates interposed, and the archbishop of *Braga* particularly insisted upon the king's giving the bishops satisfaction in several points; and, upon his refusal, had recourse to the old remedy, which the clergy had ever at their fingers ends, an interdict^e. The king bore this with great temper and patience, representing to the clergy, that the punishment was not only great, but of a nature perfectly different from the offence, since he neither favoured heresy nor heretics, and never intermeddled with ecclesiastical affairs, or offered any insult to the church, or its members. He then desired they would specify what their demands were; and having regulated every thing as well as he could, he desired their agreement might be sent to *Rome*, and have the sanction of the Pope's approbation. This was accordingly done; and *Martin* the fourth, one of the most haughty pontiffs ever seated in the chair of *St. Peter*, moderated some of the demands of the clergy, and approved the king's concessions^f. The five points of which the clergy complained most, were these, that the king insisted that his hereditary estates were free from tythe; that he would not suffer the clergy to purchase land estates; that he insisted upon a fourth part of the price when they did; that he would not permit them to carry money out of the kingdom when and in what proportions they pleased; and that when lands were left to the church, he insisted they were still liable to the taxes with which they were formerly charged.

^a FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Alonfo el Sabio, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE. ^b E. NUNEZ, ZURITA Annal. Arragon. BRANDAN, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE. ^c Cronica del Rey Don Alonfo el Sabio, FERRERAS, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA, E. NUNEZ, LE CLEDE, ^d E. NUNEZ, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS. ^e FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, RAINALD, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^f FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, BRANDAN, FERRERAS, RAINALD, MARIANA.

- ^a THE king found himself at the same time in danger of a rupture with Don Sancho the *His brother*
Brave, now become king of *Castile*, Don Nunez de Lara, his subject, having taken refuge *Don Alonso*
in *Portugal*. However Don Denis believing they should understand one another better in a *raises an insur-*
conference, proposed an interview to Don Sancho, which was readily accepted. There *rection, and ad-*
the two kings agreed, that it was highly expedient for both, for the king of *Portugal* to *vance a claim*
take into his own hands those places on the frontiers which his father had given to the infant *to the throne.*
Don Alonso, and this produced a quarrel between the two brothers, insomuch that Don Alonso
not only took up arms in his own defence, but insinuated also, that he had a better title to the
crown, because Don Denis was born during the life-time of the countess of *Bologne*, and
himself after her decease. The king coming with an army before *Portalegre*, where the *A. D. 1287.*
^b infant Don Alonso was, with what strength he could raise, he quickly found his affairs in so
untoward a condition, that he was very well content to listen to any propositions the king
would make; and upon his assurance, that he meant him no injustice, and that he was
willing to give him a settled revenue of forty thousand pounds, he resigned the towns of
Ourem and Cintra, which were the principal places in question^e. The war that followed
between the crowns of *Castile* and *Aragon*, occasioned another interview between Don Denis
and Don Sancho, at *Sabugal*, where they parted good friends^h. By this time the clergy
were become restless again: upon which the king applied first to the Pope, now *Nicholas* the
fourth, who heard the *Portuguese* prelates in person, and the king by his proctors; and
decided, that if the king swore to maintain his agreement, the clergy should abide by it: and
^c accordingly an assembly of the states was called for this purpose, in which the king swore with
all the solemnity the Pope had prescribed, and the clergy were constrained to be quiet for
this timeⁱ. But they still retained a grudge against the ministers, on account of the advice
given by them in these affairs.

As there were few princes so learned in this age, so it may be truly asserted, there was *Wise provisions*
none more a friend to learning, or learned men, than the king of *Portugal*, who erected an *made by the*
university at *Lisbon*, and ordered schools and other seminaries of learning to be set up in all *king for the*
the great towns throughout his dominions^k. This gained him the affection of the better *safety and im-*
part of the clergy, notwithstanding he adhered steadily to his own maxims, and, by the advice *provement of*
of his brother Don Alonso, who was now thoroughly reconciled to him, procured a law to *his dominions.*
^d be enacted by the states, which forbid, under very severe penalties, the selling of any land to
ecclesiastical communities, whether regulars or seculars; and upon these wise principles, that
the church was but a trustee for the poor, and that therefore, in accumulating wealth, she laid
up what was not her own: that it was an injury to suffer this money to be vested in land,
for the maintenance of indolent and lazy people; and that it tended strongly to weaken and
impoverish the nation to suffer those to purchase any thing who could part with nothing, and
who, in process of time, must of necessity acquire all^l. Some things he had done in the
beginning of his reign, he now thought it necessary to cancel and rescind, such as grants
without proper motives, and a kind of asylums, or cities of refuge, to which such as had
committed homicides, or other crimes, might repair and reside safely; but this was after they
^e had answered the ends for which he granted these privileges, that is, when from being empty
they were become inhabited, and when those, who setting the laws at defiance, had maintained
themselves by rapine in rocks and mountains, had again so far entered into obedience, as to
fix their residence in the frontier towns, from whence he took care they should not be able to
depart, and where that humour, so dangerous elsewhere, might be useful against the
infidels.

We are assured by many of the *Portuguese* authors, that Don Sancho the *Brave* made *The true sources*
inroads into the territories of king Denis, and laid them waste with fire and sword, without any *of the dif-*
provocation; and that upon this the monarch of *Portugal*, being not immediately able to *ferences: so long*
resist him, sent him a challenge. But it is infinitely more probable, that these hostilities *subsisting with*
^f were not committed till after the death of that prince, who, if the most accurate of the *Spanish* *the crown of*
historians may be depended upon, had another interview with king Denis, in which a double
marriage was concluded between their families, and some other points stipulated for the ad-
vantage of the king of *Portugal*, Don Sancho being then in a very declining state, his heir
apparent a child, and his concerns in great confusion. It was to enforce these terms, and to
recover the fortresses on the side of *Castile*, which his mother, Donna *Beatrix*, had all along
held, that Denis began to arm immediately after Sancho's death, chiefly by the persuasion of
his brother Don Alonso, who had for many years been carrying on intrigues with the male-
content lords, and in conjunction with them, was now very desirous of drawing some advantage
from the weakness inseparable from a minority under the direction of female councils. At

^e BRANDAN, FERRERAS, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.

^h FERRERAS Historia de Espana, part vi.

fest. xiii. Cronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo, FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

ⁱ RAINALD, FERRERAS, FARIA Y SOUSA. ^k LA NEUFVILLE, tom. i. p. 159, RAINALD, FERRERAS,

FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA. ^l LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

least

least this is the most probable account of this rupture, which did not continue long, though a possibly there might be some great acts of violence committed on both sides; for the queen regent of *Castile*, perceiving plainly of what consequence the friendship of the king of *Portugal* might be, and the infant Don *Henry*, to whom she gave a share of the administration, pressing her to a speedy accommodation, it was agreed, that a negotiation should be set on foot, and in order to bring it the sooner to a conclusion, the management of it was left in the hands of the infant Don *Henry*, who, the *Spaniards* say, had a very great complaisance for the monarch of *Portugal*, but whom the *Portuguese* writers assert, managed this treaty with great skill and dexterity^m.

Compromised
at last by a
double marri-
age in the royal
families.

THE issue of all these conferences was an interview between Don *Denis* and the queen dowager of *Castile*, in which the former contracts were renewed, and the places, which the king of *Portugal* thought necessary for his safety, were abandoned to themⁿ. The pacification that was thus brought about lasted not long; for the troubles in *Castile* augmenting, and there being no less than two competitors set up against Don *Ferdinand*, viz. Don *Alonso de la Cerda*, who had claimed against his father, as we have shewn in another place, and the infant Don *Juan*, brother to the deceased Don *Sancho*, Don *Denis* was prevailed upon, from political motives, to put himself again in arms, in order, by the assistance of the kings of *Arragon* and *Granada*, to establish *la Cerda* on the throne of *Castile*, and the infant Don *Juan* in the kingdom of *Leon*. Yet after some skirmishes, in which there was but too much blood shed on both sides, a new negotiation was set on foot, which produced another interview with the queen dowager of *Castile*, when, through the interposition of the queen of *Portugal*, who was sincerely desirous of peace, things were brought somewhat nearer a conclusion than they had been before, by an exchange of the two princesses, Donna *Constantia* being left in *Castile*, where, as soon as she was of a proper age, she was to marry the king; and Donna *Beatrix*, that monarch's sister, who was to espouse Don *Alonso*, prince of *Portugal*, returned with them into their own dominions^o. In some short time after this, the king's brother, Don *Alonso*, pressed him to legitimate his children, not that they were bastards, but that the princess his wife was so nearly allied to him, that he had just reason to apprehend the validity of their marriage might be some time or other questioned. The king, who was naturally tender and humane, complied with this request; but refusing not long after to unravel, at his brother's sollicitation, all that had been concluded with the king of *Castile* and his brother, Don *Alonso* revived his old discontents, and at length broke out into open rebellion. However, the king had so great success in this dispute, that his brother found himself blocked up in the city of *Portalegro*, and in great danger of being reduced to extremities; if his mother the queen Donna *Beatrix*, and his sister-in-law the queen of *Portugal*, had not interposed in his behalf, and induced the king to grant him more honourable and advantageous terms than he had any reason to expect^p. This flame thus extinguished, king *Denis* resolved to proceed with all imaginable diligence to the celebration of those marriages upon which the peace of *Spain* and his own dominions so much depended, and in consideration of which a cession had been made him by the late treaty of a very considerable district in *Galicia*.

A. D. 1300.

Advantages
accruing to the
crown of *Castile*
by this close
alliance with
Portugal.

IN consequence of the joint application of the courts of *Castile* and *Portugal* at *Rome*, the necessary dispensations were obtained; but notwithstanding this, the new troubles that broke out in *Castile* occasioned a delay of the marriage; which, however, was at length solemnized at *Valladolid*, with all the solemnity the distracted state of affairs in that kingdom would permit. It was not long after that Don *Ferdinand* desired an interview with his father-in-law at *Badajoz*, to which he consented, and it was managed with great friendship and tenderness on both sides^q. But the king of *Castile* being very young, and at variance with his mother, to whose care and prudence he owed the preservation of his life, his crown, and dominions, he was prevailed upon by those about him frequently to vary his designs, and sometimes to pursue such as were not very consistent either with his interest or his duty; and because the king of *Portugal* did not supply him with such sums of money as he desired, some of the *Spanish* writers have treated his memory rudely; and on the other hand, the *Portuguese* historians, in resentment of this, have magnified exceedingly the obligations conferred upon him by his father-in-law. It is, however, on all hands agreed, that the king Don *Denis* assisted him in his wars against the *Moors*, made a new tour, at his request, into *Castile*, and after having spent some days with the king and his mother, went with them to *Agreda*, where they met the king of *Arragon*, and where, by the interposition and mediation of Don *Denis*, all points in dispute between those two monarchs were amicably determined, and a compensation settled, which was to be given to the family of *la Cerda*. We do not enter into the particulars of these important treaties here, because they have been already fairly and fully represented in the

^m Cronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo, FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ⁿ FERRERAS, Histoire de Espana, part vi. §. xiii. ^o BRANDAN, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS.

^p BRANDAN, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^q Cronica del Rey Don Fernand, FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, Monarchia Lusitana.

- a history of *Spain*, and the only end for which they are mentioned here is to shew how much the monarchy of *Castile*, and indeed all *Christendom*, were indebted to the prudence and moderation of Don *Denis*, who, by temporizing with all parties, brought to an end those differences which had perplexed *Spain* for so many years, and prevented the infidels from taking those advantages that otherwise they certainly would have done of recovering a part at least of what had been taken from them. It may be, and indeed it is highly probable, that in the course of twenty years transactions, embarrassed with difficulties and confusions of all kinds, Don *Denis* might do many things rather excusable in a politician than commendable in a prince; yet upon the whole, and taking in the difficulties to which he was exposed by the continual perplexities of his brother, and the pressing suggestions of the king of *Arragon*, he had much less regard to his own interests, and was infinitely more careful of the affairs of his son-in-law than is usual amongst princes. If it be true, which the *Spanish* writers assert, that in most of these points he was influenced by his queen, yet this will not acquit them of any part of the obligation, since the great authority that princess gained over him was chiefly owing to the high opinion he entertained of her wisdom and prudence, and not at all from a weak or uxorious disposition, which might have led him to a blind compliance with whatever she desired.

- It was indeed in a great measure owing to the prudence of this great princess, and the great respect paid her, that the kings of *Castile*, *Arragon*, and *Portugal*, lived for so many years in so good intelligence; and that when Don *Ferdinand* at length complained, that his guardians had been over-reached in his nonage in those cessions that were made to the crown of *Portugal*, and threatened to recover them by arms, Don *Denis* was induced to leave the matter in dispute wholly to the decision of the king of *Arragon*, to whom both kings sent ambassadors, and who was on the point of pronouncing sentence when the king of *Castile* died. This entirely changed the face of affairs: *Denis* entered warmly into the interests of that crown, and neglected nothing that might support his grandson upon the throne, or the queen, his daughter, in the regency. He was the more able to do this, as every thing was entirely quiet in his own dominions; the death of his brother, the infant Don *Alonso*, having freed him from brother responsible, treating them, on the contrary, with the same kindness and courtesy as if the deceased infant had been the best subject in his dominions. The repose of princes, however, is seldom of long continuance, and the death of his daughter, the queen of *Castile*, which threw the regency of that kingdom again into the hands of the old queen dowager, was the first source of his chagrin, and it was quickly followed by a new and greater misfortune.

- THE prince Don *Alonso*, under various pretences, made several tours to the court of *Castile*, and the queen dowager burning with impatience to see her daughter *Beatrice* a queen, which gradually impaired that reverence due from him to the king his father, whose sentiments and whose actions he began to criticise, he in a little time found himself at the head of a strong party. At first Don *Denis* endeavoured to reclaim him by good advice, by shewing him the folly of such a proceeding, and by assuring him, that, when he came to the throne, he would find those persons who were now his favourites less fit to be trusted than any of his subjects. But these salutary representations, instead of producing any effects, only inspired the prince with stronger inclinations to increase his party, and to render himself formidable, by becoming the head of all the malecontents in the kingdom. Don *Denis* dissembled his resentment, and persisted in pursuing the wise designs he had formed for the benefit of his subjects. He regulated the proportion and manner of levying the taxes on the *Moors* settled in his dominions, and this in such a manner as proved equally satisfactory to them and to his successors. He treated the knights templars, persecuted by the Pope and all the princes of *Europe*, with equity and clemency: he improved one military order, and instituted another, under those regulations which have for the most part continued ever since, and which rendered both of them dependent upon the crown, and useful to the state.

- THE king, who saw with infinite concern the disturbances that continued in *Castile*, and apprehended the *Moors* would take advantage of them, as well as of those in his own dominions, thought it prudent to have a good fleet at sea, to prevent their drawing over reinforcements from *Africa*; and to defray the expence of this armament, he sent ambassadors to the Pope, then at *Avignon*, to desire his permission to levy a tax upon the clergy; to procure his approbation of the new order of knighthood, and his interposition with his son, to prevent the kingdom from being plunged in a civil war. His ambassadors, besides the instructions they carried on all the heads, were likewise intrusted with a very considerable present in ready gold,

¹ ZURITA Annal. Arragon. BRANDAN, Cronica del Rey Don Fernand, MAYERNE TURQUET, LA NEUFVILLE, Histoire generale de Portugal, MARIANA, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, Histoire de Espana, part vii. § xiv. ² FAIA Y SOUSA, BRANDAN, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET, LA NEUFVILLE. ³ Mo-narch. Lusitan. ZURITA Annal. Arragon, FERRERAS, LE CLEDE, RAINALD. ⁴ FAIA Y SOUSA, ANT. FAVIN, LA NEUFVILLE, tom. i. p. 17. FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, part vii. § xiv. MAYERNE TURQUET.

which, as the Pope's finances were in much disorder, was very kindly accepted, and procured them a speedy dismissal, with all that they could desire^w. On the other hand, the prince Don *Alonso* had again recourse to the queen dowager of *Castile*, who was his oracle, and, as the *Portuguese* authors^x assert, prompted him to that conduct he pursued. *Ferreras* expresses some resentment at this, and styles it^y a cruel attempt to blacken the memory of that great queen; but at the same time confesses, that the king of *Portugal* forbid his son to go into *Castile*: that notwithstanding this he went thither with the princess his consort; and that the queen dowager went to meet them, and had a long conference with them; soon after which the troubles in *Portugal* began. This shews that he was a better historian than an apologist; and though offended with the liberties taken with the queen Donna *Maria*'s character, he would not attempt to defend it at the expence of truth.

A civil war
breaks out, in
which the king
is victorious
over prince A-
lonso.

THE prince Don *Alonso* committed his first hostilities in paper. He published a strong manifesto against his father, in which he charged him with applying to the Pope, to legitimate his natural son, *Alonso Sanchez*, with an intent to render him his successor. In answer to this, the king declared it never entered into his thoughts; the Pope asserted in the most solemn manner, that no such application had ever been made to him, and appeared extremely incensed at the report^z. The prince then varied his story, and charged his natural brother with an attempt to poison him, and affirmed he had in his hands the most convincing proofs^a. The king found means to come at these proofs, and published to the world when and where they were forged by the prince's orders. *Alonso* then employed some of those desperate persons who were about him to assassinate Don *Alonso Sanchez*: he failed in this too, and then broke out into open rebellion, prevailing upon the governor of *Leyria* to surrender to him that important place. The king presently marched that way with a body of troops: upon which the inhabitants took up arms, and compelled the garrison to open the gates, assuring the king that they had no share in the governor's treasons. Don *Denis* acted with more severity than he had ever shewn upon any other occasion; he put the governor and part of his garrison to death, and left the town to the custody of the people^b. While he was thus employed, the prince took *Santarem*, which, however, the king quickly recovered. The prince then amused him with a treaty, and attempted to surprize *Lisbon*, which by a quick march his father disappointed; he afterwards came up with him near *Cintra*, defeated his forces, and might have made him prisoner, but the king forbid his troops either to take or hurt him^c.

Queen Isabella
brings about
an accommoda-
tion, and is as
successful a se-
cond time.

THIS was so far from having any effect on the prince, that when he was in a condition to take the field again, he kept no kind of measures, but burnt and destroyed without mercy the country wherever he came. What puts his behaviour out of dispute, and sufficient to mark a brand of infamy upon his memory, is the case of *Girard*, bishop of *Evora*, who having acquainted him, that if he continued to act in this manner, and did not return to his obedience, the Pope had given him full powers to proceed against him by spiritual censures; but that he was still desirous of respecting in him the blood of his prince; for which admonition the prelate was barbarously put to death^d. *James*, king of *Aragon*, sent his brother Don *Sancho* to compromise these matters, but he had no better success than the rest of the mediators: on the contrary, the prince's army having become very numerous, he was persuaded to lay siege to *Guimaraez*: there his brother, the infant Don *Pedro*, came to him, but authors are not very clear, whether it was to give him good advice, or to join with him in his evil practices. However, the place being strong, made a vigorous defence; and the king having now lost all patience, marched with a very complete army towards *Coimbra*, now in the prince's hands. This, as he expected, brought the prince to its relief, and consequently to hazard a battle; but the good queen *Isabella* interposed, and after passing several times between both armies, procured at length a cessation of arms. The king went then to *Leyria*, to which place the prince followed him of his own accord, threw himself at his feet, and desired his forgiveness, of which his father gave him the strongest assurances^e. He removed from thence to *Lisbon*, where he fell dangerously ill, made his testament, by which he founded an university at *Coimbra*, and gave very large sums to the poor. The prayers of his subjects saved his life; but he was no sooner recovered than he had the dissatisfaction of perceiving that his son was relapsed. He discovered his bad intentions by presenting a memorial, in which he demanded many things beyond what his father had promised him. The king received this memorial without heat, and laid it before his council, who unanimously advised the king to reject it. The prince, who was prompted to this by some about him, immediately drew his forces together, and attempted to seize *Lisbon*, upon which the king also assembled forces; but

^w RAINALD, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, MARIANA.
^y Historia de España, partvii. §xiv.

^z RAINALD, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.
NEUFVILLE, LE CIEDE, BRANDAN, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^a FERRERAS, partvii. §xiv.

^b RAINALD, BRANDAN.
^c FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE.

^d FARIA Y SOUSA, LE
CIEDE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, BRANDAN.

^e FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE.

^f RAINALD, BRANDAN.

^g FARIA Y SOUSA, LE
CIEDE, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, BRANDAN.

^h ZURITA Annal. Aragon, RAINALD,

a before he marched against his son, he sent a gentleman of his bed-chamber, whose name was *Azevedo*, to tell him that he acted as much against his interest as his duty; that he was teaching those rebellion whom he was shortly to govern; that he was ruining a kingdom which would be his own; and that as his health was daily declining, if the prince consulted his credit, he would at least suffer him to die in peace. *Alonso* was little moved with this, and only answered, that his father used him harshly, and meant to use him worse. *Azevedo* replied, that the king had no such intentions, and that he was abused by such as told him these stories. The prince bid him be gone, if he had a mind to keep his head. "I do not value my head, sir, returned, *Azevedo*, in the king's service; the only pain I shall feel in losing it, is perceiving that he has begot a son capable of such an act." After all, the queen b reconciled them a second time, and the prince went again to kiss his father's hand, who received him with much affection, assured him of his forgiveness, and suggested to him a great deal of good advice^f. The prince behaved on his side with all exterior marks of submission, and sorrow for what had passed.

THIS reconciliation did not last so long as the former; for as the prince did not care to live with his father, he was continually surrounded with flatterers, who poisoned his mind with jealousies and suspicions; for he was not either disobedient or obstinate of himself, but rather of a contrary disposition. The point upon which they chiefly insisted was the kindness shewn by Don *Denis* to his natural son *Alonso Sanchez*, to whom he had given the first employment in the kingdom, and who acted as his prime minister. They persuaded the prince to demand of his father the divesting him of his employment, and removing him from his person. This mortified Don *Denis* to the last degree, more especially when he saw that some of his most faithful servants advised him to yield. *Alonso Sanchez* cut the matter short; and to justify the king's conduct, by shewing that he respected nothing in him but merit, resigned his office freely, and retired into *Castile*^g. The prince Don *Alonso* upon this came to the court, and brought with him his little son Don *Pedro*, with whom the king was exceedingly pleased. In a very little time the prince made a strange alteration in his conduct, and gradually expelled from his presence those who had been the authors of his revolts. The king going from *Leyria* to *Santarem*, spent some time there, as being very much pleased with the country. He went from thence to *Lisbon*, where finding himself again indisposed, he sent immediately to the prince, and after giving him a great deal of good advice, and pointed out to him the means of avoiding the bad consequences that might naturally attend his former faults, he breathed his last on the thirtieth of *December*, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and at the close of the forty-fifth year of his reign, to the universal grief of his subjects of all ranks, who not only revered him as their prince, but loved him as their parent^h (A). A. D. 1324.

^f LA NEUFVILLE, RAINALD, FARIA Y SOUSA, BRANDAN, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^g FARIA Y SOUSA, Monarch. Lusitan. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, BRANDAN, LA NEUFVILLE. ^h FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE, BRANDAN, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS.

(A) This monarch was of a middle stature, broad shoulder'd, full faced, his hair black, and his eyes large. He applied himself diligently to his studies in his youth; and when he came to the possession of his throne, he considered reigning as a science, which it was his business to acquire; but he took a very singular way of learning it, and which nothing but the strength and excellency of his own genius could have rendered successful (1). We have observed, he differed with his mother, and declined an interview with his grandfather; and from the same motive he dismissed his father's ministers, being resolved to have no instructors. His first care was to visit his dominions, province by province, and wherever he came he took notice of what he thought right, and what wrong (2). He was particularly careful of agriculture, and favoured it so much through his whole reign, that the country people called him the husbandman. He had a most magnificent crown, and a large scepter, made of the gold washed out of the sands of the *Tago*. When it was suggested to him, that the labour in picking this gold was more than it was worth, he added calmly, but it is a fine exercise for those who have nothing to do (3). In the twenty-second year of his age, he corrected all that he had done amiss at the opening of his reign, and from that time would do nothing without good advice, which

when some wondered at, he said pleasantly, that it was a dangerous thing for kings to take advice, before they know how to distinguish it, and imprudent to act without it afterwards. He understood all things, and he rewarded all men, provided they had merit; and this was such a spur to industry, that it raised his revenue exceedingly, without imposing taxes (4). He did not hoard money, but chose to empty his coffers in works of utility and magnificence, some of which are yet remaining, and appear to have been very costly. He excused this to those that wondered at it, by saying, if I do not give it them, they cannot give it me; meaning, that if wealth did not circulate, his revenues must sink. He was particularly careful in keeping up a naval force; so that he was master at sea, during his whole reign. He was very strict in the administration of justice; and one great cause of his disputes with his clergy, was his not suffering priests to violate the laws with impunity. He built a magnificent tomb for himself in the monastery of *Odivellas*, where he was interred (5). He possessed the hearts of his people so entirely, that there was not a family in his dominions but lamented his death as a misfortune to themselves. All the Portuguese authors concur in their commendations of Don *Denis*, and stile him the father of husbandmen, and the protector of commerce (6).

(1) Nunez, *Vasconcellos*, de la Neufville. (2) *Vasconcellos*, Faria y Sousa, Mayerne Turquet. (3) Nunez, *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, le Clede, &c. (4) *Vasconcellos*, Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras. (5) Nunez, Rainald, Faria y Sousa, Mayerne Turquet. (6) Brandan, Nunez, *Vasconcellos*, Faria y Sousa, de la Neufville.

Some remarks upon the reign of Don Denis, and on the trade of Portugal. HE was, without all doubt, one of the wisest, most fortunate, and most magnificent monarchs of his time. He gave largely, but he gave with propriety; yet he did this so often, so freely, and with such an apparent pleasure, that his name became a proverb, and they say to this day, *As generous as king Denis*. His bounty, however, was not restrained to gifts: he founded two universities, and a military order; he completed many good designs that his predecessors had left unfinished; he fortified and raised magazines in most of his frontier towns, arsenals in his ports, and in other things was at a vast expence, and never without money; yet he did not either tax or oppress his subjects. His wealth was the wonder of his own times; for observing how thoroughly he performed whatever he undertook, the common people were wont to say, that Don *Denis* could do what he would. This is an argument that there must have been a vast trade then in *Portugal*; and another proof of this is, that, through his whole reign, the king kept a great naval force at sea, by which he awed the *Moors*, and protected his own coasts and those of *Andalusia*. There is yet another evidence of what has been before advanced: the king is highly commended by the *Portuguese* historians for not affecting any thing that was foreign in his dress, at his table, or in his furniture. This implies, that he was singular in this respect, and his motive certainly was to promote the commodities and manufactures of his own country, so as to raise their value in the sentiments of his own people and of strangers, which was one of the most effectual methods he could devise for bringing wealth into his country, which will always attend commerce, if luxury does not carry it away again. We speak of these matters doubtfully, and from conjecture, because the *Portuguese* historians are not very explicit upon this head; and yet from a comparison of circumstances, there can be nothing clearer than that a great commerce was carried on there at this time, which, in all probability, was the effects of the frequent visits made to the coasts of *Portugal* by those fleets of adventurers that from all parts of *Europe* sailed to the *Holy Land*, and the intercourse that resulted from thence with the islands of the *Archipelago*, and the ports of *Greece*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, from whence, in process of time, they derived those lights that put them upon attempting discoveries, of which in this age they had not even the most glimmering prospect. But they had already the effects of trade and shipping, by which they were rendered rich and powerful in comparison with, and in the general estimation of their neighbours.

Don Alonso IV. succeeds, and is very indolent in the discharge of his duty. DON *Alonso* the fourth, surnamed *the Brave*, succeeded his father, and was crowned with great solemnity¹. His conduct, while he was heir apparent, had not given the most favourable opinion of him to his subjects; and more especially to such of the nobility as had been intrusted by the late king Don *Denis*, and who, by a long acquaintance with affairs, had acquired a very high authority, and a general influence over the whole nation. Don *Alonso* did not consider either their characters or his own in a proper point of view; but seemed to look on the possession of the crown as a sufficient title to act as he thought fit, to pursue his pleasures without disturbance, and to live in all respects above and without controul. But the council thought otherwise; and though they might easily have converted this temper of the new king to their own advantage, by engrossing all power into their own hands, and barely administering the government in his name, yet they acted another and a better part, and that too with all the success they could desire (B). The king, who at the bottom had good sense, as

¹ LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, Historia de España, part vii. § xiv.

(B) Though the ancient *Portuguese* historians, like those of other countries, are so inattentive in point of chronology, that it is impossible to discover from them where the extraordinary fact we are going to relate ought to be placed; yet with the modern historians of that country we are of opinion, it is most likely to have happened soon after Don *Alonso's* accession to the throne. He was in the vigour of his age; hunting was his favourite diversion; those who shared his confidence encouraged and allured him to this sport; so that he spent his time in the forests about *Cintra*, while all affairs of government were neglected, or, which was worse, executed under the direction of those who took pains to keep their master in ignorance (8). At length the king returned to *Lisbon*, and coming into his council, with all the brisk impetuosity of a sportsman, he gave them, with great frankness and spirit, the history of a whole month's hunting, fishing, and shooting. When he had done speaking, a person of great quality rose up, and said, courts and camps were designed for kings, and not woods and deserts. The affairs of pri-

vate men suffer when recreation is preferred to business; but as they are public persons, a whole nation is consigned to ruin, whenever the whim of pleasure turns the head of a king. We sit here for other purposes than to hear exploits admirable to the eyes, and only intelligible to the ears of grooms and falconers. If your majesty will attend to the wants, and remove the grievances of your people, you will find them obedient subjects; if not—the king starting with passion at this said, if not, what?—If not, continued the nobleman, in the same tone of voice, they must look for another and a better king. *Alonso* at this lost all patience, and, after having expressed his resentment in very loud and strong terms, threw out of the room in the highest transport of rage. In a little time he returned quiet and composed. I perceive, said he, the truth of what you say; he cannot long have subjects who will not be a king. Remember, that from this day you have nothing more to do with *Alonso* the sportsman, but with *Alonso* king of *Portugal* (9). A fact so extraordinary that it could not be invented.

(8) Nunez, Vasconcellos, de la Neufville. p. iii. c. ix. le Clede.

(9) Nunez, Vasconcellos, Epitome de las historias Portuguesas,

^a well as great spirit, entered by degrees into the knowlege and into the discharge of his duty; which he began by calling to an account some of his old creatures and favourites, not for the bad advice they had given him, and the disturbances which they had thereby created in the kingdom, but for those crimes and offences of which they had been personally guilty, and from the just punishment of which they were in hopes of screening themselves by the royal favour^k. He paid all possible respect to his father's memory, and promoted those who had opposed him with the greatest vehemence; not believing they were enemies to him, but considering them as the true friends of the crown. He shewed much duty to his mother the queen dowager, great affection for his consort queen *Beatrix*, and began to form designs for the firm establishment of his family, and the security of his dominions (C).

^b But with all his good qualities, and in spite of all his good conduct, the king could not overcome in his mind the aversion he had conceived against his natural brother *Alonso Sanchez*; ^{De Jares his brother Alonso Sanchez a professed traitor, and is afterwards reconciled.} and therefore in the first assembly of the states that he held, he ordered his process to be made, and affirming, that he was the sole author of all the differences that had happened between him and the deceased king his father, he directed all his great estate to be seized, and himself proclaimed a traitor^l. This was so much the more extraordinary, as he is commended for passing at this time an excellent law, by which he prohibited private persons from revenging their own injuries, and obliged them to have recourse to the law, as to an impartial judge. *Alonso Sanchez* wrote the king a very respectful letter, in which he assured him of his innocence, of his willingness to serve him with the same fidelity he had done his father, in treating him not to carry into execution the severe sentence he had passed against him. But the king persisting in his revenge, *Alonso Sanchez*, at the head of a considerable body of troops, entered *Portugal*, and did a great deal of mischief. The king sent against him the master of *Avis*, with a superior corps of troops, whom *Alonso Sanchez* engaged and routed. The king, full of resentment, took the field in person; and the governor of *Codeceyra*, near *Albuquerque*, having put that strong place, which belonged to *Alonso Sanchez*, into the king's hands, he burnt it to the ground, and then returned into his own territories^m. His mother *Donna Isabella*, understanding that *Alonso Sanchez* had written again to the king, interposed with her son, and told him plainly that all he had imputed to *Alonso Sanchez* was false; that he was a very brave and a very great man; and that as he had divested himself of other prejudices, so he would find it for his interest to get the better of this, and recal his brother. The king took her advice in good part, and sent *Alonso Sanchez* word, that if he would return, he was content to hear him; on which, notwithstanding all that had happened, he came immediately to court, and the king, after a short coldness, received him into high favourⁿ. An action so royal, that it deserves to be communicated to posterity. A. D. 1336:

At the persuasion of his consort, the king was very desirous to marry his daughter to Don *Alonso* the eleventh, king of *Castile* and *Leon*, and caused some propositions on this head to be made to that prince, who, the *Portuguese* historians say, was already married to *Donna Constantia* the daughter of Don *Juan Manuel*, a powerful and turbulent prince of the blood: ^{A quarrel with Castile, which is at length compromised, and an alliance concluded.} but the best *Spanish* writers say, that he was only contracted to *Donna Constantia*, which is more probable, as that lady was too young to be married. At first the king of *Castile* had no great inclination to the princess of *Portugal*; but at length, from motives of policy, grew very desirous of it; caused *Donna Constantia*, whom he should have married, to be put into prison, and made so much haste to conclude it, as not to stay for a dispensation, which was held necessary in those days^o. Soon after this, prince *Peter*, heir apparent of the crown of *Portugal*, espoused *Donna Blanch*, daughter to the infant Don *Pedro* of *Castile*; but she proved to have some distemper that rendered her incapable of marriage. This produced a

^k LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, E. NUNEZ, DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitaniæ, LE CLEDE. ^l Saint Marthe Hist. FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQ. ^m E. NUNEZ, MARIANA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FERR. ⁿ FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE. ^o LA NEUFVILLE, MARIANA, TURQUET, FERRERAS.

(C) Don *Alonso* was born at *Coimbra*, in the year 1290; he was educated with care during his infancy, and discovered such a pregnancy of parts, as induced the king his father to leave him to himself a little too soon (1). His marriage with *Donna Beatrix*, daughter to *Sancho* the fourth, and sister to *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile*, brought him into an early acquaintance with the factious princes of that family, and excited in him a desire of giving law, when in reality he received it from those about him. By his princess he had four sons and two daughters, viz. *Alonso*, *Denis*, *Juan*, *Pedro*, *Mary*,

and *Leonora*: of these the three first died in their infancy; Don *Pedro* succeeded him; *Donna Maria* espoused *Alonso*, the eleventh king of *Castile*; and *Donna Leonora*, Don *Pedro*, the fourth king of *Aragon* (2). In the disposition therefore of his children, he acted very prudently, and so as to draw to himself and his subjects, a share of all the good fortune that happened in the neighbouring kingdoms as well as his own, and secured their interest, in case he was at any time attacked by the *Moors*, points which had been the principal objects of his predecessors (3).

(1) Nunez, Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa.

(2) Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Mariana, Ferreras.

(3) Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.

negotiation for espousing the lady *Constantia*, who should have been the king of *Castile's* a consort, to prince *Peter* of *Portugal*. To this Don *Alonso* gave his consent in words, but took every method possible to prevent it. This monarch also being fallen into an amour with Donna *Leonora de Guzman*, treated the queen Donna *Maria*, though the daughter of the king of *Portugal*, with great indignity, notwithstanding the interposition of the two queens of *Portugal*, who were his near relations, and for whom he professed great deference and respect. At length, after reciprocal injuries, things ended in an open war by land and sea; and the subjects of both crowns were for twelve years exposed to all the miseries of repeated incursions with fire and sword, for the sake of these domestic jars between their princes. But as we have already entered into the detail of this matter in the history of *Spain*, it would be both needless and tedious to enter into it here; and therefore we shall only observe, that Don *Alonso* the eleventh of *Castile*, finding himself in danger of being attacked by the whole force of the *Moors*, was obliged to have recourse to the kings of *Arragon* and *Portugal* for assistance, even before the war was concluded with the latter; and finding that monarch well disposed, very wisely entered into a treaty, which was concluded in the month of *July* at *Santaren*, by which Donna *Constantia* was permitted to go into *Portugal* to consummate her marriage with the infant Don *Pedro*: and the king of *Portugal* promised to assist his brother of *Castile* with all his force, which he religiously and gallantly performed; and was present in the glorious battle of *Tarifu*, or *Celdano*, fought on the 30th of *October*: in which the *Moors* were totally defeated; and for his assistance in which his son-in-law made him all possible acknowledgements ^p.

The Moors
make a descent
upon Algarve,
and are obliged
to abandon it.

THE war against the *Moors* continued for several years: and the king Don *Alonso*, in pursuance of his engagements, furnished his son-in-law with succours both by land and sea; in consideration of which, he obtained from *Rome* a permission to levy the tenths upon the clergy for two years ^q. The *Moors*, to revenge their losses, projected and executed a descent on the kingdom of *Algarve*; where they burnt and plundered the country, murdered the inhabitants, and, having made themselves masters of *Castro Marine*, demanded assistance from *Granada*, in hopes of being able to keep possession of that country: but the king of *Portugal* soon awakened them from these dreams, and by coming with a superior army, recovered the place ^r. This success restored the quiet of his dominions, which in all other respects were in a very flourishing condition; the laws being strictly executed, the king very active in his administration, and not addicted either to luxury or covetousness. Yet in the midst of this calm, and when it was least expected, a new storm arose, which shook the government to its very foundations, and the dismal effects of which were felt some ages after, as state-convulsions often are.

Unfortunate
amour of Don
Pedro, prince
of Portugal,
with Donna
Agnes de
Castro.

Don *Pedro*, prince of *Portugal*, had given very pregnant signs of a noble and well regulated courage; had behaved very dutifully towards his father, and was a very kind and good husband to Donna *Constantia Manuel*, by whom he had several children. Yet it was thought he had a tenderness for Donna *Agnes de Castro*, the daughter of a *Castilian* gentleman, who had taken refuge in the court of *Portugal*. Some say, that the princess Donna *Constantia* perceived, and grew melancholy upon it, and it is even thought to have hastened her death ^s. The king Don *Alonso* being apprised of it, acted like a great politician; he appointed Donna *Agnes* godmother to his grandson Don *Ferdinand*, because in the *Romish* church this creates a kind of religious alliance, which disables the godmother from ever marrying the father of the child. The scheme was certainly subtil, but it proved notwithstanding ineffectual. As yet the kindness of Don *Pedro* for this lady had not exceeded the bounds of decency; perhaps had not proceeded so far as any declaration, when the princess Donna *Constantia* died: for whom Don *Pedro* shewed a becoming concern, and Donna *Agnes de Castro*, who it is likely knew nothing of the suspicions that were entertained concerning her, manifested an affliction equally tender and sincere, which affected the prince so strongly, that it contributed not a little to fix his inclinations for that unfortunate lady, which discovered themselves not long after, with all the transports of a violent passion; but whether this was of a criminal nature, is at least very doubtful, since Don *Pedro* afterwards affirmed, in the most solemn manner, that he was privately married to her; and in justice to that lady's memory, we ought to believe that this marriage took place before she had any share in his bed ^t. It was, however, kept very secret: and out of respect to his father, and from other motives of policy, he suffered his commerce with her to pass for that kind of gallantry which was held excuseable in a person of his rank, who was become a widower in the flower of his age.

^p FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, LA NEUFVILLE.

NUNEZ, GARIBAY, LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

MAYERNE TURQ. FARIA Y SOUSA.

^q RAINALD, MARIANA, LE CLEDE.

^r E.

^s LA NEUFVILLE, MARIANA,

^t E. NUNEZ, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.

a Upon the accession of Don *Pedro the Cruel* to the throne of *Castile*, many of the nobility of that kingdom, and some even of the first distinction, thought proper to retire into the dominions of the crown of *Portugal*, where they were kindly received by the prince Don *Pedro*, and generously entertained and protected by Donna *Agnes* and her brethren^a, whose conduct in this respect was generally applauded in public, and in private as generally con-^bdemned. Our prince, said the politicians, out of complaisance for his mistress, encourages the *Castilians* who desert their master's service to retire hither, and there is the highest probability that his kindness to these exiles may involve us in a war with our neighbours. The common crowd of courtiers whispered, that all passages to favour and preferment were blocked up by the mistress's relations or countrymen, who obtained whatever they asked, while those who had a natural right to what they obtained, were deluded in their hopes, and disappointed in their expectations. The mob of the court (for courts have their mobs) hated the *Castilians*, merely because they were so, hated those who provided for them, and hated those for whose sake this provision was made: thus the fuel was prepared and placed before fire was set to the machine. Those who managed the contrivance, insinuated to the king, and perhaps to the queen, that it would be for the honour of the crown, and perhaps for the interest of the nation, if Don *Pedro* could be prevailed upon to marry again; that his distaste to this proposition arose entirely from his attachment for Donna *Agnes*, and his tenderness for his children by her; and that this intrigue, though at present it only vexed the royal family, might in the end prove fatal to the state^c. The common pretence of those who would rise by extraordinary counsels.

At last the malice of those, who envied the fortune of the family of *Castro*, induced them to suggest to the king, that his son was married to Donna *Agnes*, and that this match was very much beneath him; and to carry this still farther, they named *Giles*, bishop of *Guarda*, as the prelate by whom it was solemnized. That the king spoke of this to Don *Pedro*, and that he did not own the marriage, seems to be certain; in which the conduct of the prince deserves blame, more especially if it be true, as some have written, that the king also told him, that if he would avow the marriage, he would cause her to be treated as princess of *Portugal*. In the end, when the king's uneasiness and dissatisfaction plainly appeared, these people hinted the danger of his grandson Don *Ferdinand*, from the ambition of Don *Ferdinand* and Don *Alvaro de Castro*; and when the king demanded what remedy could be applied to this evil, they wickedly suggested the putting lady *Agnes* to death, as an expedient actually requisite to the safety of the royal family. The king hesitating, the thing took air, and coming to the ears of the queen and the archbishop of *Braga*, they, from a generous and christian spirit, gave notice of it to the prince; who, believing his father incapable of such an action, looked upon it as a new artifice to engage his consent to a marriage. But those who had the ear of the king, and knew how capable he was of resolving even of matters of the greatest importance on the sudden, and executing these resolutions without advice, took their opportunity, and carried him to *Coimbra*, when the prince was absent from thence^d on a hunting match.

The unfortunate Donna *Agnes* was then at the monastery of *Santa Clara*; and the manner of the king's coming, joined it may be to some previous information, rendered his purpose so apparent, that the innocent victim went out to meet him, and with her children threw herself and them at his feet, with which spectacle the king was so much moved, that he desisted from his design; but his three counsellors, *Alvaro Gonzalez*, *Diego Lopez Pacheco*, and *Pedro Coello*, reproaching him with his want of spirit, and his having more tenderness for a woman than for his subjects and the state, he relapsed to his former resolution, and gave them commission to go and execute what he first intended; which with great brutality they did, and then returned to the king with their daggers reeking with the blood of the princess his daughter-in-law^e. He was so strangely misled, as to avow and approve this horrid action; and having ordered her corpse to be interred in the monastery of *Santa Clara*, he left *Coimbra* as if he had done nothing there for which he ought to be ashamed^f. But when the prince was informed of this cruel event, he suffered himself to be transported into such fury, that he wasted all the country between the rivers *Minho* and *Douro* with fire and sword; and had carried things to greater extremities, if the queen and the archbishop of *Braga* had not interposed, and represented to him in the strongest terms, the absurd barbarity of resenting the injury done him by the king upon his subjects, who were one day to become his own; which, as he easily comprehended, and had naturally the greatest love for justice, he readily complied with their request, and accepted such terms as they proposed; and thus a civil war, that might have been of the most dangerous consequence, was hardly felt before it was composed^g.

^a Chronica del Rey Don Pedro, de PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQ. E. NUNEZ, FERR. MARIANA. ^b E. NUNEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE. ^c FARIA Y SOUSA. ^d E. NUNEZ, ANT. VASCONCEL. LE CLEDE. ^e LA NEUFVILLE, FERRERAS. ^f FARIA Y SOUSA, E. NUNEZ, LE CLEDE, MAYERNE TURQ.

THE king Don *Alonso*, who had this peculiarity in his temper, that he quickly saw his errors, ^a and was very earnest to repair them, not only accepted his son's submission, and received him again into favour, but studied every method to oblige him; and to bring him so far to forget the deplorable fate of his princess, as not to aim at revenging it; and some say, that he took an oath at his father's request to this purpose. It is more certain, that, contrary to the natural plainness and candor of his disposition, the prince dissembled with his father, and with the world, in such a manner that he was thought to have suffered time not only to dry his tears, but to heal his heart; and what seemed to put this past all doubt, was his entering into a new amour with a *Galician* lady ^b, and the readiness he shewed to embrace the proposition made by *Henry*, count of *Trafemara*; who advised him, in his mother's right, to set up a title to the crown of *Castile*, against Don *Pedro*, who was already considered as a tyrant: ^b but the king Don *Alonso* interposed out of compassion to his own subjects, whom he would not suffer to be embarked in a quarrel he thought to be unjust. In the mean time, *Mary*, queen dowager of *Castile*, daughter to the king and sister to the prince of *Portugal*, died ^c in that kingdom, to which she retired, out of the reach of her son, who was as little famed for piety as pity. *Mariana* suggests, that she died unfairly, on account of her indecent familiarity with the *Portuguese* noblemen, by order of the king Don *Pedro* of *Portugal*; but as his sister's death happened before he was king, it shews there is a mistake in the story: and perhaps it may be entirely a mistake; for the *Castilians*, after the death of *Leonora de Guzman*, bore that princess no good-will, and took great freedoms, whether with or without foundation at this distance of time it would be very hard, if not impossible, to determine. ^c

A. D. 1356.

Death of Don
Alonso, and a
succinct view
of his admin-
istration.

Don *Alonso*, now advanced in years, and grown very infirm, began to think of disposing all things for his quiet passing out of this world; and therefore did various acts of charity, piety, and bounty, enquired into and redressed grievances throughout his dominions, established just laws for repressing immorality and avarice, dictating what he thought to be the proper maxims for ruling the state, and labouring all in his power to efface from the memory of Don *Pedro* the injury and insult he had received. But, however, fearing, or perhaps foreseeing that this would prove a task impracticable, he had recourse to what remained still in his own power, the providing for, and putting out of his reach such as were most likely to become the objects of his resentment. He gave therefore considerable sums of money to *Alvaro Gonzalez*, *Diego Lopez Pacheco*, and *Pedro Coello*, enjoining them to retire into ^d *Castile*, and endeavour in a foreign country to enjoy that ease and safety which their own impetuous counsels had rendered it improbable would ever be their lot in their own ^e. These measures taken, he departed this life in the month of *May*, 1357, in the thirty-second year of his reign, and the sixty-seventh year of his age ^e. It was said, and with great truth, that he was an undutiful son, an unnatural brother, and a cruel father. But these harsh epithets expressed, as was fit, all that was hateful in his conduct. In other respects he was a great man, and a great king. He was very brave, and very fortunate in war. All *Spain* stood indebted to him for the generosity with which he assisted *Alonso* the eleventh, king of *Castile*, burying his private resentments in the noble desire of distinguishing his own and his subjects courage at the expence of the common enemy. He was a politician, indeed too much ^e of a politician; for all his misfortunes arose from that false and fatal maxim, that good can ever be attained by illicit means. He loved his children, and his subjects as if they had been his children. He was strict in the administration of justice, and would suffer no rank of men to plead the unrighteous privilege of being exempt from, or superior to law. He was so tender of property, and so attentive to public welfare, that industry flourished under his reign, and his people were rich, and at their ease, while their monarch's coffers were full; and yet he drew nothing from them beyond the ordinary and accustomed revenue. After all, he was rather revered for a right use of power, than relied on as a public parent; and tho' much esteemed, was not very much beloved. He gave for his device an eagle on the wing, with these words, *Altiora Peto*, i. e. My hopes fly high ^f.

Accession of
Don Pedro,
and his care to
negotiate an
alliance with
Castile.

DON *Pedro* ascended the throne in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and by some historians is surnamed *the Cruel*, by others *the Justiciary*, or *Lover of Justice* ^g, either from an apprehension that this was more suitable to his real character, or to distinguish him the better from the other *Pedros*; since at this time Don *Pedro the Cruel* occupied the crown of *Castile*, and Don *Pedro* the fourth that of *Arragon* ^h. The first care of the new monarch was to send *Arias Gomez de Sylva*, and *Gonsalo Yanez de Beja* to the court of *Castile*, to renew the treaties subsisting between the crowns, and to inform the king of his sincere desire to live with him in the

^b FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^c E. NUNEZ, FERR. FARIA Y SOUSA. LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVIL. MARIANA.

NEUFVIL. Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 214.

ZURITA Annal. Arragon.

^e Cronica del Rey Don Pedro, DE PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA. FERR.

^d E. NUNEZ, FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

^f LEQUIEN DE LA

^g E. NUNEZ, LA NEUFVIL.

^h FERR.

a strictest friendship possible (D). This produced an embassy the next year from *Castile*, when, besides ratifying the ancient alliances, a new family-convention was concluded, by which it was agreed, that *Ferdinand* prince of *Portugal* should marry *Donna Beatrix*; and that the infantas *Constantia* and *Isabella*, all three daughters of *Donna Maria de Padilla*, should espouse the princes *Juan* and *Denis*, sons of *Donna Agnes de Castro*. The king farther entered into a league with *Don Pedro* of *Castile*, against the king of *Arragon*; and it was stipulated by an express article, that both parties should reciprocally deliver up such malecontents as should fly to them from each other's dominions ⁱ.

THE true aim of this treaty soon appeared; for the king of *Portugal* having in the first assembly of the states held after his accession, caused the three murderers of his beloved *Agnes de Castro* to be attainted, and their estates confiscated, *Don Pedro* of *Castile* suggested to him, that if he would seize some persons, his subjects, who had retired into his dominions, he would deliver up those who had imbrued their hands in the blood of his princess. The Portuguese monarch accepted the proposal, and having caused *Men Rodriguez Tenorio*, *Hernando Gudiel de Toledo*, and *Fortuno Sanchez Calderon*, to be seized, he sent them to *Seville*. *Don Pedro Nunez de Guzman* had met with the same treatment, but he fled to *Albuquerque*, to *Sancho Ruiz de Villegas*, upon whose friendship he depended; but he either sold or sacrificed him to the king, by whom he was put to a cruel death. On the other hand, *Pedro Coella* and *Alvaro Nunez*, were seized in the like manner in *Castile*, and sent to the king of *Portugal*; but *Diego Pacheco*, who happened to be hunting, having timely intelligence given him by a beggar of what had happened, made his escape into *Arragon*. *Don Pedro*, having the sentence of the law on his side, and the criminals in his hands, gave a loose to his resentment; and, with an impetuosity excusable in a lover, but no way becoming a king, not only caused them to be put to death with exquisite tortures, but was present at this shocking scene, and insulted them in their last moments; in which they behaved with great spirit, and returned the same language they received. This terrible execution was performed at *Santaren* ^k. *Don Vasco Fernandez*, archbishop of *Toledo*, being ordered to retire into *Portugal*, by *Don Pedro* of *Castile*, who seized his estate and effects, that prelate was received with the utmost respect, and had a retreat given him at *Coimbra*, where he spent the remainder of his days in acts of piety and devotion ^l.

d THE king *Don Pedro*'s affections for *Donna Agnes* continued as strong as ever, and his grief for her death was not assuaged by the torments exercised on the authors of it. He summoned therefore at *Cantanedes* an assembly of the states, where, in the presence of the Pope's nuncio, he swore upon the gospels, that having privately obtained a dispensation at *Rome*, he had secretly espoused at *Braganza* *Donna Agnes de Castro*, in the presence of the bishop of *Guarda*, and of his master of the wardrobe, both of whom testified their knowledge of the truth of what the king had sworn ^m. In consequence of which, the king having first

ⁱ Cronica del Rey Don Pedro, DE PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA.

^k FARIA Y SOUSA, E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, Cronica del Rey Don Pedro, DE PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, ANT. VASCONCEL. Anacephalæosis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitanie, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 218. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQ. FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, part viii. §. xiv. LE CLEDE.

^l Cronica del Rey Don Pedro DE PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA.

^m E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

(D) *Don Pedro* was born at *Coimbra*, on the 13th of May, 1320, and was about five years old when his grandfather died, for whose memory he always preserved a very high veneration. His marriage with *Donna Constantia*, daughter to *Don Juan Manuel*, brought him an immense sum of money, and drew to him also many of the *Castilian* lords, particularly his wife's brother, to whom he gave lands in *Portugal*, and created him count of *Sintra*. By his first princess he had two sons and a daughter; these were *Don Lewis*, who died young; *Don Ferdinand*, in high favour with his grandfather, and who succeeded his father; and the infant *Donna Maria*, who espoused the infant *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, marquis of *Tortosa*, son to the king *Don Alonso* the fourth. By the unfortunate lady *Agnes de Castro*, he had issue *Alonso*, who died young; *Don Juan*, who married *Donna Maria de Tellez*, by whom he had *Ferdinand* of *Portugal*, lord of *Eca*. After he returned into *Castile*, he married the king's ballard sister, *Donna Constantia*, with whom he had the county of *Vaienza*, and by whom he had three daughters: he had also several natural children. *Don Denis*, the third son, who was obliged to quit his country because he would not pay homage to queen *Leonora*, married in *Castile* *Donna*

Joanna, natural daughter to *Don Henry* the second, from whom descended the counts of *Colmenero* and *Villars*. The infanta *Donna Beatrix*, married the infant *Don Sancho* of *Castile*, count of *Albuquerque*, and by him had an only daughter, *Donna Leonora*, who espoused the infant *Don Ferdinand* of *Castile*; who in process of time became king of *Arragon* and *Sicily*. Besides these children, the king had by *Donna Theresa Lorenza*, a lady of quality of *Galicia*, a son, *Don Juan*, whom he caused to be elected grand-master of *Avis*, whom he legitimated, and who became afterwards king of *Portugal*. Some of the best Portuguese writers affirm, he was not given to women; that in the life-time of his first princess, he curbed his passion for *Donna Agnes*; and that it was not till after her decease, he took *Donna Theresa*, to console his melancholy, and to prevent the king's forcing him upon a marriage. It is at least certain, that he had a great aversion to incontinency in other men, and punished it very severely, but more especially in the clergy; but it was chiefly adultery against which he pointed his justice, stiling it a sin against society, and esteeming it the source of more mischiefs than almost any other vice.

published the Pope's bull, containing the dispensation, ordered the body of the deceased lady to be removed from *Coimbra* to the royal monastery of *Alcobaça*, with a pomp unknown in *Portugal*, and there to be interred under a white marble monument, with all the funeral honours due to a queen. This, with the legitimation of her children, and the care he took of all who had been in her service, consoled him in some degree, and rendered him more conversable than hitherto he had been. The king had sent his ambassadors into *Arragon*, in order to reconcile the king *Don Pedro* to the monarch of *Castile*; but the first mentioned prince declined his mediation, and sent ambassadors to his court, to represent the unkindness of his late treaty with *Castile*; and offered to treat of a marriage between the infanta *Donna Joanna* and prince *Ferdinand* of *Portugal*; which, the circumstances of affairs being much altered, was not wholly rejectedⁿ. He saw the instability of affairs in *Castile*, and was determined not to twist them with his own.

Don Pedro resolves to make a thorough reformation throughout his kingdom. IN the course of his reign, the great object that *Don Pedro* had in view was the absolute reformation of every thing that was amiss throughout his whole dominions: a resolution singular in itself, and prosecuted with as much steadiness as if it had been less difficult. He began with himself; and that he might the more thoroughly understand his duty, he went frequently to the monastery of *Alcobaça*, where he contemplated the tomb in which he was to lie, and the account he was one day to give. He was very easy of access, and examined every thing to the bottom. In general his court was very frugal and modest; but upon particular occasions very splendid and magnificent. In those cases the common people and the poor had their share; for he held, that those who worked and fared hardest, had the most need of refreshments. He made short tours into the provinces, that he might hear with his own ears, and see with his own eyes. On such occasions he carried a sceptre and a whip, to signify that he meant to reward and to chastise. He was alike vehement in both: he bestowed freely, and frequently; but his enquiries were very strict, and his punishments severe. He suspended for a certain time all taxes; and when it was represented that his treasure would be soon exhausted, he said, that a king who gave wisely, and only to those who deserved it, might be liberal at no great expence. He had no respect of persons; but administered justice as he expected to see it administered, when the secrets of all hearts are laid open. The memoirs nearest his own times speak of him with admiration, and are very far from loading him with those indecent epithets, that would have been attached to the name of any other prince, who had done as many severe acts as he. But it seems that he so far attained his end, so qualified the strictness of his justice by his affability and kindness to all the world, and brought the bulk of his subjects to have such a relish for that regularity which he so much affected, that, by degrees, the people were as much altered as the prince; and almost universally admired those qualities in their king, that in any other country would have procured him the appellation of a tyrant (E).

His conduct towards Don Pedro of Castile, and his death. WHILE *Don Pedro* of *Portugal* was acquiring, *Don Pedro* of *Castile* was losing the character of a good prince, and became at last so generally hated, that upon his brother the count of *Trastemara's* assuming the title of king, he was abandoned by the best part of his subjects^o. A little before this cruel reverse of fortune happened, he had sent his eldest daughter, the

ⁿ ZURITA Annal. Arragon. FARIA Y SOUSA, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, MAYERNE TURQUET.
^o E. NUNEZ DE LEON as crônicas dos Reis de Portugal, Cronica del Rey Don Pedro, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

(E) In this note we propose to give a few of the many extraordinary marks of justice for which this monarch was famous, and these as features of his character, and to support the account we have given of his reign. An ecclesiastic, in a high fit of passion, killed a mason whom he had employed, for not executing something agreeable to his mind. The king dissembled his knowledge of the crime, and left it to the cognizance of the proper courts, where the issue of the business was, that the priest was suspended from saying mass for a year. At this slight punishment the family of the deceased were highly offended. The king caused it to be hinted to the mason's son, that he should kill the priest: which he did, and falling into the hands of justice, was condemned to suffer death; but as no capital sentence could be executed without the king's consent, this was laid before him among the rest; upon which he asked, what was the young man's trade? It was answered, that he followed his father's; then said the king, I shall commute this punishment, by restraining him from meddling with stone or mortar for a twelvemonth. But after this he punished capital crimes in the clergy with death; and when they desired that his majesty would be pleased to refer their causes to a superior tribunal, he answered very calmly, that is

what I mean to do: for I send them to the highest of all tribunals, to that of their maker and mine. A woman of intrigue, whose name was *Eleanor*, having corrupted a young girl for his admiral *Lanfrata Pessania*, the king condemned the old woman to the flames, and the admiral to lose his head. It is indeed true, that, at the request of the republic of *Genoa*, he pardoned him; but it was some years before he was suffered to appear again at court. Complaint being made to the king, that an officer of justice having delivered a summons to a person of distinction, he in a rage gave him a box on the ear, and pulled him by the beard; the king, turning to the sheriff who was near him, said, such a one, naming the person of distinction, gave me at such a time, a box of the ear, and pulled me by the beard, for which he was immediately apprehended, and lost his head. If this inflexibility of his had ever digressed from the road of strict justice; if he had ever respected persons, or been less severe to those about him than to the rest of his subjects, he had certainly become odious; whereas the rectitude of his conduct rendered him, in spite of his severity, revered; in so much that his subjects said unanimously of him on his death bed, that ten such years of government had never been seen before, nor would be seen again.

infanta

- a infanta Donna *Beatrix*, with an immense sum in ready money into *Portugal*, where, pursuant to the treaty between the two crowns, she was to marry the prince Don *Ferdinand*, and not long after took the same route, with a small body of troops which remained faithful to him, not doubting of a good reception, and of a powerful support; but the king of *Portugal* was no sooner informed of his arrival on the frontiers, than he sent to desire he would remain where he was; and when he had deliberated with his principal nobility, acquainted him that he was sorry for his misfortune; but that his son, the prince Don *Ferdinand*, having taken an absolute resolution not to marry the infanta Donna *Beatrix*, and as his subjects were by no means inclined to enter into a war with the people of *Castile*, he had sent back the princess with all her treasure, and desired he would seek some other retreat. Don *Pedro* attempted to retire in-
- b to the castle of *Albuquerque*; but finding the gates shut against him, he had recourse once more to the king of *Portugal*, for a safe-conduct through his territories into *Galicia*, which had not yet declared against him. This was granted, and Don *Ferdinand*, and Don *Alvaro de Castro* were sent to escort him, who, by the orders of the infant Don *Ferdinand*, procured the means of escaping to Donna *Leonora*, the king's niece, and daughter of the count *de Trastemara*, by whom Don *Pedro* was dethroned^p. This conduct in the *Portuguese* king was extremely satisfactory to his subjects, and opened a new passage for the reconciliation with *Arragon*, to which the infant Don *Ferdinand* was very much inclined; but before things could be reduced into any order, the king Don *Pedro* fell into a disease, which brought him to his end on the 8th of *January*, in the year of our Lord 1367, at *Estremos*, when he had reigned ten,
- c and lived forty-seven years^q. His device was a star, with these words *Monstrat Iter*, This shews the way. As if, thro' the course of his reign, his thoughts had been fixed rather on a celestial than temporal state (F). His subjects expressed much concern for their loss, as foreseeing that the regularity which he introduced would not last much longer than its author; and therefore they applied to him what the *Romans* said of *Titus*, that either Don *Pedro* should never have been born, or never died^r.

- Don *Ferdinand*, the only son of the deceased king, by his first princess Donna *Constantia* Don *Ferdinand* *successor* *his father; his disposition, temper, and character.* ascended the throne with the universal acclamations of the people. He had a very fine person, was in the flower of his age, being about twenty-seven, courteous in his manners, very bountiful, and of a very easy chearful temper^s. This prejudiced almost all men in his
- d favour; and yet some of the old king's ministers began to doubt the stability of that great reformation, which with equal vigour and perseverance he had wrought, and under a young prince who seemed to be in all respects the very reverse of that father. Instead of a sound and solid judgment, they perceived that Don *Ferdinand* had a warm, lively, and roving imagination, which he laboured to gratify, without considering consequences; that so far from strictness of morals, or even a proper respect for the decorum of his court, the king was inclined to pleasure, and troubled himself but little either about the conduct of others, or what they thought or said of his own. The frugality of the last reign was the jest of the present; in-
 e somuch that Don *Ferdinand* considered it as a hard task to dissipate the vast treasures which the three preceding kings had laid up. In few words, he was a prince not without virtues, and those much superior to his vices; but he had a kind of levity in his disposition, beyond the power of education to correct, or experience to root out; and never shewed any constancy but in a single instance, and there it did him hurt. Yet notwithstanding this, his majestic presence, his being always in good humour, his boundless liberality, and a kind of sweetness in his nature, which discovered itself in all his actions, preserved him the affections of the populace, when he had lost the esteem of the wiser part of his subjects. The reader will per-

^p FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, E. NUNEZ, MAYERNE TURQ. ^q ANT. VASCONCELLOS Anacephalæosis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitaniæ, FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, part viii. § xiv. ^r LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF. Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 230. ^s E. NUNEZ, ANT. VASCON. MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, cap. x. ^t E. NUNEZ, ANT. VASCON. LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF. LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA.

(F) Don *Pedro* in his person was rather above the common size; his forehead high, and well spread; his eyes large, black, and very quick; his hair long, and his beard also, about which he was remarkably nice. He loved learning, and was himself a man of letters. He was pleased with music and dancing; wrote himself very elegantly in verse, as appears from some compositions of his, which are still extant. His voice was very soft and agreeable, notwithstanding he had a small hesitation in his speech. He was so far from being naturally peevish, passionate, or sullen, that he was rather of a gay and sprightly disposition; allowed the nobility, and such as were about his person, to live with him on terms of the

greatest liberty, and shared with them in all their diversions. His common saying was, if you do not offend the laws you cannot offend me, which he observed with the greatest punctuality, and looked with an eye of scorn on such as shewed either too much timidity, or seemed to be too eager in endeavouring to please him. His people in general had a very high opinion of him, because he devoted his whole time to the study and practice of his duty, and would very commonly say, that a king who passed a whole day without doing something that was remarkably and incontestibly for the good of his people, did not deserve to be thought a king.

ceive, that we were under a necessity of drawing his character previous to the history of his reign, which will be found little more than an illustration of it, and the events of which would otherwise appear absurd and incredible; so much the humour of this prince wrought upon his affairs, and gave a turn to almost every thing that he undertook, either in his private character or public administration: in other princes, tho' this might be no less true, yet scarce in any prince was it ever so perceptible, for in assigning the motives of their conduct, even able historians often differ. But in regard to Don *Ferdinand* of *Portugal*, all who have written concerning him are unanimous; and though some are milder than others in their expressions, yet in respect to the general representation of his conduct they all agree; which we hope will prove a sufficient apology for this variation from our usual method, and for the placing the picture of this monarch at the beginning rather than the end of his reign.

*He inclines to
set himself up
for the heir of
Castile, on the
death of Don
Pedro the
Cruel.*

THE same humour that led him in his father's life-time to refuse the infanta Donna *Beatrix*, and to prevent his giving any assistance, or so much as countenance, to her father Don *Pedro*, prompted him, as soon as he had ascended the throne, to compliment the count of *Trafalgar*, now stiled king *Henry* of *Castile*, and to offer him his assistance and alliance. But when the affairs of that prince took another turn, and he was obliged to abandon that kingdom, which he had so lately acquired, Don *Ferdinand* never attempted to lend the least support to his falling fortune¹. He preserved, in all appearance, the same spirit of neutrality; and after the prince of *Wales*'s retreat, king *Henry* again entered *Castile*, and after a short but sharp struggle, once more seated himself on that throne, from whence, using his own arm as the instrument, he had by death removed his brother². In his conduct hitherto, Don *Ferdinand* seemed to act the politician; but no sooner was Don *Pedro* dead, than he declared himself most zealously in his favour, giving the opprobrious names of tyrant, traitor, and murderer, to *Henry*, and assuming to himself the title of king of *Castile*, as great grandson to Don *Sancho the Brave*. He coined money with the arms of *Castile* and *Portugal*: he suffered no distinction to be made at his court between the two nations: he received several towns on the frontiers into his protection; and bestowed so bountifully lands and estates upon all the *Castilian* nobility who came to take refuge in *Portugal*, that his palace was quickly full of them, and his subjects saw with amazement their prince surrounded by those as his favourites who but a little before were esteemed his enemies. In order to support his pretensions, he found that taking a few malecontents into his pay would not go very far: he therefore projected a league with the king of *Aragon*, undertook to marry the infanta *Leonora*, his daughter, who had been promised to the prince of *Castile*, and to furnish large subsidies for the assistance that prince was to give him. He entered into a negotiation likewise with the king of *Granada*; in which he also succeeded, and had no reason to complain of the infidelity of the *Moor*; and yet he gained not either credit or conquest by this war³.

*Enters into a
war with king
Henry, and
soon after con-
cludes a peace.*

HE began his military operations by making an irruption into *Galicia* with a small army, where, after over-running the open country, he made himself master of *Corunna*, and some other places, into which having put competent garrisons, he found himself in no condition to keep the field; so that upon the approach of the *Castilian* army, he retired into his own territories⁴. King *Henry*, who was an older man, and a better officer, did not amuse himself with recovering the places he had taken; but fell with all his forces into *Portugal*, took the city of *Braga*, burnt it, and, wasting every thing with fire and sword, passed through to his own frontiers. King *Ferdinand*, having at length collected an army, marched against him, and sent a herald before to challenge him: but *Henry*, too wise a king, and too brave a man to take any notice of such messages, as fighting was not his business, retired into his own territories, to defend them against the king of *Granada*; who, in execution of his treaty, had made a powerful diversion in favour of his ally. King *Ferdinand* ought to have acted in concert with him, and he actually had a fleet upon the coast of *Andalusia*; but his motions were so unsteady, and he was so little equal to the task he had undertaken, that his subjects, who, in several excursions had performed very gallant things, perceived and censured it publicly⁵. He had sent several noblemen and prelates of the first quality into *Aragon*, in order to accomplish the negotiation which had been begun, and with them, as the *Portuguese* writers say, eighteen hundred weight of gold, to be coined into money, to defray the expences of the war. He likewise equipped a squadron of six beautiful galleys to attend that on board which his queen was to embark, and which is said to have been covered with gold to the water edge, and to have had sails of silk, which he sent to *Barcelona*⁶. Notwithstanding all this, and that he had married Donna *Leonora* of *Aragon*, publicly by proxy, he, at the per-

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo, DE PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, part viii. sect. 14. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQ.

² E. NUNEZ, FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Henrique, Cronica del Rey Don Pedro, FERRERAS, BARNES'S History of Edward III.

³ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

⁴ FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE.

⁵ FARIA Y SOUSA, ZURITA Annal. Arragon.

a suasion of pope Gregory the eleventh, and under the mediation of his nuncio, concluded a treaty with Henry of Castile; by which he undertook to desert his old allies, to assist him against all powers whatever, and, in consideration of several good towns and a large sum of money, to espouse Donna Leonora his daughter. This was sufficient to disgust the king of Arragon, and the method he took to express it was by laying his hands on the Portuguese money^a.

THIS stroke, which he might easily have foreseen, but did not, and which might have been as easily prevented, if he had foreseen it, since he had stipulated a fortune of one hundred thousand florins with the infanta Donna Leonora of Arragon, which he might have discounted to her father, upon his subsidy, in case he had performed the treaty between them, brought him immediately under such difficulties as none of his predecessors had ever felt; for the treasure, not only of the crown, but of the kingdom of Portugal being wasted, he had recourse to that miserable shift of false politicians, raising the value of the little coin that was left; from whence a long train of mischiefs arose: of which becoming at length sensible, he reduced his coin again to its old value; but so improperly, that his subjects suffered full as much from the remedy as they had done from the disease. But as great an evil as this was, he found a way to diminish the sense of it, by bringing one much heavier upon his own shoulders and theirs. In the apartments of his sister, the infanta Donna Beatrix, he saw a very lovely woman, whose charms did not at all suffer by any endeavours to conceal them. This lady was Donna Leonora Tellez, daughter to Martin Alonso Tellez, brother to Don Juan Alonso, count de Barcellos, and the wife of Juan Lorenzo da Cunha, a nobleman of one of the most distinguished families of Portugal. The king at first sight became so excessively enamoured of her, that for the sake of this third Leonora he forgot both his wives of the same name, the infantas of Arragon and Castile. The first person to whom he communicated his thoughts was her maiden sister Donna Maria Tellez, a young lady not inferior to her in beauty, and in all other respects much more than her equal. Donna Maria answered him very prudently, that his majesty would do well to stifle a passion equally inconsistent with her sister's honour and his own; that he ought to reflect she was already married; and that it would be equally dangerous and disgraceful for him to take a woman out of the bed of her husband, to receive her into his: that he was himself contracted to a princess equal to him in birth, and in every other respect worthy of his crown; and that this alliance being the principal article of the late peace, he had just reason to apprehend plunging his people into a new war, by the breach of it in so scandalous a manner. A man deaf to reason and conscience is incapable of listening to any advice: this was the case of Don Ferdinand, who told Donna Maria, that her sister's marriage being within the degrees of consanguinity, and without a dispensation, was null and void; that he could very easily disengage himself from his promise to the infanta of Castile; and that he should not find it very difficult to bring the populace, at least, to espouse the cause of their prince. Donna Maria gave the like good advice, but with no better effect, to her sister. Donna Leonora was proud of her conquest, and in raptures at the thoughts of being a queen. A process was set on foot to dissolve her marriage with Don Juan da Cunha: that nobleman, foreseeing what would happen, made but a slight defence; so that the cause was soon at an end^b. The king, in the mean time, acquainted his neighbour of Castile, that he was desirous of observing the peace in all other points, but that having placed his affections elsewhere, he chose to decline the marriage with his daughter. Henry answered like a great king, that the infanta was to be sought, and not imposed; and that the peace being kept, the king of Portugal might marry where he pleased^c. Don Ferdinand was much elated with his success, flattered himself he had managed things like a great politician; and having privately married Donna Leonora Tellez, carried her with him to Lisbon. There the people, headed by Ferdinand Velásquez, a taylor, raised an insurrection in the night, invested the palace, and threatened the most outrageous mischief, till the king came out into a balcony, assured them he was not married to Donna Leonora, and promised for their satisfaction, to make a solemn declaration of the same kind the next day in the church of St. Dominick. Instead of doing this, he conveyed himself and his bride privately to Santaren, caused the taylor and some of his chiefs to be seized and put to death; which stopped the clamour indeed, but heightened and extended the resentment of his subjects^d.

It was from this interval of compelled silence, that the king persuaded himself the nation was satisfied; and full of this false notion, he carried Donna Leonora into the province between the Douro and Minho, and there caused his marriage to be publicly celebrated, in

Marries Donna Leonora de Tellez, which is very distasteful to his subjects.

A. D. 1371.

^a RAINALD, ZURITA, Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA.

^b DON LOPEZ DE AYALA, E. NUNEZ, LAQUIEN DE LA NEUVILLE, FERRERAS, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, FARIA Y SOUSA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^c Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo.

^d FARIA

Y SOUSA, FERRERAS, MARIANA.

breaks the
peace lately
made with
Castile.

the presence of the princes, prelates, and peers of *Portugal*; all of whom did homage to the new queen, except his brother the infant Don *Denis*, who, after earnestly declaring how much he disliked the marriage, flatly refused it^c. The new queen bent all her endeavours to extend her interest and influence; and the king, understanding that *John*, duke of *Lancaster*, son to *Edward* the third, king of *England*, had assumed the title of king of *Castile*, upon his marriage with *Donna Constantia*, the eldest surviving daughter of *Don Pedro the Cruel*, resolved to enter into an alliance with him, notwithstanding the pretensions he had formed to this crown himself. He sent over for this purpose a minister into *England*; but laboured at the same time to keep his intentions secret from his subjects, who he knew would disapprove it^d. The *Castilians*, however, about his court, having penetrated his project, surprised the city of *Tuy* in *Galicia*, and renewed their excursions into their own country on every side. ^b King *Henry* soon assembled a formidable army for the defence of his territories; but having heard that some ships belonging to his subjects had been seized at *Lisbon*, he sent an ambassador to reclaim them, and with him went *Don Diego Lopez Pacheco*, to bring him an account of the true state of affairs in *Portugal*, and how far the king was able to maintain this war, which he had entered into so precipitately, without receiving, or even pretending, any provocation on the side of *Castile*^e.

After a short
but bloody
war, makes
peace again
upon very in-
different terms.

On the return of *Don Diego*, and the coming over of the infant *Don Denis* whom, in a high fit of passion, the king, his brother, would have stabbed with his dagger, if some of the nobility had not prevented him, *Henry* of *Castile* received such clear informations, as left him no room to doubt that, by pushing the war with vigour, he might compel *Don Ferdinand* to make such a peace as he had made before, and obtain, perhaps, better securities for the performance of it^f. In the midst of winter therefore he detached his son *Don Alonso* with a good corps of troops into *Portugal* one way, while himself, with the rest of his army, entered it another. He reduced *Viseo*, and its territory, and from thence advanced to *Coimbra*, where, being joined by his forces from *Andalusia*, he might easily have taken the place. Indeed the *Portuguese* writers say, he did take it; whereas the *Spanish* historians, who ought to be as well informed, assert, that the queen *Donna Leonora* being brought to bed there of the infanta *Donna Beatrix*, the king sent her a very polite message, that he meant her no disturbance; and turning from thence, marched directly for *Lisbon*; where, either through treachery, or by surprize, he entered the lower city, and took up his quarters in the convent of *St. Francis*^g. The king *Don Ferdinand* was at *Santaren*, from the walls of which he might discern the *Castilian* army marching to *Lisbon*: notwithstanding which, he made no proper dispositions for its relief, though whatever commendable qualities he might want, courage was not of the number. *Don Alonso*, son to the king of *Castile*, took *Cascaes*, on the *Tagus*; and the *Castilian* fleet became master of all the *Portuguese* fleet and gallies except four^h. The *Castilian* finding it, however, impossible to reduce the whole city, and that his army began to diminish, burnt the best part of the town, and retiredⁱ. In *Galicia*, the *Portuguese* were driven out of all the places they had taken; and the king himself became quite sick of a war where he had nothing to hope, and all things to fear; was extremely well pleased with the arrival of the pope's nuncio, and very readily accepted his mediation, though he knew very well the king of *Castile* would not grant him peace upon very moderate terms. Indeed, when the nuncio came to *Henry*, he did little less than dictate them; and though *Don Ferdinand* at first expressed some reluctance, yet in the end he consented to and ratified them. The principal points were, that the king should once more desert his allies, and stipulate to join a squadron to the *Spanish* fleet when employed for the *French*, against the *English*: he farther promised, that this last nation should receive no stores from *Portugal*; and that he would oblige the *Castilian* exiles to quit his dominions. When these points were settled, the kings had an interview upon the water, at which the nuncio was present. *Don* ^f *Sancho*, brother to the *Castilian* monarch, espoused the infanta *Donna Beatrix*, sister to the king of *Portugal*; and more effectually to strengthen the friendship between their families, king *Ferdinand* promised his natural daughter, *Donna Isabella*, to *Don Alonso*, king *Henry*'s natural son, count of *Gijon*: and thus, says an honest *Portuguese* writer, the war ended, much to the satisfaction of both kings, but to the great desolation of both their kingdoms^m.

A. D. 1373.

^c LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MAYERNE TURQUET.

MAYERNE TURQUET, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

^d MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo, E. NUNEZ FERRERAS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF.

^e NUNEZ, FERR. MAYERNE TURQ.

^f Henrique Segundo, MARIANA, LE CLEDE.

^g FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

^h Don PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, ED.

ⁱ Cronica del Rey Don

^m Don PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, E. NUNEZ, LEQUIEN

DE LA NEUF. FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MAYERNE TURQ. MARIANA.

a THE king of *Castile* having the mortification to lose his brother *Don Sancho*, who was unfortunately killed in a tumult, leaving the infanta *Donna Beatrix* big with child, resolved to bind the king of *Portugal*, if possible, to his interest by a fresh alliance, and with this view proposed, that his natural son, *Don Frederick*, should espouse the infanta *Donna Beatrix*, then in her cradle. This marriage seemed in many respects very unequal, and yet the states of the kingdom, assembled at *Leyria*, approved it: in all probability determined it, because *Don Frederick* could not inherit the kingdom of *Castile*. It may be doubted whether the king meant any thing by it more than to keep things quiet on that side, having now framed a project of a war with *Arragon*, to be revenged on that king for the money he had seized; but, like all his other projects, this proved only expensive and abortiveⁿ. His passion for his queen *Donna Leonora* seemed to increase daily, and the general hate of the people against her rose in the same proportion. She managed the one with great address; she sustained the other with equal intrepidity. By her interest with the king, she procured all the great employments for her creatures, and when once she found herself secure, she thought it time to be beloved. It is inconceivable how soon and how effectually she changed the minds of the whole nation: she brought the king, who was naturally indolent, to be attentive; she granted audience to all that asked it; she procured favours in consequence of every audience; so that in a little time she was as much mistress of the court and of the people, as of the king. But her tranquility, if she really enjoyed any, was of a very short continuance^o.

The wonderful influence and address of the queen Donna Leonora.

c THE infant *Don Juan*, the king's brother, and infinitely beloved by the people, fell desperately in love with her sister *Donna Maria*, now the widow of *Alvaro diâs de Suza*, and finding her virtue impregnable, had secretly married her. This might have proved a firm support to the queen; but she saw the thing in quite another light. She remembered the sentiments expressed by her sister at the time the king became first enamoured of herself; she reflected on his declining state of health, and on the probability there was that the people might set his brother upon the throne. This, with other conceits of the same kind, inflamed her resentment to such a degree, that having sent for the infant *Don Juan*, after bestowing on him the most flattering caresses, she told him he had ruined all her designs in his favour, since she had intended to have given him the infanta *Donna Beatrix* as soon as she was capable of matrimony; that he had not only lost this princess, who would have brought the crown with her as a portion, but had lost her also for a woman who dishonoured his bed. The infant, credulous, hasty, and ambitious, flew to *Coimbra*, where his wife was, and without enquiry or expostulation, dispatched, or caused her to be dispatched with two strokes of a dagger^p. As soon as he had committed this murder, he retired to the frontiers of *Castile*. The queen, though she affected to appear inconsolable for the loss of her sister, yet obtained his pardon from the king; and very soon after he returned to court, where being in a short space of time undeceived with regard to the queen's intention, as well as her information, and perceiving that the grand-master of *Avis*, and the brother of his deceased wife, only waited for a fit opportunity to kill him, he withdrew again into *Castile*, and took shelter there with his sister *Donna Beatrix*, the widow of *Don Sancho*^q. This horrid action revived the public hatred against the queen; and notwithstanding she practised her old arts of dissimulation, she was now unable to deceive any but the king, and him she held as fast in her toils as ever, though she misled him daily into new errors.

The cruel and infamous behaviour of that princess towards her own sister and the king's brother.

A. D. 1378.

e UPON the death of *Don Henry* of *Castile*, and the accession of his son *Don Juan*, there followed a new negotiation with the court of *Portugal*; for that prince having an heir born to him, immediately conceived a design of marrying him to *Donna Beatrix*, notwithstanding the contract between her and his bastard brother^r. This proposition was eagerly embraced by *Don Ferdinand*; more especially on account of a singular circumstance which attended it: *Don Juan* consenting, that if either of the parties died without issue, the survivor should inherit both kingdoms; and desired, that with this clause the contract might be ratified in the most solemn manner by the states of *Castile* and *Portugal*; which was accordingly done^s. The queen suffered all this in compliance with the king's temper, who loved to embark in great schemes, tho' he was very unable to manage them. But the treaties were no sooner concluded and ratified, than she contrived the means of breaking them. *Don Juan Hernandez de Andeyro*, one of those *Castilian* noblemen to whom the king had been so lavish of his favours, and who, upon the conclusion of the last peace with *Henry* king of *Castile* had been obliged to retire to *England*, came over secretly from thence to acquaint the king, that the duke of *Lancaster* was taking effectual means to vindicate his right to the crown of *Castile*, and was therefore desirous of his alliance. The queen *Donna Leonora* supported this proposition, partly

Begins without any provocation to meditate a new war against Castile.

ⁿ Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo, LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE.

^o FARIA Y SOUSA.

^p E. NUNEZ, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^q FARIA Y SOUSA, M. TURQUET, LE CLEDE.

^r Cronica

del Rey Don Juan el Primero, FERRERAS, LA NEUFVILLE.

^s E. NUNEZ, DON PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA.

out of distaste to the treaty lately made, in which she had little or no share; but more out of affection to its author *Andeyro*; for this woman, as a *Portuguese* historian well observes, having sacrificed her honour and her husband to a king, now sacrificed that king to her new gallant^a. This strange measure was no sooner taken, than preparations were made for putting it in execution. For this purpose a fleet was provided, the garrisons on the frontiers reinforced, and levies made throughout the kingdom. It was impossible that things of this nature should be concealed, and Don *Juan* of *Castile* did not trouble himself to enquire into the reason. On the contrary, he assembled an army on the frontiers, and equipped a fleet at *Seville*. The revolt of his brother, the count *de Gijon*, who had married the king of *Portugal*'s daughter, hindered the war from breaking out so soon as it would have done^b. The king Don *Ferdinand* employed this respite in demolishing the *Roman* walls about the city of *Evora*, without reflecting that it would be impossible to put that place in any state of defence before it would be in danger; and that therefore it would have been much more prudent to have left it in the condition it was. But the sense of this mistake was quickly obliterated by a greater: the fleet, when ready to sail, was put under the command of Don *Juan Alonso*, the queen's brother; and tho' it was superior in force to that of *Castile*, under *Ferdinand Sanchez*, yet, thro' the want of conduct in the count, it was beaten, and himself taken prisoner. This misfortune was followed by another still greater, which was the defeat of the *Portuguese* army by land, the loss of the town of *Almeyda*, which was taken by Don *Juan* of *Castile*, who thereupon disposed every thing for the siege of *Lisbon*^c. Some say, this was proposed by the infant Don *Juan* of *Portugal*, who was in hopes of carrying it by intelligence; but being disappointed withdrew, to which it is highly probable the advanced season of the year might not a little contribute.

Carries it on by the assistance of Edmund, earl of Cambridge, and the English.

THE *English* fleet and army, under the command of *Edmund* earl of *Cambridge*, entering without any interruption into the port of *Lisbon*, gave a new turn to affairs. The king of *Castile* found himself obliged to act for some time on the defensive, and saw, with no small chagrin, that his troops were not forward to engage these strangers, on account of the claim of the duke of *Lancaster*, in right of his wife *Donna Constantia*. On the other hand, Don *Ferdinand* of *Portugal*, who was charmed at this seasonable mark of attention shewed to him by a foreign power, grew extremely fond of them; and with that warmth, which was natural to him, proposed and concluded a marriage between *Edward Plantagenet*, the son of *Edmund*, earl of *Cambridge*, then a child, and the infanta. While the diversions attending this solemnity occupied the court, the count of *Ourem* breathed his last, and the queen procured his title to be bestowed upon her favourite *Andeyro*, which occasioned great murmurs amongst the nobility^d. An accident happened soon after that raised them higher; the queen seeing *Andeyro*, through some exercise or other, in a great sweat, tore her veil, and gave it him to wipe his face with it; Don *Juan*, grand-master of *Avis*, and the king's brother, together with *Gonsalo Vasquez de Azevedo*, took the liberty to expostulate with her upon the impropriety of the thing, at which she dissembled her resentment. But after a little reflection, concluding it safest to take them out of the way, she surreptitiously procured, or, as others say, forged an order from the king, directed to *Vasco Martinez de Melo*, commanding him to seize and confine them, which he did, in the castle of *Evora*, of which he was governor. Some time after, a like order came to put them to death; but the governor, who was a man of parts and prudence, thought it expedient to shew this order to the king before he obeyed it. Don *Ferdinand* was very much amazed, and began to open his eyes a little on this proceeding. His fondness, however, for the queen was so great, that he ordered they should remain some days longer in confinement; and, when they were set at liberty, the favour was attributed to the queen, whose hands they were obliged to kiss upon their coming to court^e. Some writers say, that when she found herself discovered, she engaged the earl of *Cambridge* to ask their release; but which way soever the thing happened, it is certain that all parties were reconciled in shew, and continued to hate each other sincerely in their hearts. An event strange, but not unusual at courts.

Concludes another peace with Castile, at the expence of the allies.

WE have already given the history of this war in another place, and have shewn, that partly through the misunderstandings between the *English* and *Portuguese*, and partly through the natural mutability of Don *Ferdinand*'s temper, a peace was suddenly concluded between the two crowns, in which it was stipulated that the *Portuguese* gallies should be restored, and that the *English* army should be sent home in *Spanish* bottoms. When this treaty came to be ratified, Don *Juan* demurred to these two points, supposing that the *Portuguese* were now so embarrassed with their allies, as to be obliged to accept whatever terms he prescribed; but

^a FARIA Y SOUSA.

Don Juan el Primero, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR. Portugal, tom. i. p. 255. MAYERNE, FERR. LE CLEDE, el Primero.

^b E. NUNEZ, MARIANA, LA NEUFVILLE, FERR.

^c Cronica del Rey

^d LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF. Histoire generale de

^e E. NUNEZ, Cronica del Rey Don Juan

- a Don *Ferdinand* cut the matter short, by sending him a challenge, which, when the king of *Castile* had read, he contented himself with saying, I did not think he had been so brave, and immediately subscribed the treaty. By this, as by all the rest, the infanta Donna *Beatrix* had a new husband given her, who was the infant Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, the king's second son, substituted instead of his elder brother, to prevent the union of the two kingdoms. The *Portuguese* in general were better pleased with this than with any of the former alliances; and the *English* being returned home, both nations began to breathe a little, and to taste with great satisfaction, the sweets of peace. The court, however, was still disturbed with intrigues; the queen maintained her ascendancy; the grand-master studied to form a party amongst the nobility; and the king, though he grew daily more infirm, sighed for some new negotiation
- b that might employ his thoughts, and it was not long before his wishes were gratified²; but it was, however, for the last time.

THE death of queen *Leonora* plunged the court of *Castile* into the deepest sorrow. The king was afflicted beyond measure; and the people were equally moved by the loss of the queen, and by that concern which he expressed for it. Don *Ferdinand* gave but a little time to grief; he regretted the queen, but remembered that the king of *Castile* was become a widower; he had already contracted his daughter, the infanta, to both his sons, he resolved now to offer her to the father. The queen was very well pleased with this motion; she perceived he could not live long, and she saw that, in consequence of this marriage, she might continue a queen, and even govern *Portugal* after his decease. Her favourite *Andeyro*, now styled count of *Ourem*, was fixed upon to be the ambassador; and his equipage was so splendid, and his expence at the court of *Castile* so large, that the *Castilians* made some smart reflections, not much to the honour of the court from whence he came. He succeeded, however, in his negotiation, and the king Don *Juan*, struck with so advantageous an offer, accepted the terms upon which it was made, and sent an ambassador extraordinary to ratify them. In the history of his reign, we have shewn what these terms were; and therefore it would be improper to repeat them here, only it may not be amiss to observe, that the prudence shewn in the last treaty, did not at all appear in this, for in case the infanta died without children, Don *Juan* was to enjoy the kingdom of *Portugal*; but indeed, some of the *Portuguese* writers say, that to balance this, if the king and queen of *Castile* died without heirs, Don *Ferdinand* was to succeed, of which, however, there was no great risque, since he was in a manner dying, and scarce lived to see the marriage, which was the last effort of his extraordinary politics³.

As the king's infirmities rendered it impossible for him to assist at it in person, the queen, who delighted in such magnificent spectacles, took the care upon herself, and provided every thing requisite at a vast expence. When all was ready, she set out with her daughter, the infanta, who was scarce thirteen years of age, attended by the principal nobility of *Portugal*, for *Estremos*, where she was received by the archbishop of *Compostella*, chancellor of *Castile*, and who, in quality of ambassador, had negotiated this marriage. He was attended by the prelates, lords, and deputies of towns, who swore to the punctual performance of the treaty in all its branches; after which the queen proceeded with the infanta to *Xelves*, where the king met his bride, and solemnly espoused her; then taking leave of queen *Leonora*, he conducted her that very evening to *Badajoz*, where the next day he received the nuptial benediction in the cathedral church; at which ceremony also the *Portuguese* plenipotentiaries were present⁴. This was in the beginning of *May*; and some writers assert, that while the queen was thus employed, and had the pleasure of being idolized by two great nations, the king Don *Ferdinand* projected a very unpleasant reception for her favourite at his return, signifying his commands to Don *Juan*, grand-master of *Avis*, his brother, to put Don *Ferdinand*, count of *Ourem*, to death, the first fair opportunity he had, without injury to the public peace. Others say, he dictated this order to his secretary; who having read it, took the liberty of observing to his majesty, that the master of *Avis* had already too great power over the people; and that it imported him very much to consider whether it would be for the interest of himself and family to augment his popularity, by intrusting him with such an order; upon which the king, who affected the politician to the last, ordered the letter to be burnt. But the former account, for reasons which will occur to the reader in the course of this history, seems to approach nearest the truth. It appears however, that this secret was so well kept, owing very probably to the general hatred born to the favourite, that not a tittle of it transpired upon their return to the frontiers either to the queen or to himself⁵.

² LA NEUFVILLE, E. NUNEZ, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, TURQUET, FERRERAS. ³ E. NUNEZ, FERIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, FERR. LA NEUF. LE CLEDE. ⁴ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF, E. NUNEZ, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, TURQUET. ⁵ Cronica del Rey Juan I. DE FERNANT. LOPEZ, part i. LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF. LE CLEDE.

Death of Don
Ferdinand of
Portugal, and
sorrow of his
subjects.

THE king bore his long and painful sickness with which he had been afflicted for some years, with wonderful patience and resignation, even to the very last, and died with great marks of piety and composure of mind, on the twenty-second of October, one thousand three hundred eighty-three, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and in the sixteenth of his reign. He directed by his will that his corpse should be buried without any ceremony at *Santaren*; and directed also, that every one of his domestics should have a competent provision made for him during his life, in consideration of the great tenderness and indefatigable pains expressed by them in their attendance upon him during his declining state of health^a. He gave for his device, a sword thrust through two hearts, with these words, *Cur non utrumque*, the meaning of which is not easily understood. Some say he meant to signify, that he could penetrate other mens thoughts as well as his own. It may be, it alluded to the violence of that passion which had united him to his queen (G). His subjects had long expected his death; and the king of *Castile* waited for the news of it on the frontiers: yet when it happened it occasioned a general consternation, and the people expressed more affection in their mourning for this king than they had shewn in the time of his life^c.

His daughter
Donna Beatrix
proclaimed in
Lisbon, but
not acknow-
leged.

THE first step taken towards settling the government was made by the grand-master of *Avis*: he applied himself to the king of *Castile*, advised him to come without delay into *Portugal*, and intimated the expediency of leaving the government, when settled, in his hands, till the young queen Donna *Beatrix* had a son. This was rejected, perhaps with some degree of disdain: upon which the grand-master thought it high time to respect his own safety, tho' not thoroughly determined as to the properest means for him to take^d. By the treaty, and by the king's will, the queen was to be regent, and to have the government: to which the magistracy of *Lisbon* seemed to assent, for they went to compliment her at the palace; but at the same time insinuated to her, that she would do well to be more attentive to the public concerns than her husband had been, and she received them in such a manner, that they returned satisfied^e. On the other hand, the king of *Castile* sent ambassadors with compliments of condolence; but with instructions to demand that his consort, Donna *Beatrix*, should be proclaimed at *Lisbon*, and throughout the kingdom; for which orders were accordingly given^f. Don *Henry Manuel*, count of *Cintra*, uncle by the mother's side to the late king, was appointed to display the standard in *Lisbon*; but in that, and indeed in most of the cities through the kingdom, this ceremony was interrupted by persons who cried out, "Long live our lawful king Don *Juan*, the son of Don *Pedro* and of Donna *Agnes de Castro*,"^g then in *Castile*, and whom the king instantly sent to prison, as soon as he had intelligence of this event, and began to make the necessary provisions for assembling forces on the frontiers^h.

Grand-master
of Avis kills
Don Ferdi-
nand de An-
deyro in the
royal palace.

DON *Ruy de Pereyra*, a man of great courage and quality, brought some troops into *Lisbon* for his defence: he was a determined enemy to the conjunction of *Castile* and *Portugal*, which he considered as a fair word for making the latter only a province to the former; and believing that this would be effected by the queen regent, by the advice of the count of *Ourem*, who was himself a *Castilian*, he first conceived the necessity of taking this man out of the way. He communicated this to *Alvaro Paez*, who had been chancellor during the reigns of Don *Pedro* and his son *Ferdinand*, who approved it. They then sent for the grand-master of *Avis*, and proposed it to him, who objected that it might be ill received by the people, and that the queen would still have her brother, the count *de Barcelos*, who was a person of great weight

^a FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, LE CLEDE, FERR. TURQUET. Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 267, 268. FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR. DE AYALA, LOPEZ, TURQUET.

^e FARIA Y SOUSA.

^c LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, ^f DON PEDRO LOPEZ ^h AYALA.

^d ANT. VASCON-
CELLOS, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

(G) This unfortunate monarch had a very fine person; he was tall, graceful, and majestic; his countenance oval; his eyes dark, but very brisk; his complexion fair; and his hair of a light brown. He was very adroit in his exercise; and whether he spoke or was silent, had something in his manner that sufficiently distinguished him from his subjects, and taught even strangers to perceive he was the king. In his second war with *Castile*, he introduced two new dignities into *Portugal*, by creating Don *Alvaro Pereira de Castro* constable, and Don *Ferdinand Counting* marshal of the kingdom. His profusion was in a manner incredible; he gave at once to *Juan Alonso de Moxica*, a *Castilian* gentleman, fifty horses, thirty mules, three suits of armour, thirty thousand marks in silver plate, four horse load of rich tapestry, besides villages and lands. His raising the value of the coin did a great deal of mischief; but, however, he had the satisfaction of setting that matter to rights before his death.

His pulling down the old *Roman* walls of *Evora* produced a great clamour; but he afterwards put that city into a good state of defence. He likewise demolished all the fortifications of *Lisbon*, and rebuilt them within the space of two years; by which the city and kingdom was preserved after his decease. He made many good laws, more especially with regard to agriculture and commerce. He was very much shocked at the impudence of the people, who suggested, that the infanta was the daughter of *Andeyro*, though he did not return from *England* to *Portugal* till she was eight years old. He expressed great penitence on his death-bed, and begged pardon of his subjects for the miseries he had brought upon them. His character is succinctly and truly drawn by a certain historian in these words, He was a very indifferent king, with very great capacity; and a very weak man, with abundance of courage.

and

a and wisdom, to assist her in her designs. The chancellor told him, he would undertake for both. The grand-master replied roundly, that then he would dispatch *Andeyro* with his own hand. In the mean time the queen, having consulted with her favourite, summoned the grand-master to council; where, after declaring that they had intelligence of the king of *Castile's* arming with intention to invade *Portugal*, they proposed intrusting the command of the army on the frontiers with the grand-master; who, by this means they thought to have removed to some distance, and had prepared by great liberalities to gain the people in his absence. This was in the morning of the sixth of *December*: the grand-master accepted the proposition without hesitation, and offered to set out without delay. He did so; but he returned suddenly, with the count *de Barcelos*, the chancellor, and *Ruy Pereyra*, and came to the palace a little before dinner. He told the queen, that he thought it not expedient to advance to the frontiers without troops: and she so little apprehended any danger, that she invited him to her table. He accepted the invitation; and going into another room, made a sign to *Andeyro* that he wanted to speak with him. Their conversation was but short; for the grand-master drawing a dagger stabbed him. The count turned, and would have fled into the queen's apartment; but *Pereyra* prevented him by a thrust with his sword, which laid him dead at his feet. The queen was soon acquainted with the fact, which she bewailed bitterly, saying, she had lost her best friend; that he was a martyr, and not a criminal; and that she would undergo the ordeal in support of his innocence. She next sent to the grand-master to know if she was to die too: but he answered, the queen had nothing to fear ^k.

c AT the instant of the count's death, the grand-master ordered the palace-gates to be shut, ^{The populace} having first sent out the chancellor, and one of his own pages: the boy cried out, that his ^{support the} master was fast in the palace, and his life in danger, which the grave old chancellor confirmed: ^{grand-master,} upon this the whole city was immediately in arms; and Don *Martin*, bishop of *Lisbon*, ^{and carry him} retired for safety, with a friend or two, into the tower of his cathedral. The people seeing ^{umph.} them there, called to them to ring the bell; and upon their refusing, broke open the doors, ran up, and threw them into the streets. This prelate was a man of an exemplary life, and his only crime was being a native of *Castile*. The grand-master having by this artifice discovered how thoroughly the people were in his interest, caused the gates of the palace to be opened, suffered them to rescue him from the danger he was never in, and went with the count *de Barcelos* to a friend's house to dine with Don *Ruy de Pereyra* and the chancellor, leaving the queen at full liberty to bewail the ambitious and unfortunate *Andeyro* ^l.

WHEN the grand-master was more at leisure, he went to make his excuses to the queen; in ^{Match pro-} which he partly justified what he had done, and partly cast the weight of it upon necessity. ^{posed between} The queen heard him with great indifference, and answered him but coldly: however, she ^{him and queen} made one request, which was, that she might have leave to retire from *Lisbon* to *Alenquez*; to ^{Leonora, but} which he consented, and went thither accordingly, attended by many of the first nobility; for in ^{rejected by her} general the great families adhered to the queen. The grand-master, after her departure, affected even to his friends a very deep melancholy, suggested, that for the sake of the people, and to make some effort to preserve the liberties of his country, he had quitted an easy and a happy situation for a life so miserable that he could not one hour count upon the next, and therefore weary of perpetual fatigue, and distracted with so hopeless a prospect, he thought best to retire to *England*. The old chancellor, who was perhaps the only man that understood the grand-master's language, told him, that, in a situation like his, flight was always scandalous, and seldom safe; that he saw the people ready to do or to suffer any thing for him; and that therefore he ought to embark their liberty and his safety on the same bottom. In the end, the grand-master suffered himself by a gentle violence to be drawn to this conclusion ^m. A proposition was then made to the queen Donna *Leonora*, that for the sake of peace, to recover her own power, and to extinguish the memory of all that was past, she ⁿ should marry the grand-master, and with him hold the regency till her daughter should have a child of age to assume the government; but the queen rejected these terms with contempt, and repeated her applications to Don *Juan* of *Castile*, for assistance and protection. The commons threatened those who held out the castle of *Lisbon* into a surrender, from the apprehension of seeing their wives and children murdered before their faces; and then proclaimed the grand-master protector of the *Portuguese* nation, and regent of the kingdom, promising never to forsake him, and conjuring him to neglect nothing that might contribute to their mutual defence ^o.

UPON the queen's repeated intreaties, and on her promise to meet him at *Santaren*, Don *Juan* of *Castile* began his march towards *Portugal*, with a considerable body of forces, fol- ^{Don Juan of} ^{Castile assumes}

^k AYALA, LOPEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, MARIANA, FERRERAS, TURQUET, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE. ^l LOPEZ, AYALA, MARIANA. ^m FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR. LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF. Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 273, 274. TURQUET: ⁿ FARIA Y SOUSA. ^o LOPEZ, LE CLEDE.

the title of
king of Por-
tugal, in his
queen's right.

lowing in that respect the advice of the younger part of his council; whereas graver heads had persuaded him to adhere strictly to the treaty, to send ambassadors before him into *Portugal*, with the strongest assurances on that head, and to propound only the restitution of the power of the queen dowager, in conjunction with a council to be chosen by the states ^a. The reason he rejected this was, that he looked upon the conquest of *Portugal* as a thing equally easy and certain, and therefore to be undertaken at once. On his approaching to *Guarda*, the gates were opened by the command of the bishop, who was chancellor to queen *Leonora*. He proceeded next to *Santaren*, where the queen met him, and where he insisted she should resign all title to the regency; which she did, but unwillingly. He then made a public entry with his queen, and caused himself and her to be proclaimed, adding *Portugal* and *Algarve* to his titles: and caused money to be coined with his own bust, and on the reverse the arms of both kingdoms ^b. Excursions were now daily made into *Portugal* by the *Castilians*, and into *Castile* by the *Portuguese*: but Don *Juan*, not well satisfied with his mother's humour, shewed little regard to her advice, and less to her request; while her daughter, Donna *Beatrix*, treated her with great freedom and indifference. The *Portuguese* lords were not better satisfied: they were indeed well entertained; but the king was not so familiar with them as Don *Ferdinand* had been; neither did they meet with the golden showers they expected: on the whole, there was much dissatisfaction amongst them, and the king disdaining to take any cognizance of such little quarrels, applied himself to the assembling of an army that might be numerous enough to invest and besiege *Lisbon*, in conjunction with those of the nation who were still in his interests; and believed that it was very practicable, in spite of the aversion of the populace, to fix him upon the throne ^c. He was the more confident of this himself, as most of the strong places, and the major part of the kingdom had declared for him; but he had not sufficiently considered that they might alter their opinions, and that he had not an army numerous enough to secure them by *Castilian* garrisons; and if this had been in his power, it was doubtful whether they would have given him admittance.

The grand-
master declared
regent and pro-
tector of Por-
tugal, by the
people.

On the other hand, the regent, from the time he assumed that title and office, acted with all the prudence and sagacity imaginable. He was himself one of the ablest politicians ever embarked in a scene of this nature; yet he was content to be advised in every thing, and had penetration enough to make choice of a council who were really capable to advise him. The office of chancellor he bestowed upon *Rigas*, a man of great parts, and whose pathetic eloquence had a strong influence upon the people. He did this at the motion of *Alvaro Paez*, who had held that office long, and now wanted strength to go through it. At present, said he to the regent, the business is not power but safety. However, he was the first man sworn of the regent's council, and how well he deserved it, appears from the maxim he recommended to him when he seemed diffident of the high professions that were made to him. To fix these people in your interest, said *Alvaro*, you must give them what is none of your own, and reward them with what is not in your power; meaning, that he should promise them confiscations, and the governments of places, then in the hands of the queen ^d. He likewise advised the regent to send an ambassador to *England*, to demand the assistance of the duke of *Lancaster*. And no doubt it was by his instructions, that this minister made no scruple of turning prophet, in giving the title of king of *Portugal* to his master long before he assumed it. The regent himself made no scruple of practising every art for his own advantage; and perceiving that numbers were inclined to the infant Don *Juan*, he caused him to be depicted in his standards, lying on a bed of straw, with irons on his legs, as if he had been so treated in *Castile*; by which he animated the populace against their enemies, and made the phrase of the king Don *Juan* familiar ^e. The war could not be carried on without treasure; the plunder of the queen's friends, and the plate of the churches, was a ready and convenient supply, yet he received it with reluctance; and declaring his sincere intention to replace it, he kept those who were stripped from engaging against him, and brought the priests to act vigorously on his side. In the whole course of his conduct, he never lost sight of old *Paez*'s first admonition, haughty to your foes, and humble to your friends. When he spoke of the liberty of *Portugal*, it was in the language of the old *Romans*; but in his applications to the people, he was so modest, and so resigned, that all things were forced upon him, and he seemed to be no more than an engine directed at their pleasure. The nobility saw through this, and thought to expose it, by calling his adherents the disciples of the Messiah; but as there is no reasoning, so there is no jesting with the multitude, for they took this literally, and retorting it upon his opponents, called them infidels and *Jews* ^f.

^a Cronica del del Rey Don Juan el Primero, FERRERAS, MARIANA. LA NEUFVILLE, TURQUET.

^b FARRIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, LOPEZ, LE CLEDE, FERR. MARIANA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, TURQUET.

^c FARRIA Y SOUSA, TEXEIRA, ANT. VASCONCELLOS Anacepalæsis, id est, summa capita astorum Regum Lusitanæ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF. FERR. Historia de Espana, part viii. § xiv. TURQUET, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, MARIANA.

^d LOPEZ, FARRIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, FERR. TURQUET.

- ^a AFTER all the pains taken by the regent, and in spite of all his address, he might very probably have been crushed by the power of the king Don Juan, and of the party who remained firm to the interest of queen *Beatrix*, if their affairs had been conducted with equal spirit, or if the like unanimity had prevailed amongst them. The queen dowager, heated by her resentment, and forgetting against whom she acted, endeavoured to diffuse amongst her creatures an opinion that she was injured, and that, to secure their own liberties, and obtain justice for her, the shortest way was to reconcile themselves to the regent; upon this, many who doubted on which side to act, took her advice. The king, her son-in-law, expostulated this matter warmly, more especially as he had been refused entrance into *Coimbra*, by Don *Gonsalo Tellez*, her brother. The queen gave so plausible an account of this matter, that the king knew not what to think, more especially when she proposed going herself with him to *Coimbra*, in order to oblige her brother to put that important place into his hands. He carried her thither accordingly, and in a conference with Don *Gonsalo*, she reasoned, threatened, commanded, intreated, and cajoled him in such a manner, that Don Juan could not doubt of her intention; though all proved ineffectual, and her brother could be only brought to promise, that when a king of *Portugal* should demand them, he would deliver the keys^w. Queen *Leonora* laid hold of this expression to facilitate a most horrid design, which she had formed against the king's life. Don *Pedro*, count of *Trafemara*, and Don *Alonso*, his brother, near relations to the king, were in the camp, and the latter had an intrigue with one of the queen's ladies of honour, who proposed to him that count *Pedro* should kill the king, marry the queen regent her mistress, and declare himself king of *Portugal*; and as he might be assured that *Coimbra* would be rendered to him by her brother, he might rest satisfied that other cities and towns would take the same step. Don *Pedro* was weak and wicked enough to enter into this wild scheme: in the management of which he was obliged to trust a Jew, who, either through fear of punishment or hopes of reward, discovered it to the king; upon which, immediate orders being given to double the guards, a servant of Don *Pedro's* carried him the news; and, as guilt is easily alarmed, he made his escape. The king charged Donna *Leonora* with it before the queen her daughter; but, without being disconcerted, she denied the whole, and, when the Jew was produced, she treated him as an informer and impostor. This, however, made no impression on Don Juan, who, by the advice of his council, sent her prisoner into *Castile*^x.
- ^d As the king's sole dependence was now in his arms, he sent orders to *Seville* to equip a fleet, which was intended to block up the river of *Lisbon*; and at the same time directed, that the principal nobility in his dominions should march to his assistance, with all the forces they could raise^y. In the mean time hearing every day of places revolting to the regent; he resolved to punish what he treated as a spirit of rebellion, and sent out detachments to burn and plunder; who did their business without the least mixture of pity or regret. The regent, who now saw all at stake, directed the small fleet that he had at *Lisbon* to repair to *Porto*, that they might not be blocked up; and directed his letters to all the maritime places in the kingdom, requiring them to send what naval force they could thither^z. To restrain the *Castilian* troops, he gave the command of the best part of his to *Nugno Alvarez Pereyra*, one of the bravest and best officers he had; and notwithstanding his elder brother, the prior of *Crato*, who was in the service of the king of *Castile*, laboured all that was in his power to draw him to that interest, he rejected all offers; and with great intrepidity, though with forces far inferior to the enemy, attacked the *Castilians*, and gained a glorious victory^a. This answered the intended end of restraining incursions; but the king Don Juan's reinforcements arriving daily, he was quickly in a condition to undertake what was the main object of his desires, the siege of *Lisbon*; and as soon as he had the news that his fleet was arrived before it, he marched with a numerous and well-disciplined army, with which he invested the place, not at all doubtful of the event, as the enemy had no succours to expect, and as his troops were abundantly supplied with provisions from the fruitful countries that lay behind them. The presence of the regent was the great strength of the place; for the number of troops he had was very small, and he had no army in the field in a condition to raise it. He defended himself, however, with great spirit and resolution; and having good intelligence, executed some bold sallies with success. His fleet at *Porto*, being gradually augmented, put to sea, and swept all the ships upon the coast of *Castile*, by which they made a prodigious booty; and, after carrying their prizes to *Porto*, they entered the river of *Lisbon*, and blocked up the *Castilian* fleet, that had hitherto acted against the town^b. But it may be, the king of *Castile's* superior force, which gained him in the course of the siege many advantages, would in the end have

^w FARIA Y SOUSA, LOPEZ, ANT. VASCONCELLOS, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, part viii. § xiv. ^x LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. MARIANA, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, TURQUET, FERR. ^y Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. ^z FARIA Y SOUSA, LOPEZ, TURQUET. ^a LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF. LE CLEDE, FERR. MARIANA. ^b Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, LOPEZ MARIANA, FERRERAS.

carried the place. But the irresistible arm of Providence interposed; an epidemic distemper, a little differing from a plague, broke out in his army, and made such devastation, that he at length thought it expedient to try what a negotiation might produce^c. The regent readily listened to this, as it raised the spirits of his own people, and as he knew the disease would continue to act while hostilities were suspended. The king proposed, that if he would proclaim himself and queen *Beatrix*, he would leave the regency of the kingdom to him, in conjunction with a *Castilian* nobleman. The regent having protracted the treaty for some time, answered, that this was against his principle, since he only fought to preserve the government of *Portugal* to the *Portuguese*^d. While the negotiation lasted, he wrote to the constable at *Evora*, to assemble all the troops he possibly could, and to advance towards *Lisbon*, to countenance a sally he intended to make with his whole force; but Don *Juan* of *Castile* hindered^b his orders from taking effect, by raising the siege suddenly, and retiring with the wretched remains of his army, as fast as they were able to march, towards his own dominions^e. The *Portuguese* historians say, that, turning his eyes upon the city at his departure, he wished he might see it in ruins, and the ground ploughed up upon which it stood: a stroke of resentment as idle as that of queen *Leonora* when she went to *Alenquer*, who, turning to it, said, Base and ungrateful *Lisbon*, how much would it rejoice my eyes to behold thy palaces in flames. The bitterness of these curses fell infinitely short of the joy of its inhabitants at this happy deliverance, which they attributed entirely to the vigilance, valour, and fortune of the regent, who for the first time repressed and reproved the people, exhorting them to repair to their churches, and pay their thanks where it was due, since it was God who had delivered them, and not a mean contemptible man like him. This had a good effect; the people took his advice, and for a whole day there was nothing seen but a decent and composed spirit of devotion, to which they were principally excited by the example of the regent himself^f.

The king and his Castilians lose entirely the affections of the Portuguese.

It was not without reason that the regent, or protector, of *Portugal*, affected so much religious and civil prudence in all his actions; for beyond question it was entirely due to this caution and circumspection that the city escaped ruin, and himself was preserved, as the outworks were lost, and Don *Pedro de Castro* had formed a conspiracy for delivering up a great part of the city. Famine had made as sharp attacks within, as the plague without: nor would the king of *Castile*, after all, have raised the siege, if the queen had not fallen sick^g. Don *Juan* therefore acted as wisely as worthily in attributing their common deliverance to the special interposition of Providence; which, upon reflection, filled the people with still higher sentiments of him than those they had at first expressed: insomuch, that they offered themselves, and all that they had to his will; which was so much the more extraordinary, as few nations have valued liberty more, or understood it better than the *Portuguese*. The friends of the regent advised him to lay hold of this transport of popular affection, and to prosecute his good fortune; which counsel he accepted from a nobler motive, that of providing for the health and happiness of the people. He drew some thousands of the younger sort into the field, that the citizens might be more at their ease; and as fast as he could amass them he sent great quantities of provisions to *Lisbon*. His expedition was attended with all the success he could desire: many fortified places opened their gates, several persons of great distinction came over to his party; some out of respect to his person and his merit; some through their zeal for liberty; but the greater part out of hatred and malice to the *Castilians*, who, as they were never beloved by the *Portuguese*, had now, by their own ill conduct, heightened prejudice into aversion, and swelled natural dislike into irreconcilable detestation^h. The picture is not pleasing, but it is drawn from the life.

He gives encouragement to the count de Trastemara to conspire against the regent.

THE king Don *Juan* of *Castile*, notwithstanding this severe check, still kept up his pretensions, appointed such as would accept commissions from him governors of the towns they held, and began to raise in his own dominions such an army as, if he had employed at first, would infallibly have conquered *Portugal*ⁱ. Yet in the midst of these preparations, he had recourse to a sinister method; which not only failed him, but was in other respects also highly detrimental to his interests. He wrote to the count de *Trastemara*, whom queen *Leonora* had embarked in a design against his own life, that he might recover his favour, and prevent the confiscation of his vast estate, if he could by any means compass the death of the regent. The count, who, notwithstanding his alliance to the royal family, was very fit for such an enterprise, readily embraced the proposal, and drew in Don *Pedro de Castro*, to whom the regent had given his life when detected in a former conspiracy, to join with him. *John Duque*, governor of *Torres Vedras*, *Juan Alonso de Baeza*, and *Garcia Gonfales de Valdez*, were also embarked in this

^c FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE. el Primero, TURQUET, FERR. MARIANA.

VASCONC. FERR. MARIANA.

FERR.

^e MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA.

ⁱ Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

^d FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Juan

^e LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF. LE CLEDE TEXIERA, ANT.

^f LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF. LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA, TURQUET,

^h LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF. MARIANA, TUQUET, FERR.

a black design; into which they drew *Figuêredo*, who had been governor of the castle of *Gaya*, and leaving it in the hands of his wife, she had so tormented the country round about, that the nobility in the neighbourhood rose, and took it from her; and this, though he knew nothing of the matter, he was to revenge upon the regent. It was also communicated to the count *Don Gonçales de Telles*, brother to queen *Leonora*; but these two last, after a little reflection, repented, and gave the regent notice of his danger at the very instant it was to have been executed. The count and *Don Pedro de Castro* made their escape, so did *Alonso de Baez*; but *Garcia Gonçales de Valdez* was taken, and by the regent's order burnt alive^k. *John Duque* was so provoked at this, that he cut off the hands and the noses of six Portuguese gentlemen who were his prisoners, and sent them to the regent; who immediately commanded six Castilian gentlemen to be treated in the same manner; but before the officer to whom he spoke quitted the room, he said, "I have given enough to resentment in issuing such an order; but it would be infamous to carry it into execution: see that the Castilians suffer no hurt." This, most authors agree, was the greatest action of his life^l. The Castilians themselves were so sensible of it, that they began to act with less rigour in regard to such of his party as fell into their hands.

THE people of *Portugal* in general saw clearly, that without restoring the ancient form of government they must be undone; and if they wanted a king long, their country would cease to be a kingdom. An assembly of the states was called at *Coimbra*, to meet at *Easter*; which, if not by the regent's authority, was at least by his consent: and he went thither to share in, and attend the event of their consultations. It is said, that at some distance from the city, he was met by a great number of boys upon hobby-horses, or riding upon their sticks, who no sooner saw him, than they cried out, "Long live *Don Juan*! *Don Juan* king of *Portugal* comes in a happy time! *Don Juan* shall be our king!" Whether this was owing to art or accident it had a great effect: The archbishop of *Braga* presided in this assembly; in which were present the bishops of *Lisbon*, *Lamego*, *Porto*, *Coimbra*, and *Guarda*, with many of the nobility, and most of the deputies of cities. The chancellor *Regras* made a long and laboured speech, in which he endeavoured to shew, that the throne was really vacant; and therefore as it was their duty to fill it, he recommended the regent to their choice, as the person who for many reasons best deserved it^m. This, tho' acceptable to many, was not so to all: *Don Vasco da Cunha*, a man of great quality and greater probity, rose up, and declared, that he was far from being persuaded by what he had heard: that hitherto none had pretended to doubt the reality of *Don Pedro's* marriage with *Donna Agnes de Castro*; and that if this marriage was valid, *Don Juan*, though an exile, though a prisoner, was king of *Portugal*. He closed his speech, however, with saying, that if the states were of another opinion, and should think themselves at liberty to chuse a king, he should look upon himself as bound to obey. The constable *Don Nugno Alvarez de Pereira*, when he saw that this speech, which was supported also by *Don Vasco's* two brothers, made a great impression upon the assembly, was for putting an end to the opposition, by making away with him on the spot. But the regent interposing, prevented any violence: the constable had then recourse to words. He told the states, that *Portugal* would be undone without a king: that let the right of *Don Juan* be what it would, the nation had no hand either in his exile or in his captivity, and therefore ought not to suffer by it: that some people thought the title in *Donna Beatrix*: that the king of *Castile* had thought proper to assume it; and by that act had cancelled all claim to it; that others were for *Don Juan*, the son of *Donna Agnes*; that he thought where three sovereigns claimed there was no allegiance due; that the states of *Portugal* were the sole judges of so embarrassed a question; that the people could be no longer without a head; and that without losing time in debates, the states ought to name him. This brought things round again, and the assembly seemed in general inclined to come to a resolution, when the regent desired to be heard, and a deep silence ensuedⁿ.

F HE began with setting forth the misery of their present condition; the just apprehensions they were under of having those miseries for ever entailed upon their posterity, by falling under the dominion of a foreign power. He expatiated on the troubles, dangers, and hardships to which, by his office of regent or protector, he was exposed. He said he pretended no right to the crown, nor did he desire it. That the king of *Castile* had plainly forfeited his, and the queen's likewise, by entering *Portugal* with an army, in breach of the treaty, from which alone her right could arise. That with respect to the infant *Don Juan*, if the states would declare him their king, he was content to take the same pains that he had hitherto done; that he was ready to

^k E. NUNEZ DE LEON as cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, FARIA Y SOUSA, ANT. VASCONCEL. JOSEPH TEIXEIRA. ^l GARIBAY, E. NUNEZ, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE. FERR. ^m LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF. FARIA Y SOUSA, TURQUET, E. NUNEZ, MARIANA, ⁿ ANT. VASCONCEL. FARIA Y SOUSA, TURQUET.

swear to him as his lawful sovereign; to expel the *Castilians* out of his dominions; and to defend them for him till Providence, by restoring him to his liberty, should restore to *Portugal* her lawful king. That from what he knew of the weight and duties of that high office, he was sensible he wanted talents to discharge it; but that to expel strangers, to preserve the liberties of the people, and to keep the crown for its lawful owner, he was ready to expose himself to any labour or hazard^a. The assembly understood this perhaps, as it was intended, as a modest refusal, that might render the placing the crown upon his head more grateful to the people of *Portugal*. Accordingly, the question being put, the regent was unanimously declared king, and Don *Vasco da Cunha* was one of the first who complimented him upon his election^b, and made him a tender of his services.

Don Juan declared king, which puts an end to the inter-regnum.

Thus ended that long interregnum which had been so fatal to *Portugal*, which had destroyed the face of government throughout the best part of the kingdom, and rent the whole nation into factions, and introduced a foreign army into the heart of the country; which had put a full stop to industry, and, by taking away security, had rendered a great part, even of the most fertile provinces, desert. The sad effects of the interregnum did not, however, end with it; but on the contrary were augmented in number, and heightened in their nature; for the *Portuguese* were rebels now on which ever side they acted, and maltreated on both sides if they declared for neither. Yet a ray of hope was let in by this election; and by degrees, his own vigilance, and his people's valour, secured to Don *Juan* the crown, which in every country, purging all defects, made him, in the eyes of his subjects at least, and in the end in the eyes of his neighbours also, a legal king.

^a JOSEPH TEIXERA, E. NUNEZ, ANT. VASCONCEL. GARIBAY, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL. NUNEZ, LE CLEDE. FERRERAS, TURQUET, MARIANA.

P E.

S E C T. IV.

Comprehending the reigns of John I. Edward, Alonso V. and John II.

Additional restrictions upon Don Juan, when declared and acknowledged.

DON *Juan*, grand-master of the order of *Avis*, was declared king by the states of *Portugal*, at *Coimbra*, on the sixth of *April*, and we shall therefore stile him for the future *John* the first, as it will enable us to distinguish him the better from his competitor, Don *Juan* king of *Castile* (A). Those who made him a king thought fit to prescribe some additional

(A) Don *Juan* was the natural son of Don *Pedro*, the *Lower of Justice*, by Donna *Theresa Lorenza*, a *Galician* lady, and born, as the best writers say, at *Lisbon*, on the 22d of *April*, 1357, which was one great reason why the people of that city were so early, and continued so steadily, attached to him. He was first put under the care of *Lorenzo de Leyria*, a citizen of *Lisbon*, who delivered him, as soon as he was capable of instruction, to Don *Nugno Freyras de Andrada*, grand-master of the order of *Christ*, who educated him with infinite care and affection, and when he was seven years old produced him at court, which is said to be the first time the king his father ever saw him. His tutor observed how much he was pleased with the aspect and behaviour of the boy; and laying hold of this favourable opportunity, demanded for him the mastership of *Avis*, which was just become vacant by the death of Don *Martin de Avilar*: the king readily yielded to his request, knighted him upon the spot, and sent him to be bred up at *Tomar*, which was the residence of the grand-masters of *Avis* (1). There he received an admirable education, which, joined to his own great parts, produced him early in the reign of his brother Don *Ferdinand* upon the public theatre, as one of the best officers, and one of the ablest men in *Portugal*. He gave his brother good advice, and frequently hazarded his life in his service. He was civil to the queen, but never of her faction. He publicly reprov'd the lightness of her behaviour, which she revenged by procuring his imprisonment; and, as we have shewn in

the text, was very near taking away his life, which it is probable he never forgot. The king his brother charged him to kill the queen's favourite, and he executed that order after the king's death (2). He was a deep politician; for he covered all his designs with an appearance of openness and candour. He gained the friendship of the ablest men in the kingdom, whether soldiers, ecclesiastics, or lawyers; but above all, he studied the people, and understood their humours perfectly. He wrought upon those humours by concealed and unsuspected means, and seemed to be the instrument only of his own contrivances, and to receive from others those orders which he had secretly dictated. His prudence gained him the confidence of the wife; his steadiness and gratitude the friendship of the brave; and his liberality the bulk of the nation. He was in the twenty-seventh year of his age when he was declared protector, and in the twenty-eighth when he was proclaimed king (3). He was one of those few persons upon whom prosperity and adversity had no manner of effect. He was not elated by the one, or depressed by the other; but, if occasion required it, could counterfeit both. By pretending fear, and threatening to leave the kingdom, he was elected regent; by promising titles, governments, estates, as if he had been really master of the whole kingdom, when he had very little of it, in the end he became so (4). In one thing he was very singular; though he was so great a master of art, he never employed it but when it was necessary; and though he had it fully in his power to

(1) *Faria y Sousa, Elogios dos Reis Portugal, le Clede.*

(2) *Vasconcellos, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.*

(3) *Cronica del Rey Don Joan por Fernan Lopez, Vasconcellos, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.*

(4) *Fern.*

de Menezes vida e açoes del Rey Don Joan I. Fern. Lopez, Vasconcellos.

a tional articles to the old laws of *Lamego* ; such as that he should exclude from his council, and the magistracy of towns, all the creatures of queen *Leonora* ; that he should be very careful in bestowing the great offices of the kingdom, and of his shoushold ; that in all cases of any moment he should take the advice of his council, and be for that purpose attended by a committee wherever he went ; that he should not conclude peace, or declare war, but with the assent of the states ; and that he should not interpose his authority in making or dissolving marriages, which ought to be entirely free, and not subject to any controul ; nevertheless the new king should be obliged to ask the assent of the states before he entered into wedlock. The king readily ratified all but the last. He said, that marriage was the prerogative of every man ; that he would promise them never to invade it, and for this reason he was unwilling to lose it. The states acquiesced, the king swore to the rest, and was then proclaimed: as to the solemnity of a coronation, he deferred it till they were more at leisure. He declared the constable *Nugno Alvarez*, major-domo ; his brother *Alvaro Pereyra*, marshal of the kingdom ; *Vasco da Cunha*, standard-bearer. *Regras* was continued in his office of chancellor, and all were sworn of his council, with some other lords of equal character and reputation^a. The king and the constable both took the field, and reduced several places by force, and recovered others by composition, particularly the city of *Braga*. The king gave very honourable terms to the *Castilian* officers who defended places against him, but refused them to the *Portuguese*, whom he now affected to treat as rebels^b.

c At length Don *Juan* of *Castile*, at the head of the whole force of his dominions, and with the flower of the *Castilian* nobility, entered the province of *Alentejo* ; and, as the *Portuguese* historians say, besieged *Elvas* without effect^c ; so that being obliged to retire from before it, he returned to *Ciudad Rodrigo*, in his own dominions, full of resentment and chagrin. There he held a council of war ; in which, yielding to the opinions of the young and hot-headed nobility, he resolved to invade *Portugal* again ; to ruin all the country before him ; to drive the master of *Avis*, as they stiled him, once more into *Lisbon* : and not to depart from before that city till she owned her lawful king. This scheme was pursued, several places taken and sacked, *Trancofo* particularly, where a body of *Castilian* troops had been beat, and the church burnt^d. In the mean time, *John* king of *Portugal* lay at *Abrantes*, with a small army, as if he despaired of expelling the enemy, and was at a loss what measures to take. But in reality he waited for the *English* succours ; and his prudence and courage were so well known, that, notwithstanding appearances were so much against him, there were none who censured his conduct. The constable Don *Nugno Alvarez* alone pressed the king to fight : he said the ardour of his troops would supply the want of numbers ; and that it was dishonourable to see the kingdom burnt and spoiled, without attempting its relief. The king heard him patiently, and gave him good words ; but did not shew his usual alacrity in marching to find out the enemy. At length an officer he had sent to view the *Castilian* army returned, and published through the camp, that though the report was true as to their numbers ; yet that they were extremely harrassed, were in great want of provision, and so dispersed that they might be easily surprized. This he did by the king's express orders ; for there was not a single word of it true, the army of *Castile* being in the plains of *Aljubarota*, very strongly posted, and very well supplied.

f THE *Portuguese* soldiers cried out to be led to the battle ; the constable expostulated again with the king ; and he, as if over-persuaded, at last gave orders to march. The *Castilians* had great advantages if they had preserved them : their army consisted, according to the best accounts, of thirty thousand men^e. Some *Portuguese* historians make theirs but six thousand six hundred ; but the *Castilians* say they were ten thousand. The constable led the van, *Men Rodriguez* commanded one wing, *Antonio Vasquez* the other, and the king was in the center. The *Castilians* came precipitately to the action, and were not only the aggressors, but charged with such fury that the constable with his troops gave way. The king of *Portugal* perceived it, and ordered the main body of his forces to open and give them way. The enemy, disordered in the pursuit, he attacked on their flanks, and in half an hour their rout became

^a MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA, Cronica del Rey Don Juan I. e dos Ruys de Portugal o decimo ; composta por FERNAM LOPEZ. fol. FERNANDO DE MENEZEZ, vida e acçoes del Rey Don Joan I. 4to. LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL. LE CLEDE.

^b Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERRERAS.

^c FERNAM LOPEZ, AYALA.

^d FERNANDO DE MENEZEZ, MARIANA, TURQ.

^e ANT. VA. CONCEL.

Anacephalæosis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitanix, JOSEPH TEIXERA DE PORTUGALLIÆORTUS, ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, FERNAM LOPEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, TURQ.

punish many who had been his enemies, he spared them all, and some of them even after they had broke their faith to him. It was his saying, that clemency was the cement of a new government, and his actions were suitable to his maxims (5).

(5) Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, Mariana.

unavoidable. A multitude of their best officers were killed upon the spot; the king of *Castile* fled that night upon a mule to *Santaren*, upwards of thirty miles. This victory, which was A. D. 1385. decisive, was gained on the fourteenth of *August*, by four in the afternoon. The *Castilians* lost ten thousand men, all the places in the neighbourhood surrendered; and the constable immediately after made an irruption into the dominions of *Castile*, where he had the good fortune to defeat the grand-master of the order of *St. James*, who was killed upon the spot, and returned, covered with glory, into *Portugal*^f. This campaign fixed the fate of *Portugal*, and rendered the authority of king *John* permanent and stable.

King John
espouses the
lady Philippa,
daughter to
John duke of
Lancaster.

THE king created the constable upon his return count of *Ourem*, and rewarded the rest of his officers with great magnificence^g. At the opening of the next year he reduced *Chaves*, after a long siege. He next made an irruption into *Castile* in person, and besieged *Coria*; but without effect. Upon his being obliged to raise it, his usual discretion deserted him, and he happened to say, though in a jesting manner, "That he had taken the place, if, like king *Arthur*, he had had good knights at his round table." *Men Rodriguez de Vasconcellos* answered immediately, "That possibly the knights of the round table had more reason to complain they were not blessed with an *Arthur*, to distinguish their valour, and make a right use of it." The king saw his mistake, and held his tongue^h. The duke of *Lancaster* arriving at *Corunna*, the king went to meet him, and finding with him his consort *Donna Constantia*, who took the title of queen of *Castile*, and his daughters, he quickly concluded a marriage with the eldest *Donna Philippa*; and as soon as a dispensation could be obtained from the Pope, the marriage was celebrated at *Lisbon*ⁱ. We have already given the history of this war; and shall not therefore dwell any longer than is absolutely necessary upon it here. The king, in conjunction with his father-in-law, made an irruption into *Castile*, without gaining any great advantage; for *Don Juan* being informed how ill the sultry heats of *Galicia* agreed with the *English*, put good garrisons into his frontiers, and withdrew all provisions: so that the *English* and *Portuguese* were glad to retreat without fighting. At his return to *Lisbon* king *John* fell dangerously ill, and his queen miscarried; which, with the miserable circumstances the kingdom was in, caused a great consternation: from which, however, they were in some measure relieved by the king and queen's recovery^k.

Compels the
Castilians to
own and con-
clude a truce
with him for
three years.

By king *John*'s advice, and with his full consent, the duke of *Lancaster*, with his family and forces, embarked, under the escort of a *Portuguese* squadron, for the dominions of the crown of *England* in *France*, with full assurance that he would return the next year with a more numerous army. But after he was at *Bayonne*, it appeared that he had made a treaty with the king of *Castile*, by which the prince *Don Henry*, his eldest son, was to espouse *Donna Catalina*, the duke's second daughter: in consequence of which their pretensions were adjusted^l. The *Spanish* historians say, that this gave great uneasiness in *Portugal*; but the *Portuguese* affirm, that the king, all things considered, was not so much offended as he appeared to be, as foreseeing that this would bring about a peace, of which he was in great need^m. He reduced some of the few places that still held out, and then made an irruption into *Castile*; but soon after returned to *Braga*, in order to hold an assembly of the states: where, by recommending it strongly to them to spare the people in their taxes, he carried his point, and obtained as great a subsidy as he could desire; which in spite of their poverty the people very cheerfully paidⁿ. The king afterwards made an irruption into *Galicia*, where he was so fortunate as to reduce the city of *Tuy*, and the town of *Salvaterra*. Upon this the *Castilian* offered if they were restored to conclude a truce for a certain term, and to deliver up some places which he still held. To which king *John* very readily assented. His interest with Pope *Boniface* the ninth was so good, that he obtained from him the erection of *Lisbon* into an archiepiscopal see^o. The peace with *Castile* had not perhaps been of any long duration, if the king *Don Juan* had lived; for the *Castilian* nobility were extremely piqued at what they took to be a diminution of their honour; but the king being killed by a fall from his horse, and leaving no issue by his queen *Donna Beatrix*, all colour of making war upon *Portugal* ceased^p. In the minority^q of the young king the truce was prolonged for fifteen years, with great advantage to *Portugal*: but the historians of that country say, that these terms were but ill observed by the *Castilians*; for which they assert, their king would have procured satisfaction by force of arms, if some domestic troubles had not prevented them: but as to the rise and nature of these troubles, authors are not very well agreed, and we can only endeavour to reach the truth by comparing them^r.

A. D. 1388.

1323.

^f Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA, FERNANDO DE MENEZES, MARIANA, FERR.

^g MANUEL FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL. ^h FERNAM LOPEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL. FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR.

ⁱ THO. WALSINGHAM, RAINALD, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, FERR. ^k FERNANDO DE MENEZES, ANT. VASCONCELLOS. FERNAM LOPEZ, TURQ.

^l Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, FERNAM LOPEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE. ^m FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

ⁿ FERNANDO DE MENEZES, FERR. ^o RAINALD, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL. ^p Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, RODERIC SANTII H. St. Hippert.

^q FERNAM LOPEZ MARIANA, FARIA Y SOUSA, TURQUET, FERR.

^a THE chancellor *Regras*, who was a great politician and a very plausible speaker, undertook to rectify his master's judgment with regard to his liberalities, objecting particularly to the large grants he had made the constable Don *Nugno Alvarez de Pereyra*. He further observed, that the constable had not turned these to his own advantage; but had exercised the same royal generosity towards the gentlemen who had served under him: by which he was in a manner master of the provinces of *Alentejo* and *Algarve*. He concluded, that the king had already several children, and was likely to have more, and that a competency was at least due to them, as well as power and magnificence to the constable. Moved by these persuasions, the king published an edict for resuming, upon certain terms, the grants he had made in the time of his necessity. The constable, who found himself exceedingly embarrassed and aggrieved by this edict, came to court, and expostulated the matter with the king, who, on account of their ancient friendship, heard him patiently; but told him it was impossible for him to retract his edict. The constable upon this went down to his government, and putting his affairs into the best order he was able, signified an intention of leaving the kingdom. At this the king was equally alarmed and displeased: he sent therefore several ecclesiasticks to dissuade him from that resolution; but without effect: for the constable's high spirit could not brook what he understood to be an act of injustice. The king thereupon sent him orders to come to court; and when he came, took him alone into his closet, where he explained to him the true motives of his conduct. The constable came out from this conference perfectly satisfied; and the edict was executed without any farther disputes. It seems the king intending his natural son Don *Alonso*, who was his great favourite, for the constable's only daughter, he was unwilling that his establishment should appear more considerable than that of his lawful children; and as soon as the constable perceived that what he did was not at all the effect of any coldness or disregard, but was in itself highly reasonable, he came at once into his master's measures; so that this may be reckoned among the few instances of expostulations between a monarch and a subject, without prejudice to either. But the reader will remember they were both men of consummate abilities.

ALL this time the jealousies and heart-burnings between the *Castilians* and *Portuguese* still remained, and the fire of war lay smothered under its embers. The king of *Portugal*, under pretence that the articles of the last convention between them had not been well observed, surprized the town of *Badajoz*, and made an attempt upon that of *Albuquerque*, a place of strength and importance. Don *Henry* of *Castile* resented this, upon which the war flamed out afresh, and the constable of *Portugal* made an irruption into *Castile*. But while king *John* meditated something of greater consequence, he was not a little surprized at the news that *Vasco da Cunha*, *Ferdinand Pacheco*, and *Juan Alonso Pimentel* were retired into *Castile*, and had prevailed on several considerable places in his dominions to revolt. At this time his troops were employed in *Galicia*, where they had once more taken the city of *Tuy*, and the constable was there in order to fortify and put it into a proper state of defence. In some small space the meaning of this defection appeared; for Don *Denis* of *Portugal*, assisted by a considerable body of *Castilian* troops, advanced to *Braganza*, and having joined the malcontents, assumed the title of king. But the constable marching with all his forces on one side, and the king assembling an army at *Porto* on the other, Don *Denis* was advised by his friends to lay aside the royal title, and to withdraw with as much privacy as possible into *Castile*. This did not put an end to the war, which was very injurious to the subjects of both crowns by land and sea, without turning in any degree to the benefit of either. This made both princes willing to listen to a negotiation; plenipotentiaries were appointed on both sides, and though they separated without coming to any conclusion, yet they met again soon after, and agreed upon a truce for ten years, on very equal terms. The king of *Castile* dying not long after, Donna *Catalina*, the *English* queen, having the tuition of her son Don *Juan* the second, caused the truce to be converted into a peace; and soon after demanded assistance of the king of *Portugal* against the *Moors*, which he not only granted but offered, as her son was under age, to command the army of *Castile* in person, which the queen's council, however, advised her to decline, on a narrow principle of jealousy.

By the late treaty with, and by this obliging behaviour towards the crown of *Castile*, a great check was given to those animosities that had so long disturbed both nations, and the king was

^r FERNAM LOPEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL.

^s FARIA Y SOUSA.

^t FERNANDO DE

MENEZEZ, LE CLEDE, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL.

^u ANT. VASCONCEL. FERNAM LOPER.

^w FER-

NANDO PEREZ DE GUZMAN las generaciones semblancas o abrar de los excellenter Reyes de Espana, Don Enrique el tercero y Don Juan el Segundo, y de los venerables Prelados y notables Cavalleros, que en los tiempos destos Reyes fueron fol. ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, FERNAM LOPEZ, FERR. TURQUET.

^x FARIA Y

SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL.

^y FERNANDO DE MENEZEZ, FERNAM LOPEZ, LE CLEDE,

^z FARIA Y SOUSA, FERNAM LOPEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF. MARIANA. TURQ. FERRERAS.

^a Cronica

del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, por FERNAN PEREZ DE GUZMAN, FERNAM LOPEZ, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

John governed his dominions in peace. left at leisure to prosecute his political views for the good of his subjects. As he had been once a private man, and never had any degree of pride, he preserved, which was very wonderful, the same familiarity with all persons of condition that he had been accustomed to in his youth. His nobility dined at his table; he frequently made visits; and, when he granted an audience, commonly attended the person with whom he had been speaking to the door of his apartment. His maxim was, that a prince without coin must pay in civility. But he did not say or do this from a principal of avarice; on the contrary, his generosity made him poor. But with all this condescension he was very much a king, strict upon proper occasions, and inflexible when he found this strictness necessary. He observed that many of the nobility had bravos about their persons, men recommended by the wicked actions they had done, encouraged and subsisted to do more. He made an edict against this, and he took care that it should be executed so punctually, that these sort of people were rooted out. He suffered no office to be sold of any kind, nor would prefer from any other motive than merit. He moderated the imposts as soon as it was in his power; was a true friend to industry, and encouraged his subjects to pursue it from his own example. His old friends were always welcome to him; and before he did any thing of importance he was wont to say, we must know the constable's mind upon this. When his revenues increased, he indemnified those from whom he had taken grants; and his inclination to justice was so well known, that those who suffered imputed it to his necessity and not to his will. He did not affect amusements or spectacles, but was wont to say, that conversation was of all diversions the cheapest, and improved the most^b. He introduced, by his own example, the love of letters, and a true taste amongst his courtiers.

Death of queen Philippa, and great regret of her subjects for their loss. The king had more than once shewn an inclination to confer the honour of knighthood upon his sons; but the young princes made a scruple of accepting that honour in a time of full peace; and the king, with much more reason, made a scruple of entering into a war, merely to make knights. At length, however, he ordered military preparations by land and sea, which alarmed all his neighbours. He confided his secret to none but the prince against whom these preparations were pretended to be made, and this was the count of *Flanders*, who he gave out had injured his subjects in their trade, and on whose dominions he proposed to make a descent. The count being previously informed that his real intention was against the *Moors* in *Africa*, took the proper measures on his side to keep up the farce. At length, every thing being ready for the intended expedition, in which the king proposed to command in person, he appointed the grand-master of the order of Christ viceroy in his absence; and then communicated the whole scheme and intention of his voyage to the queen, to whom before he would never reveal the secret^c. She pressed him earnestly to lay aside the thoughts of going himself, and would certainly have prevailed, if the princes had not as earnestly laboured to keep him to his first resolution. The apprehension of his absence, however, affected the queen so much, that she fell suddenly ill, and her malady proved so violent, that in a few days she died, to the extreme regret of the king, and of the whole court^d.

A. D. 1414.

Don John's glorious expedition into Barbary, and reduction of the fortress of Ceuta. THE fleet assembled for this enterprize consisted of fifty-nine galleys, thirty three tall ships of war, and one hundred and twenty transports, carrying in the whole fifty thousand soldiers and seamen. The rendezvous was appointed in *Lagos* bay, where the bull of *Croisade* was published, and from thence the king passed through the *Streight*, steering directly for the port of *Ceuta*. On the 14th of *August* they discovered the place, and on the 21st they began to debark the troops, with the infants Don *Henry* and Don *Pedro* at their head^e. The *Moorish* governor, *Sala Bensala*, had made very great preparations for the siege, which he had long feared, and had brought a considerable number of auxiliaries into the place; but as there happened a great storm while the Christian fleet was at sea, those auxiliaries would stay no longer. The attack was presently made, and with great fury, in which the infants *Edward*, *Henry*, and *Pedro*, had an equal share of danger and of honour; and at length, with some effusion of blood, the town was taken, and the enemy retired into the castle^f. The king caused that fortress also to be attacked, and *Sala* perceiving that he had no relief to expect, after having stood one assault, retired in the night and left the *Portuguese* masters of the place^g. The king having caused the fortifications to be repaired, and the mosque to be purified, left a good garrison under the command of Don *Pedro de Meneses*, count of *Alcontin*; and having reimbarcked the rest of his troops on the second of *September*, returned safely into *Portugal*; and having reviewed his army at *Tavira*, and rewarded the several persons who had distinguished themselves in his service, he declared the infant Don *Henry* duke of *Viseo*; and gave the title of duke of *Coimbra* to the infant Don

^b FERNANDO DE MENEZES, FERNAM LOPEZ, LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL.
^c FERNAM LOPEZ. ^d FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR. LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL. ^e LOUIS DEL MARMOL dans son Afrique, FERNANDO DE MENEZES. ^f FARIA Y SOUSA, FERNAM LOPEZ, TURQUET.
^g LOUIS DEL MARMOL, FERRERAS, LE CLEDE.

^a *Pedro*^b. This year he abolished the æra of *Augustus*ⁱ, which had been before abolished in *Arragon* in 1350, and in *Castile* in 1383. The princes of *Barbary* immediately formed a league for the recovery of *Ceuta*, which obliged the king of *Portugal* to send back the infants *Don Henry* and *Don Pedro* with a considerable force, who found greater difficulty in relieving than they had done in acquiring the place, which at length, however, they accomplished, after defeating the infidels both by land and sea; which success of theirs proved fatal to *Abu-fade*, king of *Fez*, upon whom the *Moors* had laid the blame of this loss; in resentment of which, his subjects conspired against and murdered him; upon which so great troubles ensued, that they had no king for eight years^k. But by what right, unless there subsisted a continual war with the *Moors* in *Barbary*, this conquest was made, does not at all appear.

^b AFTER all the reputation resulting from the success of the king's arms in *Africa*, some of his ministers, for he allowed every man to speak his mind freely, made it a question in his council, whether it was for the king's advantage to keep this new conquest, or whether all the benefits proposed from it might not be obtained by demolishing the city and fortrefs, and the great expence saved which a garrison constantly kept there would necessarily require; besides the much larger disbursements that would from time to time become necessary for the embarkation of armies as often as the *Moors* were disposed, and found themselves strong enough to besiege it. On the other hand, it was urged, that the keeping of *Ceuta* was of common benefit to all *Spain*, as it divided the *Moors* from the *Moors*, and facilitated the reduction of the kingdom of *Granada*. It was alleged, that the *Moors*, as infidels, and aggressors in the conquest of *Spain*, were to be considered as hereditary and perpetual enemies, against whose descents and incursions, as well as piracies by sea, it was absolutely necessary to take the best precautions possible, than which there was none comparable to the keeping the castle, town, and port of *Ceuta*. It was added in reference to the great charge it entailed upon the kingdom, that it might be lessened by various means; that the Pope would undoubtedly oblige the clergy to contribute to it; that the garrison might serve as a kind of school for the military orders, and in consequence of that subsist in some measure at their expence; and that very probably if the king enlarged his conquest on that side, he might find means to draw a considerable part of their subsistence from the inhabitants of the conquered country. King *John*, having thoroughly weighed the arguments offered on both sides, determined to keep *Ceuta*; and thereupon gave orders for enlarging and augmenting the fortifications, as well as for forming an intrenched camp under them. He augmented his forces there to six thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; which he judged sufficient to deprive the *Moors* of all hopes of recovering it, or at least capable of repelling their attempts, if, contrary to his expectation, they should endeavour it. He likewise addressed himself to the Pope for the assistance proposed, and procured from him all that he demanded^l. By this means he struck a great terror into the infidels, which lasted all his reign.

A. D. 1419.

It often happens in other countries, and it more than once happened in this, that princes grown to men's estate become impatient in obeying, and from a too high estimation of their own abilities, through false ambition, or excited by pernicious counsels from others, disturbed the government they were bound by nature, as well as duty and interest to support. In all other things fortunate, king *John* was most fortunate in this. He had many sons, whom he saw men, men of parts and men of action; but men who had no emulation, save that of shewing their affection to his person, which they manifested by employing all their abilities in the support of his administration. This was in a great measure due to the care he had taken in their education, and the pains with which he himself had instructed them in solid and useful knowledge. *Henry*, duke of *Viseo*, had the direction of affairs in *Africa*, and his father procured him the best appointments in his power; these he employed as if they were only intrusted with him for the public advantage. He it was, as we have shewn in another place, that set on foot those discoveries which proved so beneficial afterwards, not to *Portugal* only, but to all *Europe*. The first fruits of them was the settling and possessing the island of *Madeira*, which very soon yielded a considerable revenue. He it was, who taking notice of a small but secure post in the kingdom of *Algarve*, about a league and a half distant from *Cape Vincent*, caused a town to be erected there, which is allowed to be the best laid out and fortified of any in *Portugal*. This is called *Sagrez*; and some think we may trace therein somewhat of the ancient name of the *Cape*, which was called in *Latin* *Promontorium Sacrum*. It was here that he erected his magazines, built and laid up his ships that were continually employed in useful enterprizes^m. But this spirit of improvement in the king and his sons, though it laid

The king victorious in war, happy in his family, and well obeyed by his clergy.

^b LA NEUFVILLE, FERNAM LOPEZ.ⁱ DIONYS. PETAVIUS de doctrina temporum, lib. x. cap.

lviii. SPONDANUS ad an. 1415, MARIANA Hist. Hispan. lib. xvii. cap. x. lib. xviii. cap. vi. lib. xx. cap. vii.

^k LA NEUF. Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 374.^l FERNAM LOPEZ, FERNANDO DE

MENEZES, LE CLEDE.

^m FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUF. MARIANA, TURQUET.

the foundation of future emoluments, produced for the present a great want of money. In this case the king had again recourse to the clergy, and desired their consent to coin the church-plate. These men, who had disturbed almost every other reign, had the good sense in his to be as tractable as any of his subjects. They owned there was nothing more reasonable than that a prince who had exhausted his own coffers in a war against the infidels, should be supported out of the treasures of the church. They gave a farther instance of their good temper: the Pope had been informed, that the king, like some of his predecessors, had brought ecclesiastics before lay tribunals, and had in other respects invaded what is stiled the immunities of the church. Upon this he directed some prelates to enquire into the king's conduct in this respect; insinuating, that he would proceed very rigorously if he saw cause. But those prelates reported that there was none. They knew the king's intentions were good: they saw that justice was strictly and impartially administered amongst all ranks of people; and they were afraid of seeing a scandalous clergy in a well-ordered kingdom, which induced them to act as they did; for which the king made them very grateful returns^a. In this respect king *John* had visibly the advantage of all his predecessors, who found it much easier to deal with the *Moors* than with their clergy.

He takes no advantages of the factions or disturbances in the kingdom of Castile.

As during his long reign there happened many turns and great distractions in *Castile*, as we have shewn in their proper place, he might, if he had been an unjust and ambitious prince, have fomented their disturbances, and have drawn their malcontents to depend upon him. But he meddled no farther in these matters than was necessary to preserve the quiet of his own dominions; and if he gave shelter at any time to the discontented nobility, he gave them at the same time honest advice, and interposed his good offices to prevent things from coming to extremities. He interposed to prevent a war between the crown of *Castile* on one side and those of *Arragon* and *Navarre* on the other. The latter offered to leave all disputes to his arbitration, and afterwards clapped up a peace without his knowlege, which he resented. The king of *Castile* thereupon sent an ambassy to him to complain of his supporting the infants, who were inclined to disturb the peace of his kingdom. King *John* answered, it was true that he had given shelter to those princes, because they were princes: but he immediately published a proclamation, forbidding any of his subjects taking any share in their quarrels; by which the king of *Castile* was thoroughly satisfied of the rectitude of his intentions, and expressed that satisfaction in the clearest terms and in the most public manner; which was one of the last remarkable transactions in his reign, and which at the same time did him no small honour^c.

Death of king John, which is entirely regretted by all ranks of his subjects.

A. D. 1428.

THE king's last cares were about the settlement of his family: he married prince *Edward*, the heir apparent of his dominions, to the infanta *Leonora*, the daughter of Don *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, with whom he received two hundred thousand florins of gold, which in those days was an immense sum^d. This marriage was negotiated by Don *Pedro de Norogna*, archbishop of *Lisbon*, and was highly acceptable to his subjects. The next year he gave his daughter *Donna Isabella* to *Philip* the second, duke of *Burgundy*, surnamed *the Good*; and it was at the solemnity of this marriage that that prince instituted the famous order of the Golden Fleece^e. The infant Don *Pedro* had before married *Donna Isabella* of *Arragon*, daughter of the count of *Urgel*. His younger brother, the infant Don *Juan*, espoused *Donna Isabella*, of *Portugal*, the daughter of his natural brother Don *Alonso*, by the heiress of the constable^f. The death of that great man *Nugno Alvarez de Pereyra*, after he had led a life of retirement and devotion for nine years, proved a great affliction to the king, and a prologue to his own^g. He was very sensible of his declining state, though he took care to hide it as much as possible, that he might not alarm either his subjects or his family. When he was seized with his last illness, he sent for the prince, and admonished him to be careful of religion, justice, and the morals of his people. He then sent for the rest of his children, and exhorted them to unanimity, testified great piety and resignation in his last moments, and submitted to fate on the eleventh of *August*, 1433, in the seventy-sixth year of his age^h, and in the forty-eighth of his reign, extremely regretted by his subjects and by his children; but they were not able to give immediately such marks of this, as they would otherwise have done in his funeral, because the plague raged at *Lisbon*; and it seems probable that himself and his queen *Philippa* both died of that distemper.

^a FERNAM LOPEZ, LE CLEDE, RAINALD. ^c FERNANDO DE MENEZES, FERNAM LOPEZ, Elogios dos Reis de Portugal, com os verda deros retratos ordenados, por Fr. BERN. de Brito da ordem de S. Bernardo, 4º. Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, por ALVAR GARCIA DE SANTA MARIA, JUAN DE MENA, ZUR TA ANNAL. Arragon. MARIANA, TURQUET, FERR. ^e ZURITA. ANNAL Arragon. LA NEUF. LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA, TURQUET. ^f JOA. JAC. CHIFLET Infig. Equit. Ord. Velleris aurei. Jacques Marchant liv. iii. Hist. de Flan. LE MIRE orig. Ord. Equest. lib. i. cap. i. FAVIN en son Theatre d'honneur & de Chevalerie, SPONDANUS ad annum 1430, MEZERAY Histoire de France, tom. ii. FARIA Y SOUSA, ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, lib. xxxv. cap. vii. ^g FERNAM PEREZ DE GUZMAN. ZURITA ANNAL. FERNAM LOPEZ, FERR. ^h FARIA Y SOUSA, FERNANDO DE MENEZES, MARIANA, TURQUET. ⁱ FERNANDO DE MENEZES, FERNAM LOPEZ, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR. Elogios dos Reis de Portugal.

a He gave for his device, a rock in the midst of the sea, and a hand from the clouds thrusting a sword into it, with these words, *Acut ut penetret*, i. e. "Sharpened that it may pierce". By which he intended to intimate, the being in continual action was the only way to be ready to seize an opportunity, or to avert a danger. His conduct was a good commentary upon it; for no prince applied himself more assiduously than he through his whole reign, none struggled through greater difficulties with more honour, and none knew better how to accommodate himself to all situations, how to chuse the properest methods for accomplishing his ends, or how by a dextrous management of circumstances to divert mischiefs (B). He was unquestionably one of the most fortunate princes that ever reigned in Portugal, or perhaps in any other country; he established himself firmly upon the throne, though he had but a very dubious title: he outlived all his competitors, and by that means secured the possession of it to his posterity: he allied his family so wisely by marriage, that he rendered it the interest of almost every crowned head in Europe to assist and protect him. His virtues were scarce of greater utility than what seemed to be weaknesses in him: for his liberality, which some thought to be profusion, by dispersing the crown lands into a great number of families, attached four-fifths of the nation to his succession, since, by supporting that, they secured the titles of their own estates. He is indeed said to have devised, on his death-bed, a method of eluding those grants; but that seems rather to have been the work of his chancellor *Regras*, which was more worthy of a lawyer than a king.

Some remarks on the conduct of this monarch, and the advantages arising from his administration.

c Don Edward, the eldest son of the deceased king, was immediately proclaimed his successor, and complimented as such by the princes of the blood, and the nobility then at court. It is reported, that a Jew physician very earnestly dissuaded the king from accepting the homage of his subjects that day, because he knew, as he said, from his skill in astrology, that the stars were not favourable. Edward, who was near forty-two years of age, a prince of great good sense, and exemplary piety, despised this prohibition as became him; to which the populace then, and some historians since, have foolishly enough ascribed his misfortunes, as if it was consistent with the wisdom of our great Creator to punish a prince for trusting in his mercy and goodness, rather than in the vain conjectures of a positive and assuming man. He went afterwards to Cintra, to spend some time there in rural diversions, in order to amuse his melancholy, or, as others say, he only gave this out, being obliged to fly thither from the plague. About the time of the anniversary of his father's death, he resolved to cause his body to be removed to a monastery of his own erecting, where it was to be interred. There was never any ceremony of this kind executed with greater pomp in Portugal. The journey was divided into five stages, and at each of them the corpse was received by one of the infants, attended by a large body of the nobility and gentry, and there was scarce a person of distinction in Portugal absent when the body was interred. Such was the duty of his children, and such the affection of his subjects to king John.

Edward succeeds his father, and is proclaimed king of Portugal at Lisbon.

A. D. 1434.

As soon as these last honours were paid to the memory of that great prince, king Edward went to Leyria, and from thence to Santaren, where he held an assembly of the states,

Is drawn into a project for

^a LA NEUFVILLE Histoire general de Portugal, tom. i. p. 382.

^w FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR.

^x TURQUET, FARIA Y SOUSA.

^y LA NEUF.

^z FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUF. Histoire gene-

rale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 386.

(B) This great prince, whom the Portuguese historians consider as the founder of a new family, had a very pleasing aspect, and was very handsome in his person, of which, however, we have no particular description. His helmet and his battle-ax are still preserved, which shew that he was of a very large size, and of a prodigious strength (6). In dress and in diet he was very plain, loved mirth and freedom at his meals, and was naturally of a lively cheerful disposition, yet not given to any kind of excess. Besides the famous monastery of Batalha, he built the convents of Penalonga and Carnota, and the churches of St. Francis at Leyria, and of our lady of Oliveira at Guimaraes, which were all very magnificent structures. He likewise built the palaces at Lisbon, Santaren, Cintra, and Almerin; which were spacious and magnificent (7). He reduced the ten bezants in each of the five escutcheons of the arms of Portugal to five, and annexed the cross of the order of Avis to the bottom, to shew that he had been once grand-master of it (8). He had great connections with England during his whole reign: hence it was that he gave

the name of Edward to his son, in honour of Edward the third. The Portuguese historians say, that he was one of the knights companions of the order of the garter; and though this does not appear in any of our lists, yet it is very likely to be true, because those lists, more especially in the reign of Richard the second, are very imperfect (9), and because the Portuguese writers mention some very clear and positive proofs of it; such as his giving for his crest the dragon's head, and his introducing amongst his troops the English cry of war, St. George, St. George (1). In his last illness he was, by the advice of his physicians, removed to Alcouchete, for the sake of the air; but finding this had no effect, he would be carried back to Lisbon, that he might die in the city where he was born (2); careful it seems to the very last of turning every event to some purpose, and of letting no opportunity slip of obliging and captivating the minds of his people: a science in which he certainly excelled, and gained as much by it as any man ever did.

(6) Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Vasconcellos, Le Clede.

(7) Vasconcellos, Elegios dos Reis de Portugal, Lequien de la Neufville.

(8) Faria y Sousa, Mayerne Turquet, Le Clede.

(9) Anstis's

Register of the most noble Order of the Garter, vol. ii. 54.

(1) Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Elegios

dos Reis de Portugal, Le Clede.

(2) Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Le Clede.

reducing Tan-
gier, and ex-
tending his
conquests in
Barbary.

A. D. 1436.

The unfortu-
nate issue of
that famous
expedition, tho'
conducted by the
infants.

1437.

Pains taken by
the infant Don
Henry to save

in which he produced a code of laws, collected and digested under proper heads by his own order, that there might be but one rule of right through the whole kingdom; whereas, under pretence of their ancient customs, the law had almost been different in every one of the provinces. He also proposed another law for suppressing luxury in dress and in diet, which, it seems, was become highly necessary; and the king promised that himself and the nobility should have a strict eye to its execution, by which, as he explained it, he meant no more than that they would pay an exact obedience to it; for it was his maxim, that whatever was amiss in the morals of the people, either proceeded from the example of the great, or might be easily corrected by it^a. His brother, the infant Don Henry, being taken prisoner with the king of Arragon in Italy, by the duke of Milan, occasioned a general consternation; but it did not last long, as they were very soon informed that he had recovered his liberty^b. The king, being desirous of signaling his reign, by extending his conquests in Africa, cast his eyes upon Tangier, or rather had it pointed out to him. His council agreed that it was a place of consequence, the reduction of which would add lustre to his arms, though they could not agree about the properest manner of reducing it. The infant Don Juan, grand-master of the order of St. James, gave it as his opinion, that if the king made an expedition on that side, it should be with a numerous fleet, and a strong army, since otherwise his own, and the reputation of the crown might receive a check not easy to be recovered. But the infant Don Ferdinand, grand-master of Avis, treated the affair in another manner, magnified the military skill and courage of the Portuguese; and put the king in mind of the ease with which his father had made himself master of Ceuta. The king, whose coffers were not very full, listened to this advice, notwithstanding all that Don Juan could say; so that the army was fixed at fourteen thousand men, with a proportionable fleet: and this resolution taken, the conquest of Tangier was looked upon as a thing in a manner accomplished^c; but this was only amongst the young nobility at court.

THE army for this expedition being assembled, and the fleet for their embarkation being prepared, the infants Henry and Ferdinand embarked on the twenty-second of August, and arrived after a favourable navigation at Ceuta. When they came to review their forces, they discovered, to their great astonishment, that, instead of fourteen thousand, they had scarce seven thousand men; which was chiefly owing to the precise orders for embarking, and the distaste that many took to this expedition, upon hearing that Don Juan's reasons were rejected^d. Some of the principal officers gave it as their opinion, that the fleet ought to be sent back for a supply of troops before they undertook any thing: but the infants, esteeming it equally hazardous to allow the enemy so much time to repair, or to undertake any thing with so small a force, resolved at last to proceed; and accordingly the infant Don Henry marched with the best part of the forces by land, and Don Ferdinand with the rest proceeded by sea for Tangier, the siege of which they began on the fifteenth of September. The Moors were extremely alarmed at this attempt, and immediately set on foot a general confederacy for the preservation of the place; but that they should be able to bring into the field, as some writers mention, an army of six hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse, the reader will certainly think with us, is altogether incredible. It is, however, certain, that the king of Fez, at the head of a numerous army, marched to the relief of Tangier, and, before the siege was far advanced, attacked the besiegers in their trenches. It is true they made a gallant defence, and the Moors were repulsed; but notwithstanding this, they made a proper use of their superiority by investing the besiegers, who finding themselves shut up between the fortress and the army, were constrained to send some of the principal persons amongst them to capitulate with the king of Fez; and to offer him the restitution of Ceuta, if he would permit the remains of the army to embark for Portugal. The king readily listened to this proposition, and offered to give them hostages for the due performance of the articles; but he demanded in return, that one of the infants should remain as a hostage for the restoring of Ceuta: upon which Don Ferdinand readily offered himself, which was accepted; and Don Henry, and as many of the Portuguese as were left, embarked on board the fleet, and returned to Ceuta^e. There he fell sick, but sent the fleet back to Portugal; which meeting with a great storm in its passage, several vessels were wrecked on the coasts of Andalusia, where the people were received and relieved by the subjects of the king of Castile, not only with great kindness and humanity, but with such cheerful generosity, as is very honourably recorded, and very highly commended by the Portuguese historians^f.

It seems that after the departure of the fleet the king either suspected, or was informed, that the force sent to Barbary was inferior to what had been proposed; he therefore equipped with all imaginable diligence a strong squadron, with a considerable body of fresh troops on board,

^a FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE. RERA, LE CLEDE, FERR.

Portuguesa. part ix. § xv.

^b FERNAN PEREZ DE GUZMAN, ZURITA Annal. Arragon. HER-

^c ANT. VASCONC. GARIBAY, FERR.

^d LA NEUF.

^e LE CLEDE, MARIANA, ANT. VASCONC. FERR. Historia de Espana,

^f FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias de Portuguesas.

commanded

a commanded by his brother the infant Don Juan; which arrived safely in the harbour of *Ceuta*. The sight of this squadron and these troops contributed not a little to the recovery of the infant Don Henry; who having changed the garrison, augmented the fortifications, and filled the magazines of the place, directed his brother to return with the invalids, and such as had been able to recover the garrison since their misfortune at *Tangier*, which he did; but the king was still dissatisfied, and therefore sent a positive order to the infant Don Henry to return likewise; but it was because he could not avoid it. However, he would not go to *Lisbon*, but retired to his own town of *Sagrez*, in *Algarve*^b; being so much ashamed of his defeat, that he declared he was unwilling to look the king in the face. But it may be, indeed it is highly probable, there were other reasons. It was given out, that the infidels had broke their capitulation by attacking the infant on his march to the ships; by which it was pretended they had forfeited their right to *Ceuta*; and it is not at all unlikely the infant Don Henry did not care to declare any thing to this purpose himself^c. In all other respects his conduct was irreproachable.

THE king held a great council to decide this delicate question, Whether they should part with the noblest monument of their father's glory, or sacrifice the infant Don Ferdinand, the son and brother of their kings? One would have imagined, that, even a meaner victim would not have been offered, since in reality a hostage is rather the witness of a contract than an equivalent for the execution of it; since, if it was otherwise, no man would become, no nation would accept an hostage. The council of *Portugal* determined otherwise, after having had the advice, as it is said, of the Pope; but it was agreed, the intercession of many princes should be used, and large sums of money offered for the ransom of Don Ferdinand; and in case the infidels continued to withhold him, then the Pope was to publish a crusade for his deliverance. In short, his liberty was to be procured in any way except by the restitution of *Ceuta*. The kings of *Castile* and *Granada* interposed warmly and sincerely; but without effect. The *Moors* would never part with the prince, whom they had received as a pledge of the faith of Christians, and whom they retained as a proof how well it had been kept^d. He supported his captivity with the most heroic courage, which gained him the esteem and admiration of the *Moors*, amongst whom he remained to his death. He is considered for this reason as a saint and a martyr in *Portugal*; and his example is commemorated on the fifth of *June*^e. How much soever he may deserve on the score of his patience and sufferings for other people's faults, there is surely very little excuse to be made for those who advised, or rather compelled the king to abandon him, and to break faith, and give up a brother, rather than part with a fortress to the infidels, which had been taken from them by the valour of the *Portuguese*, and by their valour no doubt might have been recovered again at a more proper time.

As the misfortunes attending this unlucky expedition increased the miseries of the kingdom, which were already but too great, and as the royal revenue had never recovered, notwithstanding the edict of the late king, the repeated blows given it by his liberality, Edward found himself under a necessity of taking some strong step or other to restore his finances. Under this dilemma he applied himself to the chancellor *Regras*, his father's counsellor, and who was deservedly famous for his inexhaustible fund of expedients. He did not deceive his confidence upon this occasion; but suggested to him a method which answered very effectually in *Portugal*, though it may be very justly doubted whether it would have done so any where else. He engaged the king to declare, that, in a conversation he had with his father upon his death-bed, that monarch informed him his real intention in all his grants was, that lands should descend from father to son as a reward for past, and an encouragement to future services; but that the crown-lands should by no means descend to females. By this scheme a plain way was opened for all the royal domain, that had been alienated, to revert to the crown: a thing just and reasonable in itself, and to which the people submitted without murmuring; though, besides the many inconveniencies that attended it, and the heavy losses sustained by individuals, there was a precedent introduced big with consequences beyond the power of the human understanding to conceive. It is remarkable that the chancellor *Regras* himself, whose estate was derived from the bounty of his master, had only daughters, but the king granted him a dispensation, which, though very honourable in him, yet whether it was so in the chancellor we leave it to the reader to determine. To accelerate as much as possible the filling of his treasury, the king reduced his expences within a very narrow compass; and the people, moved by his example, and being persuaded of the uprightness of his intentions, submitted patiently to a resumption which nothing but necessity could justify^f. Their moderation was attended with good effects.

^a LA NEUF. LE CLEDE.^b ANT. VASCONC. LE CLEDE, TURQUET.^c FERNAN PEREZ

DE GUZMAN, MARIANA, TURQUET, FERR.

^d FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUF. LE CLEDE, ANT.^e FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUF. LE CLEDE.

Unexpected and
deplorable
death of king
Edward, of
the plague.

A.D. 1438.

In the mean time vast preparations were making by land and sea for carrying on the war ^a against the *Moors*, in consequence of the Pope's bulls, and of the spirit the whole nation expressed to leave no means untried for obtaining the liberty of the infant Don *Ferdinand*. But when things were very far advanced, and when the proper measures had been taken for assembling a numerous fleet and a potent army, Providence interposed, and overturned the whole, by a blow so much the more afflicting as it was altogether unexpected. The plague still continued at *Lisbon* and in the country adjacent. The king, to avoid the infection, retired into *Estremadura*, and fixed his residence for a short time at *Tomar*; where, upon opening a letter, he was suddenly seized with a distemper, and expired the ninth of *September*, one thousand four hundred thirty-eight, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and when he had ^b reigned five years and almost a month (C). He is allowed by the *Portuguese* writers to have been a religious, prudent, and learned prince. He spoke the *Latin* tongue fluently, and wrote it elegantly. He wrote several books, and particularly two, one entitled the Good Counsellor, which he dedicated to his queen, and which consisted of moral and political reflections; the other on the art of breaking and managing horses, which he is said to have understood beyond any man of his time ^m. By his will he appointed the queen Donna *Leonora* regent during the minority of the prince his son; and directed by his will that the money he had saved might be applied to the ransom of his brother; and that if his liberty could not that way be obtained, then *Ceuta* should be restored to the *Moors*, which he affirmed to have been always his own desire and intention ⁿ. He gave for his device a spear invested with a serpent, with these words, *Loco et tempore*, i. e. In fit place and time ^o; by which he ^c seems to have meant that war was not to be undertaken at random, but after mature deliberation, in which all circumstances ought to be well considered. His death was deeply and justly regretted by his subjects, as it happened at a very critical conjuncture, dissipated all thoughts of prosecuting the war, and left a child upon the throne, under the tuition of a mother, who quickly found that the title of queen could not exempt her from the cares and misfortunes incident to human life, and more especially to those who move in its higher spheres.

^m GARIBAY, DUARD Genealogie des Reis de Portugal, MARIANA, Hist. Hispan. lib. xx. cap. xvi. and lib. xxi. cap. xiii. ANT. VASCONC. FERR. TURQUET. ⁿ FARIA Y SOUSA. ^o LA NEUF, Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 404.

(C) The person of king *Edward* was altogether graceful and majestic; he was of a middle size, well-shaped, round faced, his hair black, his eyes dull, and his beard thin. He was remarkably strong and active; the very best horseman of his time, could take a nut from the ground on full speed, and parry a javelin or a spear without shield or weapon by the adroit motion of his body (1). We have mentioned his contempt of the *Jew* astrologer's prediction at the entrance of his reign, which is highly commended by *Mariana*, as a noble instance of religious fortitude; and he farther observes, that the event justified the king's prudence, as the whole course of his reign was prosperous (2). The *French* translator takes from hence occasion to exclaim against judicial astrology as a vain and foolish art (3). The *Portuguese* historians are, some of them at least, of another opinion; they say, the *Jew* declared the king's reign would be but short in point of time, but that it would appear long from the miseries attending it, and intimate that it did so (4). We see from hence, that an appeal to facts is not always decisive; and as to the *Jew*'s prediction, it was no more than a guess, in which he had an even chance, whether he should be right or wrong; and indeed something more, since no two historians have agreed in their sentiments of this reign. After all, guessing is not science, and if the principles of an art are not capable of demonstration, as those of astrology are not, it has no pretence to that title; and the king's conduct was truly commendable, whatever the character of his reign may be (5). The death of *John* king of *Portugal* was commemorated in *England*, as a knight of the garter, and his son *Ed-*

ward elected in his stead; and an order was made on the eighth of *May*, 1435, for garter king at arms to carry him the ensigns of that order, which was not executed, however, till the year following (6). This was in the minority of *Henry* the sixth, who was one degree farther distant than king *Edward* from their common ancestor *John* of *Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*. However authors differ as to the representation of king *Edward*'s reign, they all agree in speaking of him as one of the wisest and worthiest monarchs of that age. He loved splendor and magnificence, but he confined this to proper occasions. He was sincerely pious without bigotry, and the most eloquent man in his dominions. If he had reigned longer, he would have done more; but in the few years he did reign he was the author of great good to *Portugal*, for he reduced the laws within compass, and brought them into order. He made a thorough regulation of the coin by fixing both the standard and the species. He did the like with regard to the revenue, so that the ordinary income exceeded considerably the expence; and he drew, by his favour and liberalities, some of the most eminent persons in *Europe* for knowledge to *Lisbon* (7). The *Portuguese* historians fix his death to the ninth of *September*; but then they say, that it was thought to be predicted by an eclipse (8). At this time of day we are abundantly satisfied that notion was groundless; but *Mariana* has well observed, this circumstance plainly proves he did not die on the ninth, but on the nineteenth of *September*, and this is clearly confirmed by the records of the order of the garter, which fix it to that day (9).

(1) *Historia general de Espana*, lib. xxi. Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.

(2) *Historia general de Espana*, lib. xxi.

(3) *L'Histoire de Espagne*, tom. iv. p. 287.

(4) *Vasconcellos Elogios dos Reis de Portugal*.

(5) *Traite historique et critique de l'Opinion*, par M. le Gendre, liv. vii. chap. i.

(6) *Anstis's Register of the most noble Order of the Garter*, vol. i. p. 185.

(7) *Vasconcellos, Elogios dos Reis de Portugal*, Faria y Sousa.

(8) *Historia general de Espana*, lib. xxi.

(9) *Anstis's Register of the most noble Order of the Garter*, vol. i. p. 186.

As much as the queen appeared to have been the darling of the people during the life-time of her husband, yet he was scarce interred before they conceived and published a disgust, to which they were encouraged by the infant Don Juan. All they had to allege was what the queen knew too well, and what it was not in her power to help, that she was a stranger and a woman. They added also, that she was a *Castilian*: which was in one sense true, for she was a princess of that royal family. In this situation it was requisite for her to look round for support; and there appeared none from whom she could so naturally demand it as the infant Don Pedro, Duke of Coimbra, a prince of great abilities and unblemished reputation (D). To bind him the closer to her interest she told him, that the late king, his brother, had left a note in the hands of his confessor, by which he directed that his son and successor, Don Alonso the fifth, should espouse the daughter of that prince. Don Pedro expressed in the strongest terms his respect for his brother's memory, and his attachment to her service^p. Her affairs rendering it absolutely necessary, an assembly of the states was called at *Torres Novas*, where, contrary to the queen's expectations, they intrusted her only with the education of the king her son, appointed Don Pedro to have the direction of all military concerns, the marquis de *Villa-viciosa* president of justice, and the count de *Atouguia* governor to the king^q. The queen was extremely offended with this, and entered into cabals through the arch-bishop of *Lisbon*, who was her minister, with Don Alonso count of *Barcelos*, natural son to king John, and the infant Don Juan, that king's lawful son, who had married the count's daughter, the first who disturbed her administration, and who now sought to be reconciled to her, in hopes of marrying the king to his daughter. The states, desirous of cutting these factions up by the roots, declared Don Pedro regent, and made other necessary regulations^r. The queen, however, took no notice of these; but bestowed places, and directed all things as if she had been sovereign in her own right; in which Don Pedro gave her no disturbance, and only desired she would give him the paper she had mentioned, and the queen did so: with which when her new allies were acquainted, they insisted she should take it from him. Upon this the count de *Ourem*, son to the count de *Barcelos*, went to Don Pedro, and desired to see it. The infant very calmly took it out of his cabinet, tore it, and put the pieces into his hands^s. As they believed themselves now entirely safe from him, they put so many slights upon him daily, that he retired from court. The people obliged him to return; and though the king of *Arragon* sent an ambassador to support the queen, she was obliged to deliver up her children to the regent, of whom she took leave by saying, that

Accession of Don Alonso V. under the tuition of his mother, who is found privy to the regency.

A. D. 1440.

^p ANT. VASCONC. GARIBAY, TURQUET.
NEUF. LE CLEDE.

^q FARIA Y SOUSA, GARIBAY, FERR.
NEUF. FARIA Y SOUSA.

^r LA

(D) This Don Pedro of Portugal was the fourth child, and second surviving son of king John, and was born March the fourth, 1394 (1). His father gave him an excellent education, which, joined to strong natural abilities and much application, rendered him one of the most accomplished princes of his time. He was not only very learned himself, but a great lover of learning, and a great patron of learned men. It was chiefly with a view to improve his knowledge, that he spent four years in travelling through different countries in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, with a train suitable to his quality; of which travels there is a relation still extant, but so loaded with fabulous circumstances, that it wounds the reputation it was designed to raise (2). At his return he espoused *Isabella*, daughter to the count of *Urgel*, and grand-daughter to Don Pedro the fourth, king of Portugal, which was esteemed a very great advancement of his fortune (3). He was elected into the most noble order of the garter April the twenty-second, 1417, in the fifth year of the reign of his cousin Henry the fifth, grand-son of John of Gaunt, by the father's side, as our duke of Coimbra was by the mother. He was installed the year following; and when the ensigns of the order were sent to his brother king Edward, a rich surcoat was likewise sent to him (4). In the assembly of the states, held soon after the unfortunate defeat at *Tangier*, the infants Don Pedro and Don Juan declared clearly and loudly, that *Ceuta* ought to

be given up, rather than their brother Don Ferdinand made a victim, with which the commons were so moved that they concurred with them; and if the arch-bishop of *Braga* had not made it a point of religion to preserve a fortress rather than the life of any single man, it had been carried (5). It is affirmed by some writers, that Don Pedro was very ambitious, which, however, the best authorities deny; and indeed the actions of the better part of his life seem to contradict it. He took but one officious step after his brother's death, and that was in swearing himself, and obliging the nobility to swear homage to the infant Don Ferdinand, in case his brother Don Alonso should die without issue. At the time it was done, this was thought to be a very disinterested action; the queen herself thought so, and obliged him against his will to subscribe the summons for the first assembly of the states (6). His brethren, Henry and John, prevailed upon him to become regent, from which time we treat of his actions in the history. His real character is to be taken from thence, and from the Spanish and French historians, who, as strangers, are like to be most impartial (7). One thing was very remarkable in his conduct from the beginning; he was ever diffident of his security, and was kept in his post of regent in a manner by force, which, tho' for a time considered as a strain of policy, yet was at length regarded in a very different light.

(1) Hernandez Lopez, Ferreras.

(2) Faria y Sousa *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*.

(3) Lopez

y Azurara, *Cronica del Rey don Juan*, &c.

(4) Privat. *Sigil. in Offic. Pel.* 22. May 5. H. vi. *Asbmole's*

Order of the Garter, p. 710.

(5) Faria y Sousa *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*.

(6) *Elogios dos*

Reis de Portugal, Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Ferreras.

(7) Mariana, Garibay, Maycrne Tur-

quet, de la Neufville, Ferreras, Le Clede, Zurita, Rainald.

she was now completely a widow, without husband and without children. After saying this ^a she retired to *Alenquer*, full of resentment¹, and of projects for executing revenge.

Don Pedro governs the kingdom with the title of regent, and with great reputation.

THE administration of Don *Pedro* was so mild and so just, that the magistrates and people of *Lisbon* concurred in demanding his leave to erect a statue to him. The regent thanked them, said he should be unwilling to see a work of theirs demolished, and that he was sufficiently rewarded by this public testimony of their affections. The queen having desired that her daughter might come to her at *Alenquer*, retired from thence into the estates of the prior of *Crato*, and by his assistance raised an insurrection. The regent marched immediately to suppress it: upon which the queen retired into *Castile*, and the prior submitted². The count *de Barcelos* seized *Guimaraez*, and fortified it: upon which the regent marched against him, having his son the count *de Ourem* in the army. When he arrived before the place, ^b the count *de Barcelos* sent him a message, that he would do well not to expose the king's troops, for that he was determined to live and die the queen's faithful servant, and had those with him, who would behave gallantly in so good a cause. The count of *Ourem* desired the regent's leave to go and speak to his father. "If he is your father, said the regent, he ^c is also my brother, go and behave like a nephew and a son." The two counts understood one another very well: the matter was soon settled between them, and the count of *Barcelos* submitted³. About this time the infant Don *Ferdinand* died in his captivity; and ^d his chaplain who was the companion, wrote also the history, of his imprisonment.

A. D. 1443.

Deplorable death of Donna Leonora, queen dowager of Portugal, in Castile.

THE regent, having obtained the Pope's dispensation, called an assembly of the states, and ^e with their consent contracted the king to his daughter⁴. The queen Donna *Leonora* had engaged the king of *Castile* to send two ambassies to demand she should be restored to the regency. Don *Pedro* answered, that it was not in his power, but that he had all the respect and veneration for the queen imaginable; that he even doubted whether her return into *Portugal* would be at all for her interest, but that he would take care to pay her regularly her dowry⁵. This poor princess, breathing nothing but vengeance, laboured to persuade the king of *Castile* to declare war against *Portugal*, assuring him it would throw that kingdom into the utmost confusion; and in order to prevent expence from being any bar to this project, she and those who retired with her, gave him all the money, jewels, and effects they had brought with them, which he very readily received, without making the return that she expected⁶. ^d In this dismal and distressed condition, without means of supporting herself in the manner she had hitherto done, she at length took a short turn, and wrote to the regent, giving him a plain and sincere account of the measures she had pursued, and of the circumstances to which she was reduced, beseeching him to let her come and live in *Portugal*, in any manner he judged expedient, and bitterly bewailing that she had been the dupe of those who envied the just credit of so great and good a man. But before the regent had time to express what his compassion would have naturally dictated, death, assisted as is supposed by Don *Alvaro de Luna*, put a period to the poor queen's troubles; for that ambitious minister perceiving that Donna *Maria*, queen of *Castile*, and this princess, had great influence over the king, and were by no means disposed to be his creatures, judged it proper to remove them out of the way, that ^e he might have no competitors in his master's favour⁷. The regent having obtained a bull from the Pope, which confirmed the separation of the orders of St. *James* and *Avis* from the order of *Calatrava* in *Castile*, published it, to the great satisfaction of the *Portuguese* nation⁸.

1445.

The constable of Portugal sent with a body of troops into Castile.

THE steadiness of the regent's administration, the attachment of the best part of the nobility to him, and his enjoying, in so absolute a degree, the confidence of the people, not only secured the interior tranquillity of the state, but raised the credit likewise of the crown of *Portugal* to a very great height in the sentiments of its neighbours. This appeared by the king of *Castile's* demanding succours, which were sent under the command of the constable of *Portugal*, Don *Pedro*, son to the regent, whom his father had raised to that employment⁹, upon the death of his brother, the infant Don *John*. These succours, though they did not arrive till the war was over in which they were to have been employed, were received with all possible testimonies of kindness and respect; more especially by the all-powerful favourite Don *Alvaro de Luna*, who concluded with Don *Pedro*, in his master's name, a marriage between him and Donna *Isabella*, daughter to the infant Don *Juan* of *Portugal*, with whom he had always a private correspondence¹⁰. He did this, however, not only without the consent, but without so much as consulting his master, whose inclinations carried him another way, and who, though he had not spirit enough to refuse this wife from his minister's hands,

¹ ZURITA Annal. Arragon. GARIBAY, RAINALD, ANT. VASCONC. FERR. MARIANA.

Y SOUSA.

² LA NEUF. LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA.

³ FERR. Historia de Espana, partix.

§ xv.

⁴ GARIBAY, ANT. VASCONC.

⁵ FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

⁶ FER-

NAM PEREZ DE GUZMAN, LA NEUF. FERR.

⁷ LA NEUF. FERR. Historia de Espana, partix. § xv.

⁸ FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, LA NEUF. TURQUET.

⁹ FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUF. FERR.

¹⁰ Cronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla, y de Leon, y Maestre de la Orden, y Cavalleria de Santiago, La Cronica de Espana, por DIEGO DE VALERA, FERR.

a resolved notwithstanding to take his life for this act of presumption : what is more extraordinary, this queen concurred in the measure ; and not only excited the king to execute, but also contrived the manner of carrying it into execution ^f. Upon the report of this marriage by the constable to his father on his return, it was confirmed, though not celebrated till after the king came to age ; as it was on all hands allowed, that this alliance might be very beneficial to *Portugal*, and prove an effectual means of burying in oblivion the old sources of disputes and discontents that had subsisted between the two nations, and produced a radicated aversion between them, which was equally fatal to both : but experience shewed that, though specious, this reasoning was far enough from being conclusive.

b In the course of his regency the duke of *Coimbra* had made it his continual study to pursue the public good ; to ease the people in general, and the inhabitants of *Lisbon* in particular, of several grievous impositions ; to maintain the laws in their full vigour ; to give the king an excellent education ; and, if that had been at all practicable, to diffuse a perfect unanimity through the court, by assuaging the malice and envy of his enemies. Upon his first reconciliation with his brother Don *Alonso*, count of *Barcelos*, he consented, that the archbishop of *Lisbon* should have leave to return into the kingdom, who had fled to *Rome*, on account of the share he had in the first disturbances, and who had been pursued thither by the clamours of the people against his morals, which it seems were not very edifying ^g. On the death of Don *Gonsalves*, lord of *Bragança*, he procured it, with the title of duke, for his brother Don *Alonso*, as a mark of the sincerity of their reconciliation on his side ^h. But the new duke considered it rather as a mark of his absolute authority, and hated him heartily, not for the sake of the gift, for that was very acceptable, but for having the power to give ; which, with the advice of the archbishop, and of his own son the count *de Ourem*, who, under the specious pretence of the warmest friend, was the most determined foe the regent had, he resolved to wrest out of his hand, as soon as a favourable opportunity offered ; and for this purpose began to cabal with some of the young lords, who were about the king's person, and were the companions of his exercises and diversions, to whom he represented the regent as a man of very severe morals, and who would never permit them to receive those rewards for their services, which otherwise they might easily have obtained through the king's favour. In this situation the court stood when the king drew nigh the age of fourteen, at which time he was to become major, according to the law, or at least custom of *Portugal*.

c ALONSO the fifth, afterwards, for his heroic exploits, justly surnamed *the African*, was at this time the finest youth of his age in *Portugal*. The regent knew the value of a good education, and the method in which he had received it ; he was therefore assiduous from the very beginning in procuring this advantage for his nephew. He shewed him that pride was a very indifferent shield to cover ignorance ; and that, to merit the respect and deference due to a king, he must acquire those qualities that ought to adorn a throne ; and that modesty and affability would set a lustre upon these, which ostentation and ceremony could never bestow ⁱ. In the cortes, or parliament assembled for that purpose, the regent laid down his office, and rendered an account of the manner in which he had executed it, desiring the king and people's pardon for any errors of which he might be guilty. Don *Alonso* behaved upon this occasion in a manner so composed, so gentle, and yet so manly, that it charmed all his subjects. He granted Don *Pedro* all he asked ; the cortes entirely approved his administration, and gave their consent to the king's marriage with Donna *Isabella*, the regent's daughter, which was now celebrated, and to the request which the king made his father-in-law, that he would continue to assist him with his advice. This was certainly highly reasonable ; and the duke of *Coimbra* governed for about two years in the same manner, and with very near the same degree of power, as while the administration remained in his hands with the title of regent ^k.

d His enemies, however, at the head of whom was his own brother, the duke of *Bragança*, with the archbishop of *Lisbon*, continued their insidious practices with indefatigable assiduity. They turned the gravity and serious discourses of Don *Pedro* into ridicule : they grounded malicious suspicions on the high respect paid him by the magistrates of *Lisbon*, and other great cities ; and they brought most of the king's favourites to speak the same language. When they found that the king had no longer that awe and respect which he had formerly expressed for his uncle, they went a little farther, and flattering the king's parts, insinuated it was high time he should govern his own dominions, and let his subjects see that there was somebody in them greater than the duke of *Coimbra*. At length they boldly asserted, that he had been guilty of flagrant mal-administration during his regency ; that his ambition was exorbitant ; and that the king could enjoy only the empty title of sovereignty while he was about his person. The king listened to these stories, and in proportion as he gave credit to them,

Methods taken by the duke of Coimbra for the benefit of the kingdom, and to appease his enemies.

On his assuming the government into his own hands, the king marries the regent's daughter.

A. D. 1446.

Such as hate Don Pedro combine in ridiculing, calumniating, and betraying him.

^f Cronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, GARIBAY, ALONSO DE PALENCIA, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, TURQUET, FERR. ^g FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE. ^h LA NEUF. FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR. ⁱ ANT. VASCONC. GARIBAY, LA NEUF. MARIANA. ^k FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

withdrew his favour and countenance from the duke of *Coimbra*. But it has been doubted ^a whether he could have been prevailed upon to remove him, if the duke, disgusted with such treatment, had not resolved to withdraw of himself, and with great humility desired the king's leave. This Don *Alonso* readily gave him, and his back was no sooner turned than his enemies very boldly brought out their whole charge, affirming, that he had poisoned his brother king *Edward*, queen *Leonora*, and the infant Don *Juan*¹. This amazed all, but persuaded very few. The infant Don *Henry*, duke of *Viseo*, came from his own town of *Sagrez*, to justify his brother; but his mouth was soon stopped, by turning the same charge upon him^m. The principal nobility adhered steadily to Don *Pedro*; and Don *Ferdinand*, governor of *Ceuta*, the second son of the duke of *Bragança*, came over from thence to defend his uncle against his father: but the most extraordinary circumstance attending this prosecution was the behaviour ^b of Don *Alvaro de Almada*, count of *Abranches*, esteemed the bravest knight of his time. He came into the king's council completely armed, with his robe thrown over him, and after making a short speech in defence of the regency, he stood up, and said, "If any man shall presume to affirm, that Don *Pedro*, duke of *Coimbra*, is not a loyal servant to his prince, and a friend to his country, I am ready at the sword's point to prove that man a liar and a traitor." The courtiers said, this was insulting the king; but the king himself said, that Don *Alvaro* had behaved like a true knight and a man of honourⁿ.

Compelled to
take up arms
in his own de-
fence, and soon
after slain in
battle.

It was the great point of the court, though certainly not of the king, from this period, to drive the duke of *Coimbra* into a rebellion. The first step taken was to forbid all the king's subjects by an edict to have any correspondence with him; which produced no other effect than ^c inducing the count *de Abranches*, and some other friends of his, to go and join him. A message was then sent to require all their arms: to which the duke answered, they were necessary to him and his friends for their defence against their enemies, and could be of no use to the king, who had none^o. The queen interposed as far as she could in favour of her father; and at length prevailed upon him to promise, that if the duke of *Coimbra* would write him a letter, and acknowledge his faults, he was willing to pardon them. The duke being informed of this, wrote one letter to the king, and another to the queen. In that he told her he had out of complaisance to her wrote such a letter as she desired, which she was so imprudent as to shew the king, who tore the letter addressed to himself without reading it; adding, that since he wrote it only in complaisance to her, he retracted his promise^p. He was then com- ^d manded to come to court upon his allegiance. By the advice of the count *de Abranches* he took with him an escorte of a thousand horse, and five hundred foot. In his passage he was proclaimed a rebel, and soon after surrounded by the king's troops. The duke seized an advantageous post, and fortified it as well as it was possible. The king then published a proclamation requiring all men to desert him, on pain of being punished as traitors; but not a man quitted him: on the contrary, many of the king's troops withdrew, and some went to die with the duke of *Coimbra*. The next day he was attacked in his intrenchments, and in the heat of the action killed with an arrow^q. The count *de Abranches* continued the fight, and, refusing quarter, was likewise killed, with several other persons of distinction^r. The king carried his resentment so high, that he forbid their bodies to be buried; in ^e consequence of which they lay three days on the field of battle, and then the peasants carried away the duke privately, and buried him in an obscure village^s. His virtue, hated in courts, was adored by the uncorrupt part of his countrymen.

A. D. 1449.

Don Alonso
does justice to
his memory, and
causes his body
to be interred at
the monastery of
Batalha.

THE king Don *Alonso* returned in triumph to *Lisbon*, where the implacable enemies of the duke of *Coimbra* vented their resentment, not only upon all that had been in arms with, but on ^f those also who had shewn any affection for him. His son Don *Diego*, and many more, were kept in prison; his eldest son Don *Pedro* retired into *Castile*; several were put to the torture, and interrogated as to the duke's treason, but to no purpose; all his papers likewise fell into the king's hands, and these gave great lights, not into any conspiracy, but into a multitude of designs he had formed for the service of the king and of the nation^t. A manifesto, drawn up by his enemies, was sent in the king's name to Pope *Nicholas* the fifth, who treated it without ceremony as a heap of falsehoods, and threatened to excommunicate those who had denied him burial^u. The duke of *Burgundy*, who was the king's uncle, demanded Don *Pedro*'s body; and that his children might have leave to retire into his dominions. These applications put the king much out of humour^v. He ordered his uncle's corpse to be taken up, and carried to the castle of *Abrantes*; stopt all prosecutions; and soon after, upon mature deliberation, declared all the noblemen and gentlemen, who had adhered to the late duke of *Coimbra*, his loyal subjects. On the death of the infant Don *Juan*, who had been acknowledged his heir apparent, he ordered the body of the duke of *Coimbra* to be transported, with

1450.

¹ LA NEUF.

^m FARIA Y SOUSA.

ⁿ ANT. VASCONC. LE CLEDE, GARIBAY.

^o LA NEUF.

^p FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

^q GARIBAY, ANT. VASCONC. LE CLEDE.

^r FARIA Y SOUSA.

^s LA NEUF.

^t VASCONC. FERR.

^u LA NEUF. FARIA Y SOUSA.

^v Epitome de las

Historias y Portuguesas, LE CLEDE.

^a great pomp from the castle of *Abrantes*, to the monastery of *Batalha*^p, where it was interred in the tomb, which, as we have observed in the notes, he had caused to be erected for himself, though some writers say, this was not done till some years after.

SOME alteration was made in the situation of things at the court of *Portugal*, by the marriage of the infanta Donna *Leonora* to the emperor *Frederic* the third. She passed the sea to *Italy*, accompanied by some persons of the first quality, and the ceremony of her marriage was performed by the Pope himself^q. Don *Alonso* was very desirous of undertaking some expedition of importance against the *Moors* of *Barbary*; and till things were ripe for this purpose, supported the measures of his uncle the infant Don *Henry*, for discovering the coast of *Guiney*, from whence they already began to import gold in considerable quantities. This induced the *Castilians* to grow jealous; and thereupon Don *Juan* sent an embassy to *Lisbon*, alleging that he had some right to these discoveries, and threatening to support that right by force, in case the *Portuguese* fleet proceeded. Don *Alonso* answered with great moderation, that as he never heard of those rights before, it was not at all strange that he had not respected them; but that he was very willing to enter into the discussion of them whenever the king of *Castile* pleased^r. But Don *Juan* dying, this affair was attended with no great consequences. His successor, Don *Henry* the fourth, in the very first year of his reign, sent an agent of his privately into *Portugal*, to negotiate a marriage with the infanta Donna *Joanna*^s, the king Don *Alonso*'s sister, which was speedily and secretly concluded, notwithstanding the king and his sister were both well acquainted with the usage the princess *Blanch* of *Navarre*, his first wife, had received, and the strong suspicions there were of his impotence. Some months after the infanta, attended and accompanied in a manner suitable to her birth, took her journey into *Castile*, which proved equally unfortunate to herself, and to the inhabitants of *Castile* and *Portugal*^t. On the third of *May*, the queen Donna *Isabella* was delivered of a son, who was baptized in the cathedral church of *Lisbon* by the name of *John*^u. The joy which this occasioned was equally sincere in the king and his subjects.

The princess
Donna Joanna
married to Don
Henry IV. king
of Castile and
Leon.

A. D. 1453.

THE infant Don *Ferdinand*, brother to the king, is by the *Portuguese* historians said to have stolen over to *Ceuta*, with an intention to have distinguished himself in some expedition against the *Moors*; but his brother suspecting that there was in this a tincture of discontent, as hitherto no provision had been made for him, sent him orders to return, which he obeyed with such alacrity, that the king gave him a noble appenage. But we are elsewhere told, that the king appointed him to command a fleet and army; but that the latter being infected with the plague at *Ceuta*, occasioned his hasty return, without performing any thing of importance^v. On the second of *December* died the queen of *Portugal*^x at *Evora*, of a short illness, not without very strong suspicions of poison; for the enemies of her father, perceiving the ascendancy she had gained over the king, and fearing that after procuring the restitution of his honour, she might incline to revenge his ill usage on the authors of his misfortunes, thought this the shortest method to rid themselves of their fears. The whole nation expressed their affection for her by a general mourning, and by as general execrations against those they took to be the authors of her death; and the king gave the clearest proof of the sincerity of his passion, by his never having afterwards any commerce with the sex. He caused her body to be interred, with all possible solemnity, near that of her father; and at the same time caused the corpse of his mother Donna *Leonora* to be removed out of *Castile*, and to be interred likewise in the church of the royal abbey of *Batalha*^y. Such were the melancholy events of this year.

Death of queen
Isabella of
Portugal, not
without strong
suspicions of
poison.

1455.

As the state of affairs in *Castile* was very unsettled, queen *Joanna* earnestly pressed the king Don *Henry*, her husband, to an interview with her brother, to which Don *Alonso* of *Portugal* very willingly consented, as a means of dissipating the concern he was under for the loss of the queen^z. In the spring of the year the two kings, with their respective courts, met on the frontiers, from whence they proceeded to *Badajoz*, where they feasted three days, at the expence of the king of *Castile*; and then repaired to *Yelves*, where they were feasted for the like space of time by the king of *Portugal*^a. The queen of *Castile* at this juncture introduced Don *Pedro* of *Portugal*, eldest son to the duke of *Coimbra*, to her brother, who received him with great testimonies of affection and esteem, restored him to his honours, employments, and estates, and carried him back with him to *Lisbon*^b. Pope *Calixtus* the second having published a crusade against the *Turks*, Don *Alonso* very readily consented to the equipment of a very large squadron, with a numerous corps of troops on board, which he actually sent to the assistance of the Christians; but the civil wars in *Italy* first, and next the

The king carries on the war
with success against the
Moors in Barbary.

1456.

^p FARIA Y SOUSA. ^q ZURITA Annal. Arragon. GARIBAY, RAINALD, FERR. ^r Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE. ^s Cronica Del Rey Don Henrique quarto, DE ALONSO DE PALENCIA. ^t FERR. Historia de Espana, part x. § xv. TURQUET, MARIANA. ^u ED. NUNEZ, RUY DE PINA, FERR. LE CLEDE. ^v FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUF. ^x ED. NUNEZ, RUY DE PINA, FERR. LA NEUF. ^y FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE. ^z ALONSO DE PALENCIA. ^a FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUF. ^b ALONSO DE PALENCIA, LE CLEDE.

death of the Pope, rendered that military scheme abortive^c. It is said, that the coin still current in *Portugal* under the denomination of cruzadoes, were originally struck upon this occasion, and were made of the gold they received from *Guiney*. The king having been at a great expence in making these preparations, and being of a very warm and active disposition, resolved to turn his arms against the *Moors* in *Barbary*: to which he was encouraged by his uncle the infant Don *Henry*, grand-master of the order of Christ, who promised to attend him with a good squadron of his own, and he was likewise accompanied by his brother, and most of the young nobility in his kingdom. This fleet and army consisted of about two hundred sail, and twenty thousand men; and the best part of the latter being safely debarked on the coast of *Africa*, Don *Alonso* besieged *Alcazer*^d, and took it without any difficulty, into which he put a strong garrison under the command of Don *Edward de Meneses*; who, within a short time after the return of the Christian army, found himself besieged by the king of *Fez*; but he defended himself with such resolution, that the *Moors* were at length obliged to raise the siege. This did not hinder their attempting it a second and a third time, in which last siege they were very near prevailing, if a strong reinforcement from *Portugal* had not happily arrived, and got safely into the place. With this reinforcement came the king's order to Don *Edward de Meneses* to return to *Portugal*, where he was received with all possible marks of honour, and the king, as a reward of his services, created him count of *Viana*^e.

A. D. 1459.

1460.

The deaths of the count de Ourem, the infant Don Henry, and the duke of Bragança.

THIS success in *Africa* excited an extraordinary joy in the *Portuguese* nation, which, however, was quickly allayed by the death of several princes of the blood. Of these the first was Don *Alonso* count of *Ourem*, a man of great art, but withal of great abilities, and who had been long esteemed the greatest statesman in that country. He was quickly followed by his uncle and the king's, Don *Henry* duke of *Viseo*^f (E). In a short space after died the father of the

^c RAINALD, ALONSO DE PALENCIA. ^d ED. NUNEZ, VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS. ^e LEQUIEN
DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, VASCONCELLOS, FERRERAS. ^f ED. NUNEZ,
ESTEVAN DE GARIBAY, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, FERRERAS, TURQUET.

(E) This noble prince was the fourth son of Don *Juan* the first, king of *Portugal*, and we have had occasion to speak of him frequently in the course of the history. There are some difficulties about the time of his birth; and the manner of writing his title has created great confusion. The proper name of the city is *Viseu* or *Viseo*, in Latin *Visentium*, situated in the middle of the province of *Beira*; but by the similarity of letters, more especially in old hands, we find it commonly written in our records *Visen*. It is not easy to know at what time he was elected knight of the garter; but it is most likely to have been in the twenty-first of *Henry* the sixth; for at that time there was an order made for carrying the ensigns to *Lynfranc de Henryche*, uncle to the king of *Portugal* (8). Now this it seems signifies the infant Don *Henry*, who was brother to king *Edward*, and uncle to *Alonso* the fifth, who was at that time king. By the same strange way of writing, we find *Queneburgh* or *Quimbre*, for *Conimbra* or *Coimbra*, which shews how much better it would be to have records of this kind kept in Latin (9). There is no doubt that Mr. *Anstis*, who wrote the life of this prince, has corrected a great many mistakes in his predecessors; but it is likewise true that he has made some of his own: for instance, he says, that for some time he fixed his residence at *Cape St. Vincent*, and that he afterwards removed to the cape of *Sagra*, in *Algarve* (1). But the truth is, that he never removed at all. He founded the town of *Sagrez*, as we have shewn in the history, which stands a very few miles from *Cape St. Vincent*, in the kingdom of *Algarve*, and made it one of the finest ports and best fortified places in the kingdom, the navigation of those times considered (2). He was certainly not only one of the greatest men of his time in *Portugal*, but one of the greatest men that any country or any age ever produced, which, though it may seem to rise very high, is so far from exceeding, that it really

falls short of his merit; for whatever difference there may be between the state of *Europe* now, and the time in which he flourished, whatever advantages have resulted from the discovery of the best part of *Africa*, of the *East Indies*, and of the *West*; nay, whatever shall result from them, to the very end of time, is strictly due to the genius and labours of this prince, unless we are inclined to refer part to his father king *John*, who observing that his inclinations were entirely turned to mathematical studies, encouraged and gave him proper masters in his youth; and as he grew up bestowed upon him such appointments as enabled him to carry his speculations into practice. We have shewn elsewhere what the particular searches, discoveries, and conquests were that this prince made at his own expence (3). We have likewise shewn in the history what his conduct was with respect to the public transactions in *Portugal* (4); and shall therefore only add here, that he was not only a practical discoverer, by the expeditions defrayed out of his purse, but that he was really the author of that spirit of discovery, by which so much has been done since. He had very just notions of the structure of the globe: he suggested the great use of longitude and latitude in sailing, and how these were to be ascertained by astronomical observations: he was a great master in the art of ship-building: he had very clear ideas of the beneficial consequences that would attend the increase of navigation, establishment of colonies, and extending foreign commerce; and he propagated these so effectually among his disciples, that tho' ignorance and superstition made many efforts to stifle this spirit, yet it was without effect, and his own country was the first that reaped the profit of his inestimable talents. The time of his death is far from being certain. We place it here in compliance to great authorities (5); but it is proper to acquaint the reader we are not satisfied with those authorities. If he was sixty-seven years

(8) *Anstis's Order of the Garter*, vol. i. p. 180.
have treated this subject.

(1) See his Life of the duke of Viseu, in his History of the thirteenth Seal, on the Prince's Side.
(2) *Refend. Colmenar*, Ap *Rlys's Tour through Portugal*.
delivered concerning the progress of the Portuguese in Asia and the East Indies.
(3) See what is de-
de la Neufville. (5) *Vasconcellos*, *Epitome de las historias Portuguesas*.

(4) *Faria y Sousa*, *Mariana*,

a the count of *Ourem*, Don *Alonso* duke of *Bragança*, one of the greatest men in *Portugal* ; and who would have been still much greater if in the beginning his greatness had not been founded in the favour of the regent Don *Pedro*, his brother, and when he could oblige him no longer carried to a greater height by his fall (F). A circumstance that afterwards came home to his family when least expected.

THE king finding all things quiet in his own dominions, and being well informed of the state of *Tangier*, which, for having once baffled the *Portuguese* arms, and proved fatal to the liberty and life of his uncle, had been ever the object of his resentment and ambition, made another expedition to *Africa* attended by his brother Don *Ferdinand*, who he had created duke of *Viseo*, the constable Don *Pedro* duke of *Coimbra*, the count of *Viana*, and several other persons equally distinguished by their quality and their talents, and more especially by their valour and success in arms ^b. The first attempt was not very fortunate ; for the infant Don *Ferdinand* attempting to surprize *Tangier*, with a small corps of troops, was soundly beaten, and escaped with great difficulty. The king, ravaging the country in resentment of this disgrace, was very near meeting with a greater, since he was on the very point of being taken prisoner, if he had not been rescued by the count of *Viana*, who fell himself into their hands, and was barbarously cut to pieces ^c. The count *de Marialva*, and Don *Gomez Freyras*, were likewise taken prisoners, and ransomed at a great expence ; so that this expedition was none of the most fortunate. The constable Don *Pedro*, at his return, was invited to *Barcelona*, where, as we have shewn in its proper place, he was by the *Catalans* honoured with the title of king of *Arragon* ; and after running through a long series of dangers and fatigues, was so unfortunate as to die either of chagrin or of poison ^k. The troubles continued all this time in *Castile*, and the king had several interviews with his brother and sister ; in which a proposition was first made for Don *Alonso* to marry the infanta Donna *Isabella*, the king's sister, and afterwards that Don *Juan*, prince of *Portugal*, should espouse Donna *Joanna*, the king's reputed daughter ; both of which proved

A new expedition into Africa attended with great success of fortune.

A. D. 1462.

^b LE CLEDE, VASCONCELLOS, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE.

^c FARIA Y SOUSA, VASCONCELLOS, FERR.

^k VASCONCELLOS, LE CLEDE.

^k ZURITA Annal Arragon, LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE.

of age, he did not die either this year or the next (6) ; for then he must have been older than his brother Don *Pedro*, which he certainly was not. Mr. *Anstis* blames Dr. *Heylin* for placing his death in 1465 (7), and he gives a very good reason for it, because the lord *Duras* was placed in his stall of the garter before that time (8) ; but here again we are pretty much in the dark, since we know not exactly when that lord was chosen. An author of great credit places his death in 1463, and if he was sixty-seven at the time of his death, that is most likely to be the true date (9).

(F) It is of the utmost consequence to this history, to have a clear idea of the entire descent of the family of *Bragança*, now upon the throne of *Portugal*, which sprang from the person of whom we are now to speak. He was the only natural son of *John* the first, mentioned in history, and was certainly older than any of his legal issue, though we cannot tell exactly the time of his birth (1). This son of his, Don *Alonso*, he created count of *Barcelos*, and procured for him Donna *Beatrice*, the heiress of the first constable of *Portugal*, Don *Nugno Alvarez Percyra*, count of *Arayolos* and *Ourem*, which honours, upon his demise, came to *Alonso*, who was by this means thrice an earl. His brother Don *Pedro*, duke of *Coimbra*, and regent of the kingdom, against whom he had taken up arms, and to whom he was only in shew reconciled, at least on his side, procured from their nephew Don *Alonso*, the lordship of *Bragança*, upon the death of its then possessor ; and to render the obligation the greater, caused it to be erected into a duchy (2). This Don *Alonso* had two wives, Donna *Beatrice* before-mentioned, and Donna *Constancia de Norogna*, daughter to *Alonso*, count of *Gijon*, and *Isabella* of *Portugal*, whom we have mentioned before. He had children only by his first marriage, and these

were two sons and a daughter ; the eldest of these, Don *Alonso*, who died but a little before his father, was stiled count of *Ourem* ; and, as we have observed in the text, was considered in point of abilities as one of the greatest men of that age. He had no lawful issue ; but by *Beatrice de Sousa*, his mistress, he left *Alonso* of *Portugal*, who was archbishop of *Evora* ; and who, notwithstanding, had also two natural children ; from the eldest of whom, Don *Francisco*, sprung the counts of *Vimioso* (3). Don *Ferdinand*, the second son, bore the titles of marquis *de Villa Viciosa*, and count of *Arayolos* : but on account of his services in *Africa*, was created by his cousin, Don *Alonso* the fifth, duke of *Guimaraez*. The daughter's name was Donna *Isabella*, and she espoused Don *Juan* of *Portugal*, her father's brother, by whom she had a son, Don *Diego*, who died without issue ; a daughter, Donna *Isabella*, who married the monarch of whom we are speaking ; Donna *Beatrice*, who married his uncle Don *Ferdinand* ; and Donna *Philippa*, who died unmarried (4). We must now return to Don *Ferdinand*, the first of that name, who by the death of his father and brother, became the second duke of *Bragança*. He espoused Donna *Joanna de Castro*, daughter to the lord of *Cadaval*, by whom he had four sons and three daughters. *Ferdinand*, who will be the subject of another note ; *John*, marquis *de Montemayor*, constable of *Portugal*, who died an exile in *Castile*, without issue ; *Alvaro*, count of *Oliveira* ; *Alonso*, count of *Faro* and *Odemira*, from whom that branch sprang ; Donna *Catalina*, contracted to the marquis of *Arialva*, but who died before marriage ; Donna *Beatrice*, who espoused the marquis *de Villa Real* ; and Donna *Guyomara*, who married the count *de Loulle*. The reader will perceive from the history, the absolute necessity of this long note (5).

(6) Ferreras, Le Clede.

(7) Cosmography.

(8) Order of the Garter, vol. i.

(9) F.

de Barry, (1) Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, de la Neufville.

(2) Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Elogios dos Reis de Portugal, Le Clede.

(4) Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, Memoirs de Portugal.

(3) Faria y Sousa, de la Neufville, Memoirs de Portugal.

(5) Vasconcellos, Garibay, de la Neufville, Le Clede,

A. D. 1467. ineffectual, and served only to furnish fuel to that flame which burnt but too fiercely before, and which was afterwards increased to such a height as consumed in a great measure the strength of both nations¹.

The king's brother, Don Ferdinand duke of Viseo, goes over with a new army into Barbary.

AN establishment in *Africa* was what the king of *Portugal* had so much at heart, that as soon as his finances had recovered a little from the expences of one war, he was ever ready to enter on another. The chief motive to this seems to have been the establishing a maritime frontier upon that coast, the better to defend the trade his subjects had begun to establish with the coast of *Guiney*, and from which a considerable degree of profit was already collected. Besides this, it greatly intimidated the *Moorish* princes, cut off their communication with their countrymen in *Granada*, and gave this monarch an opportunity of raising vast sums upon those large, rich, and trading towns which lay upon the coast, and which as yet he had not been able to reduce. The king, full of these thoughts, assembled a strong fleet, and a competent number of forces, which he embarked under the command of his brother *Ferdinand*, duke of *Viseo*, whom he had made constable, upon the death of *Don Pedro*, duke of *Coimbra*, and who was also master of the orders of *Christ* and *St. James*. In this he acted with greater prudence, and therefore very probably met with better success; for he made himself master of the town of *Anafe*^m, situated in the kingdom of *Fez*, on the coast of the *Atlantic* ocean, and likewise obtained so good an account of some other places of consequence, and of the state of affairs among the infidels, that upon the report of the officers and engineers employed by him, the king *Don Alonso* determined to proceed to *Africa* in person the next year with a royal army, entertaining strong hopes that at length he should be able to accomplish what he had so much desired, and what had been already more than once attempted without effect.

Don Alonso goes in person with his son Don Juan into Africa, and sustains some loss.

1470.

By the precautions which the king had taken while his brother was employed in this expedition, he was enabled to execute his own enterprize in a manner suitable to his wish. He was accompanied by his only son *Don Juan*, prince of *Portugal*, *Ferdinand* duke of *Guimaraez*, *Don Juan de Coutigno* count of *Marialva*, *Alvaro de Castro* count of *Monsanto*, *Henry de Meneses* count of *Valenza*, and others of the nobility. His fleet consisted of upwards of three hundred sail, and his army of twenty-four thousand men, exclusive of the mariners, who were upwards of six thousand. He left the regency of his dominions to his daughter *Donna Joanna*, and appointed *Ferdinand* duke of *Bragança* to assist herⁿ. He sailed on the fifteenth of *August*, and when he arrived in sight of the coast of *Barbary*, his fleet was dispersed by a storm, in which some ships perished. However, when it was over, the fleet drew together again, and proceeded to *Arzila*, a strong place on the *Atlantic* ocean, at the distance of about fifty miles from the straits of *Gibraltar*, which was the first object of this enterprize. He caused it to be attacked with great vigour; but the *Moors*, made an obstinate defence. At length, however, it was carried by storm, many of the enemy who survived retiring into the castle, and into a mosque, where they had laid up their most valuable effects. *Don Alonso* caused both these places to be attacked, and it was there he lost the count of *Monsanto*, and the count of *Marialva*^o. The king, when he saw the corpse of the last-mentioned lord, the blood still streaming from his wounds, turned to the prince, and said, "God grant you, my son, the virtues of that great man^p". The *Portuguese* of those times might be killed, but not vanquished, and the army, though much afflicted, were more exasperated at this loss.

Gains several conquests, and redeems the body of his uncle Don Ferdinand.

THEY renewed the assault the next day, and carried both the mosque and the castle sword in hand. The booty was immense, more especially when joined to the ransom of five thousand prisoners that were taken: amongst these were two of the wives and two sons of *Muley Sheik*, to whom the place belonged. The king gave upon the spot great marks of piety, gratitude, and generosity. He caused the mosque to be purified, in which he returned solemn thanks to God for his victory: after which he conferred on his son *Don Juan* the order of knighthood: he bestowed the honour of count of *Monsanto*, on the brother of the deceased lord: he bestowed all the employments of which the count of *Marialva* was possessed, in virtue of his long and faithful services, on his son, though a very young man; and added the government of *Arzila* to that of *Alcacer*, which was already possessed by the count of *Valenza*. By the release of the two wives and one of the sons of the *Moorish* prince, he procured the body of his uncle the infant *Don Ferdinand*, for whom the infidels had erected a tomb on a high tower, as a monument of their victory; caused it to be transported to *Lisbon*, and from thence conveyed with great pomp to the royal monastery of *Batalha*^q. The other son of the *Sheik* he would not ransom upon any terms; but at his return brought him with him into *Portugal*, gave him a liberal and princely education, and then sent him home to his father without any

¹ ALONSO DE PALENCIA, FERR.

LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA.

^p LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

^m RUY DE PINA, FERR.

^o ALONSO DE PALENCIA, MARMOL, lib. ii. cap. xxxix. FERRERAS.

^q VASCONCEL. BERNALDEZ, FERR. MARIANA,

ⁿ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL.

a ransom. He lived many years in *Barbary*, and was called by the *Moors*, *Mohammed the Portuguese*^r.

A panic seized the *Moors* upon the loss of *Arzila*, and the destruction of the people who defended it; insomuch that the inhabitants of *Tangier*, though hitherto it had been reputed impregnable, abandoned it; and the *Portuguese* monarch, having intelligence of this, sent a detachment to seize the place, into which he made his public entry soon after^s. This great and unexpected conquest satisfied the king's ambition; and having provided in the best manner possible for the security of his new acquisitions, returned into *Europe*, covered with glory, and having acquired the lofty title of the *African*. He likewise added to those which were descended to him from his ancestors, that of lord of the coasts on both seas^t; and, to perpetuate the memory of his exploits, caused them to be expressed in the greatest elegance in tapestry; in which his example has been followed by some of the greatest princes and ablest generals in succeeding times. While the king was in *Africa*, there happened an event which might have produced a rupture with *England*. The bastard *Falconberg* took twelve *Portuguese* ships, richly laden, at which Don *Alonso* was extremely incensed; but when he understood that it happened during that revolution, in which his ally *Edward* the fourth was obliged to retire into the territories of the duke of *Burgundy*, and *Henry* the sixth for a small space of time placed on the throne, he was easily pacified, and the affair was soon after compromised by negotiation, which restored the perfect harmony that had long reigned between the two nations^u.

THE reputation of Don *Alonso* was now at the greatest height; and the remainder of his reign might have been happy and easy, as well as glorious, if he had not embarked in the very intricate and troublesome business of the succession to the crown of *Castile*. This had been long the object of his attention, and while it remained in any degree at a distance, his conduct was wise and like that of a great politician; for he gave general and doubtful answers, by which he left hopes to those who were in the interest of his niece, without entering into any absolute engagement; but upon the death of king *Henry* the fourth, who by his testimony declared this princess his heiress, he found himself reduced to a point, and under a necessity of taking one side or other^v. He consulted his council, where his son the prince, and most of the nobility, dazzled with the lustre of the crown of *Castile*, and withal perceiving which way the king's inclinations leaned, advised him to accept the proposals made him, and to marry the heiress as soon as a dispensation could be obtained from the Pope. The duke of *Bragança* opposed this vehemently. He observed that the *Castilian* lords, who now espoused the claim of the infanta Donna *Joanna*, were the very same persons who had proclaimed Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, king; had as far as in them lay deposed their lawful sovereign; and had openly affirmed that he was incapable of begetting a child. He from thence inferred, that they had nothing but their own interest in view: and that therefore it was very unsafe for the king to trust them. But the king, considering that the duke was uncle to queen *Isabella*, now seated on the throne of *Castile*, rejected his advice, though approved and adopted by the archbishop of *Lisbon*. He was content, however, at the motion of this prelate to send an agent into *Castile*, who reported at his return, that many of the first nobility, and the best part of the commons, were disposed to maintain the infanta's title; and upon this it was resolved to enter into a war, to maintain the title of that unhappy princess, and to hazard the whole strength of *Portugal*, in hopes of conquering *Castile*^x.

We have written the history of this war in another place; and therefore, to avoid repetition, will say as little as possible of it here. But it may not be amiss to observe, that Don *Alonso*, in espousing the cause of the infanta Donna *Joanna*, against *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, acted very near the same part that Don *Juan* II. of *Castile* had done in supporting the claim of the infanta Donna *Beatrix* to the crown of *Portugal*, against the grandfather of this prince, *John* the first, the legitimacy of both princesses being suspected, and there being a strong party in each nation in favour of that title, which in the end proved unsuccessful. In both cases the kings had very difficult parts to act, and were in a great measure deceived by the notions they formed of their subjects' affections; for at first the *Castilians*, who were very desirous of making a province of *Portugal*, grew quickly weary of the war, and yet afterwards blamed their monarch for the peace he made. Though at the beginning the *Portuguese* were very earnest for this war; but the military operations not answering their wishes grew uneasy and dissatisfied, which was the principal cause of their king's desisting from his pretensions, which they likewise blamed, and imputed the miseries that afterwards befel the kingdom to that timidity, which in reality was more owing to their conduct than to the inclination of their king. In cases, therefore, of this

^r MARMOL, LA NEUFVIL. TURQUET, FERR. Historia de España, part x. § xv.

LA NEUF. MARMOL.

^s FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE.

^t LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL. ALONSO DE PALENCIA, RUY DE PINA, FERR.

^u PULGAR, Cronica de los Reyes Don Fernando y Donna Isabel, ALONSO DE PALENCIA, RUY DE PINA, ED. NÚÑEZ, ZURITA, DAMIAN DE GOES, FERR. MARIANA.

^v LEQUIEN DE

^w FARIA Y SOUSA.

^x HERNANDO DE

nature, it is infinitely better to be slow in resolving, than to enter hastily into a difficult enterprise, and after a great expence of blood and treasure, be content at last with worse terms than might have been obtained at first. In this instance the loss of the battle of *Toro*, in which the *Portuguese* say that king *Ferdinand* shewed very little courage, and in which the *Spanish* historians affirm that there was something very blameable in Don *Alonso's* conduct, gave a turn to the war, and put it absolutely out of the power of the king of *Portugal* to maintain the claim he had set up to the dominions of *Castile*, and which threw his affairs into such confusion, as induced him to make a journey into *France*, in hopes of receiving assistance from a prince who was equally incapable of taking a generous resolution, or of declaring plainly he would not take it^y.

Don Alonso
makes a voyage
to France, to
demand assistance
from
Lewis XI.

This expedition of intrigue is by much the most perplexed passage in the history of the reign of Don *Alonso*; and we shall therefore bestow an extraordinary care to set it in a true light. This king was thoroughly convinced that the conquest of *Castile* was not to be obtained without assistance; and while he meditated in his own mind how this assistance was to be obtained, Don *Alvaro de Alayda* returned from the court of *Lewis* the eleventh, who being engaged in a war with *Arragon*, and having no reason to believe *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* well inclined to him, gave this minister such fair language, and talked in so high a strain of the king of *Portugal's* courage and generosity, that Don *Alvaro* made no scruple of assuring that prince there was nothing he might not expect from the friendship of *Lewis*. Don *Alonso* therefore returning into *Portugal*, sent his niece Donna *Joanna* to *Guarda*, and went from thence to *Porto*, where he resolved to embark for *France*, having there a fleet of twenty-one sail of large ships, a train of five hundred gentlemen, and an escorte of near two thousand two hundred men at arms^z. Some of his ministers laboured to dissuade him from this voyage; but Don *Alonso* was a prince of so much candour and sincerity, that he looked upon their suspicions and cautions as errors flowing from narrow minds, and unworthy the belief of a king. He dispatched therefore Don *Francisco de Almeyda* by land, to desire that *Lewis* would appoint a place for their meeting, and having done this, as soon as the wind was favourable, he put to sea. He touched first at *Ceuta*, thence he proceeded to *Marseilles*, and afterwards landed at *Colivres*. He took his route through *Perpignan*, where in honour of so great a guest the prison gates were set open. At *Bourges* he was met by king *Lewis*, who, as a *French* historian says, did him the highest honours, being resolved in his own mind to do for him nothing else^a. He told him, however, that he would have assisted him with the whole forces of his kingdom, if he had not been under the necessity of watching the motions of the duke of *Burgundy*; advised him to procure a dispensation from the Pope for the marriage with his niece, which would give him an indisputable title to the crown of *Castile*, and promised, when this should be obtained, to appoint commissioners to regulate the succours he should give him in money and in men^b. He also communicated various projects for bribing the governors of provinces and great towns.

Becomes the
dupe of that
monarch, and is
so ashamed that
he would retire
to Jerusalem.

Don *Alonso*, pleased with the success of this negotiation, undertook to conclude a lasting peace between *Lewis* and the duke of *Burgundy*; in order to which he made a journey to the duke's camp before *Nancy*, where the duke laboured to open his eyes, and to shew him that *Lewis* had not the least intention to perform the assurances he had given him. The duke being soon after killed^c, Don *Alonso* returned into *France*, and by the desire of king *Lewis* went to *Paris*, where he was treated in the most obliging manner. In the mean time the dispensation was obtained at *Rome*: upon which Don *Alonso* followed *Lewis* to *Arras*, to press the immediate performance of his promises; where finding nothing but artifice and delay, he perceived plainly that he was duped^d. He returned from thence to *Rouen* to wait for his fleet, and receiving there certain intelligence that *Lewis* was treating of a peace and an alliance with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, at *Bayonne*, he was so much affected with the usage he had received, that he determined to go and visit the holy places at *Jerusalem*, and hide himself from the world for ever. In pursuance of this resolution he left *Rouen*, accompanied only by two pages, two other servants, and *Stephen Martinez* his chaplain. One of these servants he directed to carry four letters to *Antonio de Faria*, who was lately come from the prince his son. One was directed to the king of *France*, giving him an account of his design, and desiring his protection for the servants he had left behind. Another was directed to the prince his son, commanding him to cause himself to be proclaimed king, and never expect to see him more. The third was directed to the nobility and people, requiring them to acknowledge the prince for their sovereign. And the fourth to his domestics, directing them to obey the count *de Faro*, till they

^y FARIA Y SOUSA. TURQUET, P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

LA NEUF. LE CLEDE, HERNANDO DE PULGAR, RUY DE PIAN, ALONSO DE PALENCIA, FERR.

DANIEL Histoire de France, PIERRE MATHIEU, DUPLIEX, FERR.

P. DANIEL, PIERRE MATHIEU, Histoire de Louis XI. par M. DU CLOS.

GOES, ALONSO DE PALENCIA, FARIA Y SOUSA, DU CLOS.

PINA, PIERRE MATHIEU, DU CLOS, VASCONCEL. LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL. LE CLEDE.

^z FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE

^a P.

^b VASCONCEL. RUY DE PINA,

^c ED. NUNEZ, DAMIAN DE

^d HERNANDO DE PULGAR, RUY DE

a had an opportunity of returning home^c. These letters being delivered, the *French* king ordered strict search to be made after him, and he was quickly found by *Robinet le Beuf*, a gentleman of *Normandy*; and the noblemen who attended him from *Portugal* being come about him, they persuaded him to return home; and *Lewis*, who by this time had concluded a treaty with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, furnished him readily with ships and a proper escorte^f.

In the king's absence, which was about a year, *Portugal* was governed by the prince Don *Juan*, with great ability. He applied himself with much diligence to repair all the disasters that had happened, and to prevent *Portugal*, as far at least as was in his power, from feeling the effects of an unsuccessful war. His diligence, and his success in this respect, merited the thanks of the states, whom he assembled at *Monte-Major*, and from whom he received as large supplies as he thought fit to desire, and when the assembly rose he went to *Evora* to give the necessary orders for covering the frontier. He was scarce arrived, before Don *Alonso de Cardenas*, a very enterprising *Castilian* officer, advanced towards the city, with two thousand lances. The prince had no troops to oppose him, and the people were equally terrified for his danger and their own. Where force is wanting, fraud is lawful in war. The prince sent him a message, that if he would have a little patience he would meet him in the field. Don *Alonso* answered, that he did not know that the prince was so near; but since he was, he would come and pay his respects to him. The prince perceiving this artifice had failed, ordered Don *Garcia de Meneses* to sally with three hundred horse, which was all he had in the place, in the night, to advance some miles towards the enemy, and to traverse all the great road till morning, and then to return. When Don *Alonso de Cardenas* came with his infantry near the city, and perceived the track of so many horses, he concluded that the prince had received a great reinforcement of cavalry, and thereupon retired^e. The prince having put all things into the best order possible, returned to *Lisbon*, and from thence went to *Santaren*, where he received his father's letters; and by the advice of the prelates, and principal nobility of the kingdom, caused himself to be proclaimed king, on the tenth of *November*. On the fifteenth of the same month, the king Don *Alonso* arrived in the river of *Lisbon*^b. It is said, that Don *Juan* was walking by the side of the *Tagus*, with the duke of *Bragança* and the archbishop of *Lisbon*, when he received this news. He asked those lords hastily how he should receive him. As your father and your king, sir, said the duke of *Bragança*^d. Don *Juan* kept a profound silence for some minutes, and then taking up a flat stone skimmed it with all his force into the river. That stone, said the archbishop softly to the duke of *Bragança*, shall never break my head, and from that moment meditated his retreat to *Rome*^k. When he had recovered himself a little, Don *Juan* went to meet his father, and received him not only with all the marks of respect, but with all the testimonies of joy and satisfaction imaginable. Don *Alonso* was sensible of his mistake, and desired to retain only the title of king of *Algarve*; but Don *Juan* answered, there could not be two kings in *Portugal*, and his majesty being there, there could be none but him^l. His succeeding conduct fully justified the sincerity of these warm expressions.

As soon as Don *Alonso* resumed the government, he laboured to renew the war with *Castile*, and endeavoured by all means possible to draw new friends to his party in that kingdom, instead of those who had deserted him. In this manner the war was kept up for two years, during which space the Pope annulled his own dispensation, and declared the marriage between Don *Alonso* and his niece void, which, however, was never concluded. At length the state of affairs so requiring, and the prince Don *Juan* shewing a visible dislike to the war, and the measures necessary to continue it, the king by the interposition of Donna *Beatrix*, duchess of *Viseo*, entered into a negotiation, which, after it had hung a little time, at length ended in a peace, on terms which have been already specified in the history of *Castile*, and which therefore it is unnecessary to repeat. It may not, however, be amiss to observe, that the *Portuguese* writers expressly affirm, that Donna *Joanna* of *Castile* so much resented the terms made for her in that treaty, by which she was to wait for a husband till the son of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* was of age to marry, who might even then refuse her upon paying a certain sum of money, that she chose to take the veil at once, and went of her own accord into the monastery of *St. Clara* at *Coimbra*^m. Before the peace was ratified, in which the king and queen of *Castile* abandoned their pretensions to *Guiney*, their subjects sent a fleet thither of thirty sail, which in its return was intercepted by the *Portuguese*, and every ship taken, their cargoes being of immense value, which, with some other cross accidents, procured the conclusion and ratification of the peace which had been so long deferredⁿ.

* ALONSO DE PALENCIA, FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVIL. LE CLEDE, ED. NUNEZ, DAMIAN GOES, FERR.

^l HERNANDO DE PULGAR, ALONSO DE PALENCIA, DU CLOS, P. DANIEL, PIERRE MATHIEU, DUPLEIX, MEZERAY, FARIA Y SOUSA.

^h LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.

^g ALONSO DE PALENCIA, RUY DE PINA, DAMIAN GOES, FERR.

ⁱ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL. FARIA.

^j RUY DE PINA, GOES, VASCONCEL.

^k VASCONCEL. LA NEUFVIL. LE CLEDE.

^m FARIA Y SOUSA, NEUFVILLE.

ⁿ HERNANDO DE PULGAR, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS.

Don Alonso is
assiduous in his
endeavours to
leave his do-
minions in
peace.

ABOUT the time that the unfortunate Donna Joanna took the veil, the king Don Alonso fell extremely ill, and upon his recovery, seeing the plague break out in his dominions, by which multitudes of people were destroyed, he fell into a profound melancholy. In this condition he meditated a second resignation, and at the same time told his son that he had two great ends in view, when he consented to resume the crown; the first was, putting a period to the war with Castile; and the latter, reconciling him to the house of Bragança, which he looked upon as a point of no less importance^o. It is not very clear how this enmity between the prince and duke arose. Some say, that the duke could never digest the death of Don Pedro, duke of Coimbra; and that he kept by him the bloody shirt in which that prince was killed, which was given him by his aunt: but surely if this had been the case, his pique would have been against the father rather than the son. Others assert, that the prince resented the duke's chiding him for making his addresses to Donna Agnes de Mendoza, who was maid of honour to the infanta Donna Joanna. It is, however more than probable that the true, or at least the principal cause, was the supposed attachment of the duke to the family of Castile, to which he was nearly allied^p. The king took great pains to persuade his son that these suspicions were injurious, at the same time assuring him that his regard for the duke of Bragança arose from his finding him always faithful and always sincere. It seems this did not make any great impression upon Don Juan, who though perhaps not displeased with his father's disposition to resign, yet strongly opposed his intention to retire to a convent, being desirous of receiving his advice, and of having him always near. Some say^q, that Don Alonso called an assembly of the states, in which with great solemnity he devolved the government upon his son: but others with more probability assert, that having acquainted his son with his sentiments, he privately retired with an intention to go to the monastery of St. Antonio de Varatojo, which he had chosen for his retreat; but arriving at Cintra he was seized with the plague, and died there on the twenty-eighth of August, 1481, in the forty-ninth year of his age^r, and in the forty-third of his reign (G). As he was exceedingly beloved, he was deeply and universally regretted by his subjects, who saw with some concern the entrance of a new reign, which they apprehended would be of another complexion; for as benignity and affability were the characteristics of Don Alonso's disposition, so strictness and rigid punctuality were very manifest in the humour of his successor, who expected from all that profound deference and submission, and that prompt and ready obedience, which he had upon all occasions shewn to his father.

The accession of
Don Juan II.
and the spirit
shewn by him
upon his ac-
cession.

DON Juan the second, surnamed by some *the Great*^s, but by most of the Portuguese historians *the Perfect*^t, ascended the throne in the twenty-seventh year of his age. He began his reign with celebrating the funeral of his father with great pomp; and he executed his will in all respects with the utmost exactness. He went still farther: he enquired after those servants who, through mistake, want of memory, or ill offices done them, were omitted in the will,

^o FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVIL.
FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUF. ZUR TA Annal. Arragon.
GARIBAY, DAMIAN DE GOES. ^r E. NUNEZ, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF, LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR.
MARIANA, TURQUET. ^s FARIA Y SOUSA. ^t Vida y hechos del principe perfetto D. Juan II.
Rey de Portugal, por CARISTOVAL FERREIRA Y SAMPAYO, 4^o Madrid, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL. Histoire
generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 487.

^p HERNANDO DE PULGAR, FERR. LE CLEDE,
^q HERNANDO DE PULGAR, ESTEVAN DE
^r HERNANDO DE PULGAR, FERR. LE CLEDE,
^s FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUF. ZUR TA Annal. Arragon.
^t Vida y hechos del principe perfetto D. Juan II.
^u FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUF. ZUR TA Annal. Arragon.

(G) This monarch was very graceful in his person, though somewhat bulky; wore his beard thick and long; his hair was of a dark brown, and his complexion ruddy; very courteous in his manners, and became gradually dearer to his people the longer he reigned. He was very bountiful, some writers say, he carried this a little too far; remarkably temperate in eating and sleeping; still more so in regard to women, since we find no imputation upon his chastity, though he became a widower in the very flower of his age (6). He was himself a man of letters, and a great pattern of learning. He invited one *Justus*, a learned Italian, into Portugal, and bestowed upon him a bishoprick, that he might encourage him to write a compleat history of Portugal; but he died before he made any progress in this undertaking; and which was worse, the collection from records of the most authentic memoirs, which were put into his hands, are said to have been dissipated and lost (7). This king Don Alonso is said to have been singularly happy, in being equally beloved by the nobility and the commons. As to the misfortunes which befel him in the latter part of his life

and reign, the superstitious, which, generally speaking, make the bulk of the nation in every country, attributed them to his injustice to his niece Donna Joanna of Castile, whom he never married, though the contrary is affirmed (8) by some. Yet these interpreters might have considered that he was prosperous in all his undertakings, till he embraced her cause; that in support of it, he wasted the treasures and the troops of Portugal; and that he did not desert it till, through despair, he first deserted his crown; so that the grounds of their interpretation are none of the clearest; and though that princess was certainly as proper an object of compassion, yet why this should not be also extended to Don Alonso, under as hard circumstances, is not easy to understand; and for this very reason we ought, in points like this, to form no conclusion. Modern writers, indeed, are less to blame in this particular than those who wrote in the preceding centuries, who very often warped their relations of what passed in this world, that they might the better reconcile them to their own constructions of divine justice.

(6) Vasconcellos, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, de la Neufville, Le Clede.
Lusit. Vasconcellos de la Neufville.

(8) Faria y Sousa, Mayerne Turquet, Le Clede.

(6) Resend. Antiq.

a and rewarded them as if he had received his father's verbal instructions, as indeed he made a long journey in a short space of time, that he might attend and serve his father in his last moments". He caused the stone and wood-work of a large and commodious fort to be prepared at *Lisbon*, and sent a small squadron, with five hundred soldiers and a hundred masons on board, who, before the negroes well knew what they were about, constructed the fortress of *St. George del Mina*, and thereby secured that coast". He did other things that were not considered by all people in the same light. A person who had been very dear to him in his youth brought him a promise he had given him under his hand to make him a count. He looked upon it gravely, tore it, and said to the man, "I shall forget there was such a paper." He added a minute after, "Such as corrupt the minds of young princes, and by becoming the instruments of their pleasures extract from them promises that ought not to be performed, should consider it as a favour that they are not punished". He called an assembly of the states in the month of *November*, in which the duke of *Bragança* for the nobility, the deputies of *Lisbon* for the cities, and those of *Santaren* for the towns in *Portugal*, did him homage. He proposed and caused to be enacted many good laws; and he appointed commissaries to go into all parts of the kingdom to see that they were executed. He rewarded liberally; he punished severely; but he first reprimanded sharply. He said to an indolent and corrupt judge, but a man of parts, "Take care, friend, I hear you keep your hands open and your doors shut." He took the king's caution, and became an excellent judge. He ordered the nobility to exhibit their charters and grants, that it might be known upon what foundation their privileges stood, and particularly their exorbitant jurisdictions. He directed criminals to be seized wherever they could be found. The great lords said, this was a breach of their immunities: the king answered, that an immunity against justice was an absurdity, and that the king who made such a grant never intended it".

THE whole nobility of the kingdom were disturbed by these proceedings, and began to consider how they might stop the progress of them. The duke of *Bragança* was at the head of this design, which he carried so far as to demand the protection and conclude a treaty with *Don Ferdinand* king of *Castile* and *Arragon*. A person employed in transcribing his writings, found the copies of the duke's letters, and this treaty in the duke's archives, and carried them to the king, who ordered him to transcribe and then replace them". Some time after, when he had the duke in his power, he expostulated this matter with him, and told him, that he meant to observe the laws himself, and therefore he saw no reason to exempt others from obedience; that this was for the good of the people in general, and would strengthen the power of the nobility by augmenting the number of their vassals, and increasing their revenues. He told him what papers he had seen; but, duke, said he, "I can forgive, let me see that you can forget." Some time after, he found him involved in practices of a like nature: he caused him to be arrested at *Evora*, brought him to a public trial, and in consequence of that, to a public execution". The duchess of *Bragança*, though the queen's sister, retired immediately into *Castile*, with her three sons. The marquis de *Monte-Mayor*, and the count de *Faro*, brothers to the deceased duke, were also declared traitors, and their estates confiscated"; but it is remarkable, that *Don Ferdinand* king of *Castile*, did not interfere; and some say the king of *Portugal* wrote him a letter, in which he told him he would find it more for his interest to have his friendship than that of his nobility. But after the death of the duke he did interpose, though ineffectually, on behalf of the duchess and her children.

WE must acknowledge, that this was one of those great strokes in government, of which it is not very easy to say whether it deserves condemnation or praise. The nobility thought themselves injured, and believed they had a right of self-defence. The duke of *Bragança*, who was at the head of them, and who, in point of estate, was little inferior to the king, felt his diminution the most, and was therefore the most piqued. Whatever his intrigues were with the court of *Castile*, he never looked upon himself as a rebel, because he meant to take nothing from the king, but barely to defend the privileges of the nobles. On the other hand, the king looked upon those privileges as visibly injurious to the public welfare, and as usurpations upon his prerogative. Yet he was no admirer of prerogative; for in the assembly at *Evora*, he declared, that the welfare of the nation was the point to be respected, and that the palace was no sanctuary for criminals. He gave other instances of this: his judges confiscated estates to his use; he would say to them very graciously, I hope you have done right; but when they decided in favour of the subject, he would say, with apparent marks of joy, I know you have done well, and sometimes made them presents. After all, it was a struggle between the regal and aristo-

^a FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

Annal Arragon, GARCIA DE RESENDO de vida del Rey D. Juan ho Segundo de Portugal, fol. FERREIRA Y SAMPAYO, MARIANA, TURQUET.

Historia de España, part xi. § xv.

^w FERR. Historia de España, part xi. § xv.

^y FARIA Y SOUSA.

^z FERR. part xi. § xv.

^x LA NEUF.

^a ZURITA

^b LA NEUF. FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, FERR.

cratical parts of the constitution, which the king managed with great sagacity and firmness, but which was not followed by the effects which he expected. Soon after the duke's death, he made a tour with the queen into the northern parts of his dominions, in order to see that the regulations, made in the assembly of the states, were carried into execution; and after this was done, he returned to *Santaren*, that he might have an eye to the commerce of *Africa*, which, through his care and attention, became every day more considerable^c. The court of *Rome* having some dispute with this prince, he gave the Pope to understand, that he never intended to invade the privileges of the clergy; but that he was fully resolved they should not extend them. Upon sifting this matter to the bottom, the fault was found to lie in cardinal *da Cunha*, whom the king reprimanded so roundly that there it ended^d.

Conspiracy of
the young duke
of Viseo dis-
covered, and
himself killed
by the king.

It was not long after his coming back from *Santaren*, that he was informed by the brother of a young woman, with whom the bishop of *Evora* had an intrigue, that the young duke of *Viseo*, brother to the queen, had embarked in a design against his life. This business was so perplexed and embarrassed, that the king found himself more than once in the hands of the conspirators, from whom he escaped only by his address, and by the assistance of *Vasco Coutigno*, to whom the conspiracy had been discovered by his brother. At length, under pretence of amusement, having drawn the duke of *Viseo* to the court, then at *Setybal*, he took him aside, and charged him with the wicked design in which he was embarked. What passed between them is not very clear; but it is certain the king stabbed him dead at his feet. Some say, that he addressed him with these words, "Brother, what would you do with a man that had conspired against your life?" The duke answering, "I would kill him first if I could;" the king replied, "Die then by your own sentence," and so struck him to the heart with his dagger. When he was down the king said, "Go your ways to the duke of *Bragança*, tell him the issue of his contrivances, and the fate of his fellow traitors." This occasioned a prodigious tumult; but it was quickly calmed by the king's presence, who avowed what he had done, and told the people that the rest of the conspirators were apprehended^e. These were left to the severity of the law, and were condemned upon full proofs. The bishop of *Evora* was thrown into a foul cistern, in the fortress of *Palma*, and there, as some say, eaten by vermin^f. His brother, *Don Ferdinand de Meneses*, and *Pedro de Albuquerque*, were beheaded. *Gutiero Coutigno* was imprisoned in the castle of *Avis*. *Lopez de Albuquerque* made his escape to one of his castles, and his wife, who was the sister of cardinal *da Cunha*, began to raise troops. The king sent her word, that though her husband had fought his, he did not thirst for his blood; and that their whole family might go into *Castile* if they pleased, which offer they very thankfully embraced^g. The king then sent for *Don Emanuel*, the brother of the duke of *Viseo*, to court. *Diego de Silva*, his governor, brought him with fear and trembling. The king received him very kindly, and after embracing him, told him the whole story of his brother's conspiracy; then added, "By his treason the estates of your family are escheated to the crown. The towns of *Mouro* and *Serpa* stand on the frontiers of *Castile*, and are well fortified. I doubt these circumstances might contribute to suggest ill thoughts to your brother. Except these, for which I will give you more than an equivalent, I restore you his whole succession. I make you grand-master of the order of Christ, and constable of *Portugal*. All I desire of you is, forget that you had a brother, and remember that you are my son^h." At this time the king meditated an expedition into *Barbary*, upon this principle, that he thought his possessions there insecure unless they were extended. As some preparations were made for this expedition in his ports, the *Moors*, who inhabited the town and district of *Azemor*, revolted, and offered to submit to the king of *Portugal*, if he would suffer them to live according to their own laws, and in the practice of their own religion; to which he assented, and received from their deputies the keys of the city upon those termsⁱ.

The great wisdom of the
king's conduct
in regard to
Ferdinand of
Castile.

The next year the king thought fit to send an embassy to their catholic majesties *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, in which he acted with great policy; for he communicated to them all the proceedings against the duke of *Bragança*, and the late conspirators, as to his principal friends and allies, which exceedingly disconcerted the malcontents at home, who had placed all their hopes in the protection of that court. *Don Ferdinand* himself, though the greatest politician of that age, was surprised, as expecting rather an expostulation. His affairs, however, requiring the friendship of *Portugal*, and his army in the war of *Granada* being distressed for ammunition, he resolved to try how far it might be depended upon by demanding a supply from king *John*, who sent more than was asked, and with such speed,

^c Vida y acciones del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, por Don AUGUSTIN, MANUEL Y VASCONCELLOS, GARCÍAS DE RESENDE, LA NEUF. LE CLEDE. ^d FARIA Y SOUSA, CHRISTOVAL FERREIRA Y SAMPAYO.

^e De rebus gestis Joannis II. Lusitanorum regis, autore EMANUELE TELLESIO SYLVIO Marchione Alegretensi, VASCONCEL. FERR. Historia de España, part xi. § xv. MARIANA, TURQUET, LA NEUF. ^f FARIA Y SOUSA. ^g VASCONCEL. LE CLEDE, LA NEUF. EMANUEL TELLEZ.

^h GARCÍAS DE RESENDE, VASCONCEL. FERR. ⁱ FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

a that their majesties sent a solemn ambassie to give him thanks*. Some *French* corsairs having taken four *Venetian* gallies, and set their crews ashore naked at the mouth of the river of *Lisbon*, the king ordered them to be cloathed and fed, and sent them withal such a sum of money, by way of alms, that they ransomed their gallies, and returned home, which brought an ambassie from the republic, to return him thanks and to desire his alliance¹. He began now to add to his titles that of lord of *Guiney*, from whence he drew vast riches, as well as from the resort of vessels of different nations, unto the haven of *Portugal*, where, under colour of royal generosity, and a seeming ignorance of its consequence, he established a kind of a free-port, exceedingly beneficial to his subjects; and indeed, if we may credit what some writers report, there have been very few kings who had so much knowlege in respect to commerce as he; and who, notwithstanding, disclosed it so little; for it seems he considered it as the most lucrative branch of policy, and was rather more tender of secrets in trade than secrets of state. The reader will probably expect some proofs of this, and they shall be furnished (H). In cases of this nature they ought not to be omitted, because, in the first place, they banish incertainty, and next, they are of much use.

A. D. 1486.

b It was the king's humour, like that of many of his predecessors, not to have any settled place of residence, but to pass his time as the seasons invited, or as his occasions required; now in one place and then in another: but wherever he came, he took care that his having been there should never be forgot. *Setubal*, or, as we commonly call it, *St. Ubes*, is finely seated, has a most noble fishery, rich salt mines, and a pleasant bay before it, as well as a good port; yet it made no great figure, because the water about it was none of the best. The king advised them to bring water from some distance, by an aqueduct; but the inhabitants excused themselves by saying they were not rich, and intimated they were heavily taxed. King *John* took off half of their taxes, and made them a present of the other half, for a fund to raise the aqueduct. After some progress, they told the king it was impossible for them to go on: to which he very calmly answered, then I must. He finished the aqueduct: and the great trade of the place soon justified the measures taken by the king to remove this obstacle^m. The principal reason that brought the king thither was to fit out a fleet against the *Moors*, under the command of *Don Diego de Almeyda*. It consisted of about thirty sail, with fifteen hundred soldiers on board, and was intended for a secret expedition, which, through various accidents, he found himself unable to execute, and therefore landed his men in the port of *Anafe*; and falling upon an army of the *Moors*, who were in the neighbourhood, unexpectedly killed nine hundred, and made four hundred prisoners. The king being informed that these *Moors* were in rebellion against *Muley Beljave*, king of *Fez*, he sent an ambassador to him to let him know that this armament was made for his service,

His policy and vigilance in other respects, and what great effects they produced.

* HERNANDO DE PULGAR, LA NEUF.

1 CHRIST. FERR. Y SAMPAYO, RESENDE, LE CLEDE.

m EMANUEL TELLEZ, RESENDE, VASCONCEL. FERR.

(H) If we should enter only into the detail of this prince's policy, in regard to commerce, it would require more space than we have assigned to his whole reign. We shall, therefore, only give a few great instances for the reader's information and satisfaction. He allowed only women to wear silk, silver, and precious stones. Some of his counsel objected to this, as a restriction prejudicial to trade; to which he answered, "You are mistaken. If one half of my subjects are luxurious, they will find work enough for the other." He coined a great deal of money, and was very correct in the weight and fineness. In order to increase his revenue, he took away one half of the duties at the port of *Lisbon*, which effectually answered his purpose, and drew thither the trade from *Galicia* and *Andalusia*. He magnified the dangers of voyages to *Guiney*: according to his accounts, every quarter of the moon produced a tempest; the shores were all covered by the rocks; the countries barren, and inhabited by man-eaters; a particular kind of vessel, built only in *Portugal*, was absolutely necessary to navigate those seas; and of these, if three out of five returned, it was a great mercy. By these stories other nations were deterred from this navigation till the *Portuguese* were settled upon the coast. A seaman, who had been more than once at *Guiney*, and having reported that any ship might sail thither as well as a caravel, the king sent for him, and reprimanded him publicly as an impudent ignorant fellow, who talked of things he did not understand. Some months after he appeared at court, and said, that being obstinate in his own opinion, he had made a trial, and found it indeed impracticable. The king smiled, sent for him

privately, gave him a sum of money, bid him stick to his story, and find plausible reasons for it. Three seamen attempting to go into *Castile*, with proposals upon this subject, he caused them to be pursued by people, who killed two upon the spot, and brought the third back to *Evora*, where he was broke upon the wheel. He was told the sailors murmured at this: "So much the better, said the king, let every man stick to his element, I do not like travelling seamen." When *Cano*, who discovered the kingdom of *Congo*, told him the country was rich in gold, but they would not shew him the mines, "Never look for them, said the king, treat the people with tenderness, deal with them justly, and carry them what they like; you will then get what those mines produce, without digging in them." When the *French* restored the caravel they had taken, there was nothing missing but a parrokete: he refused, however, to release the *French* ships till the bird was brought to *Lisbon*. At which, when some expressed astonishment, "I would have it understood, said the king, that the flag of *Portugal* shall protect even a parrokete." He was more exact than any man in his dominions in obeying the laws; and when in some instances his courtiers thought this trivial, he said, "You do me wrong, the thing may be trivial, but my example is ever of importance." He was very affable and courteous to such as approached him; yet would sometimes alter his behaviour, and treat them coldly; but he qualified this by saying, "It is fit I should do this sometimes, that the people may not hate you for being favourites."

which he received with great respect, and promised to give his brother of *Portugal* any marks ^a that were in his power of his gratitude, for a favour, which in effect he never received ^a. He also obtained from Pope *Innocent* the eighth, a bull for levying the duties known by the name of the croifade, to defray the expences of his war with the infidels; but perhaps he paid more for it than it was worth, since, at the request of the pontiff, he abolished the custom of revising and confirming the Pope's bulls, by the parliament, before they could be executed in *Portugal* ^o. About this time he sent Don *Pedro Covillan*, and Don *Alonso Payva*, to penetrate into the eastern countries by land; to send him an account of their discoveries, and to learn as distinctly as possible the principal commodities of those countries, and from whence they came. It was by this well judged expedient, and by the diligence shewn by these two gentlemen in the execution of it, that the king stood indebted for the finding a new passage ^b to the *East-Indies* by sea. But with all his circumspection and great abilities, he refused the supplies necessary for executing his project to *Christopher Columbus*, who thereupon applied himself to queen *Isabella*, at the siege of *Granada*, which procured to their Catholic majesties their empire over the new world ^p.

By what means he prevailed upon Ferdinand and Isabella to comply with their treaty, and to marry the infant Isabella to the prince of Portugal. As the house of *Bragança* were now exiles in *Castile*, and could not be supposed to render any services to king *John* and his affairs, in their reports of him to their catholic majesties; and as there were many crowned heads who were desirous of allying themselves to so powerful a crown, by the marriage of Donna *Isabella* or *Elizabeth*, into their families, they began gradually to let fall the design of giving this infanta to Don *Alonso*, prince of *Portugal*. King *John*, who looked upon that marriage as a point of great consequence, caused several places ^c upon the frontiers of *Castile* to be repaired and fortified; and having put good garrisons into them, he began to construct a large and strong fortress at *Olivencia*. When he had thus alarmed them sufficiently, he sent an embassy to their catholic majesties, in which he gave them to understand, that he had put all the ports and fortresses throughout his kingdom into the best state of defence possible, and had adorned and improved the great cities in his kingdom, which he presumed would be acceptable to their majesties, as their daughter would one day share the throne of *Portugal*, and reap the benefit of all his labours. In the mean time he carried on his scheme with so much diligence, that the works of *Olivencia* were completely finished; and the state of their affairs not allowing them to take another resolution, Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Isabella* settled, with the best grace they could, the time and ^d other circumstances relative to the marriage ^a. His success in *Africa* was by no means answerable to this. He had a mind to build a very strong fort at the mouth of the river *Larache*; and in order thereto sent a fleet with forces, to surprize the town of *Graciosa*, which they performed; but they no sooner began to fortify it, than *Muley*, king of *Fez*, came down with an army of forty thousand horse, and invested it. The Christians, though the works were not half finished, defended themselves gallantly, and king *John* had once some thoughts of passing the sea in person for its relief; but the king of *Fez* proposing that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, it was accepted. To balance this, there arrived a great number of ships richly laden from *Guiney*, which enabled and encouraged the king to augment his naval force, and to make great preparations in *Algarve* for another ^e expedition ^f, the conquest of the whole coast being the object of his ambition.

Celebration of that marriage, and unfortunate death of that young prince. As soon as king *John* was informed that the infanta Donna *Isabella* of *Castile* was set out from *Seville*, in order to enter his dominions, he appointed Don *Emanuel*, duke of *Beja*, to go with some of the principal nobility to receive her, on her passing the *Zaya*, which is the boundary between the two kingdoms. This ceremony was performed on the twenty-second of *November*, and the infanta conducted to the city of *Evora*, where her marriage with the prince Don *Alonso* was celebrated with much greater eclat than any thing of that kind had ever been, and a long train of feasts and diversions were fixed for six months to come ^g. In the month of *May* the court removed to *Santaren*, where all possible preparations had been made to render one of the pleasantest places in the world a perfect paradise; jousts, bull-feasts, and other spectacles took up the day; and the evenings were either spent in sailing on the river *Tagus*, or in viewing the vessels that passed thereon, adorned with flags and streamers, and in dark nights illuminated with flambeaux, and listening to the excellent bands of music on board them. These scenes of joy, which had suffered some check by the death of the king's sister, the infanta Donna *Joanna*, and by the breaking out of the plague at *Lisbon*, were entirely overcast on the twelfth of *July*, when the prince, riding a short race with Don *Juan de Meneses*, his horse fell with him at full speed, and wounded him in so terrible a manner, that though he lived till the next day, yet he never recovered his senses. As this melancholy accident happened in the sight of his parents, and of his consort, it threw the court into the

^a RESENDE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUF.

DE PULGAR, FERR. MARIANA. TURQUET.

TURQUET, RESENDE, EMANUEL TELLEZ, LA NEUF. FERR.

^o PULGAR, CHRISTOVAL FERREIRA Y SAMPAYO, VASCONC.

^o FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

^g HERNANDO DE PULGAR, BERNALDEZ, MARIANA,

^f FARIA Y SOUSA, VASCONC.

a deepest melancholy possible^c. The king caused the body to be removed to the monastery of *Batalha*, went thither afterwards himself in the month of *August*, to assist at a funeral office for his son; after which his grief seized him in such a manner, that he shut himself up whole days, till, by the advice of his physicians, a natural son of his, named *George*, whom he had by *Donna Agnes de Mendoza*, was brought to him, and who, by degrees, allayed his sorrow. But as minds under the dominion of passion are liable to very sudden changes, so it was not long before the king laboured to persuade his consort to receive this boy into her favour, and treat him as if he had been her own son; and though, till that time, she had been of all wives the most dutiful, yet in this point she would never yield in the least, as apprehending it might prejudice the just claim of her brother *Don Emanuel*, duke of *Beja*, who was now become the presumptive successor of the dominions of *Portugal*^a. A. D. 1491.

In the beginning of the succeeding year, the king returned to *Lisbon*, where he laid the foundation of one of the most magnificent hospitals in *Europe*. He likewise erected a new convent for the canoneses of the order of *St. James*, at the head of which he placed *Donna Agnes de Mendoza*, the mother of his son *George*; for whom he still retained the greatest tenderness possible; and notwithstanding that he had felt the pulse of the states, when they sent a committee to condole with him on the death of the prince, yet he could not totally relinquish all hopes of procuring him the succession. To pave the way for his entire legitimation, he obtained a bull to capacitate him to hold the grand-mastership of *St. James*, and the order of *Avis*, which he bestowed upon him, though a child; but when he would have proceeded farther, and pressed *Pope Alexander* the sixth to remove, as far as it was in his power, the defect in his son's birth, he had not only the mortification to find his proposal rejected in a full consistory; but to be told that the thing was impracticable, because it would be an act of injustice towards the duke of *Beja*, the queen *Donna Isabella* of *Castile*, and other princes and princesses of the royal blood^b. The king then saw plainly, that the opposition on this side was too strong to be vanquished. He endeavoured, however, by his own indulgence, to make some amends for the inflexibility of the court of *Rome*, and to the great offices he had already bestowed on his son *George*, he added the rich priory of *Crato*; which put him at the head of the order of *Malta* in his dominions^c. These indications of the king's favour, joined to the address of a very accomplished governor, and the advantage of a plentiful revenue, did not fail to raise a party, though it was but a small one, in favour of the king's darling; which disgusted *Don Emanuel*, duke of *Beja*, to such a degree, that partly through fear, and partly through chagrin, he thought proper to quit the court, and retire to his own estate. But notwithstanding the king's thoughts were thus occupied, he gave various instances of attention to the public interest, and of the firmness of his mind where-ever that was concerned. He made several excellent laws, reformed many abuses, and vindicated the honour of his crown in a very remarkable instance. Some *French* corsairs had taken a *Portuguese* caravel from *Guiney*, very richly laden: of which he was no sooner informed, than he gave orders to *Don Vasco de Gama* to make prizes of all the *French* ships he could, and to seize all that were in the ports of *Portugal*; which amounted to ten. The *French* monarch, *Charles*, was no sooner acquainted with what had happened^d, and the cause of it, than he directed the caravel to be restored untouched, and made an apology for what had happened.

Upon the edict which banished the *Jews* out of the dominions of their catholic majesties, many of them, some say, an incredible multitude, retired into *Portugal*; which it is supposed the king permitted for the sake of the immense wealth they brought with them; but some inconveniencies being felt, and many more pretended from their stay in the kingdom, they were ordered to retire in eight months^e. The queen falling ill at *Setabal*, the king went thither in great haste, and remained with her, as the duke of *Beja* and the duchess of *Bragança* likewise did, till she was out of danger^f. Whether it was the fatigue of the journey, his great emotion of mind, or the unwholsomeness of the season, so it was, that the king fell extremely ill; and as several black spots appeared upon his body, a report prevailed that he was poisoned^g. As soon as he was in some measure able to bear the fatigue of the journey, he went to *Evora*, the air of which place he thought agreed better with him than any other. There he caused several experiments to be made for the perfecting mathematical instruments in his presence; conferred with some experienced ship-builders about the different forms of vessels, and gave instructions for building two fortresses, one at *Cascaes*, and the other at *Caparica*, to cover the entrance of the bar of *Lisbon*: so that he might say truly of public affairs, that he made them equally his business and his amusement. His health still declining, he sent for *Alvaro Pacheco* and *Stephen de Barras*, men in whom he had the greatest

The king's endeavours to bring his natural son *George* into the succession.

He is seized with an incurable disease, which is attributed to poison.

1493

^a RESENDE, BERNALDEZ, GARIBAY, PULGAR, FARIA Y SOUSA, EMANUEL TELLEZ, MARIANA, TURQUET, VASCONC. FERR. ^b LA NEUF. LE CLEDE, RESENDE, VASCONC. CHRIST. FERR. Y SAMPAYO. ^c RESENDE, FERR. Y SAMPAYO. ^d FARIA Y SOUSA. VASCONC. ^e P. DANIEL, EMANUEL TELLEZ. ^f GARIBAY, RESENDE, BERNALDEZ, LA NEUF. LE CLEDE, FERR. ^g VASCONC. RESENDE. ^h FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUF.

confidence, and ordered them to restore to the churches the plate, and a certain public fund, which had been taken by his father, to defray the expence of the war with *Castile*. He likewise ordered an enquiry to be made for any debts of his father's, for he had none of his own, and directed them to be paid^c. His punctuality in these matters was highly serviceable, as it rendered it by his example the fashion.

In the midst of his pains and infirmities applies himself to affairs of state.

THE true state of the king's disease, according to the best historians, was a complication of distempers, which at length issued in a dropsy; from which in the beginning of the year he had some relaxation; and some there were about him who began to entertain hopes of his perfect recovery. He would have enjoyed this interval of ease in a higher degree, and perhaps it would have lasted longer, if he had not been vexed by the breaking out of a famine at *Evora*. This was not owing to any scarcity, but to the avarice of some rich men; who taking advantage of the court's being there, and having previously bought up all the corn, kept it at a high rate. The king endeavoured to reduce it by an edict, requiring it to be sold at a just price. The monopolizers, who had as little loyalty as charity, would not sell at all; which provoked the king to a great degree. He shewed, what is rarely seen, his wisdom and his resentment at the same time. He forbid by an edict the buying of corn from any *Portuguese* merchants on pain of death: by the same edict he took off all duties, and gave a bounty on corn brought in by strangers; which produced plenty to the people, and absolutely broke the engrossers^d. At this time *Columbus*, returning from *America*, was forced, with his squadron, into *Portugal*. The king no sooner heard of it, than he sent for him; and though he knew that great man was prejudiced against him, yet he treated him with great generosity and kindness; and protected him from the ill will of some who would have dispatched him^e. The king had so true a love for merit, that when he heard *Silveira*, who was the manager of the duke of *Viseo*'s conspiracy, was come into *Castile*, he said, *Silveira* has so much knowlege, parts, and eloquence, that he will be well received where-ever he is. In the summer he relapsed, and was advised to go into *Algarve*. There he met with *Alonso Silva*, who came as ambassador from king *Ferdinand*, and whose principal business was to inform his master how long the king of *Portugal* might live. The king caused him to be introduced while he was looking at some horses, when striking one of them smartly on the back, "This arm, Don *Alonso*, says he, has still strength enough to fight a battle or two;" and, after a pause of a minute, "against the *Moors*." The *Castilian* easily apprehended the king's meaning, and answered very politely, "My master will be very well pleased with this good news; and yet more pleased when I shall acquaint him, that your majesty's health is grown still better." He demanded afterwards, and obtained a private audience: in which he opened *Ferdinand*'s desire, that the king should enter into the league with *Italy*; for which he offered him many plausible reasons. In answer to this, he gave him a long and full account of the state of things in that country, entered into the characters and views of all the princes engaged on both sides, and concluded with telling him, he had as much ambition as any of them: "but my ambition," said he, is of a different kind. I mean to be a great king as well as they; but I go a shorter road to be a great king: I am for making my own a great nation. For this reason in the vigour of my life I never engaged in any of these alliances: I shall not do it in my decline; but I will be always ready to act as a mediator, and I am the fitter to act in that character as I am totally disinterested. This you may tell your master, which is all you will ever have to tell him; for I am not given to change my resolutions." But when he perceived that *Alonso* did not leave *Portugal*, he ordered him to retire to *Estremos*; where he had him so well watched, that he knew the contents of every dispatch he sent to *Castile*^f.

His anxiety about his son to the last; his death and character.

As king *John* felt in himself a gradual decay, he became more and more uneasy about the succession. He ordered therefore a testament to be drawn, in which he set forth his sentiments on this and on various other topics; but directed a blank to be left for the name of the successor, unable to bear the thoughts of relinquishing his son, and at the same time as unable to devise any probable means for securing to him what he had a mind to leave. At length in a fit of tenderness he ordered his secretary *Antonio de Faria* to fill up the blank with the name of *George*: but that secretary, who was a man of parts and probity, refused to do it. He told him, that it was against justice, and against reason; that the queen, the nobility, and the people, were unanimously for the duke of *Beja*: and that by obeying his commands, *George*, instead of becoming his successor, would become a sacrifice. This was the more extraordinary as *Faria* had a principal hand in the detection of the duke of *Viseo*'s conspiracy, was sure of being disgraced, and not sure of saving his life, on the duke of *Beja*'s succession. His example however determined the king; and having commended his firmness, he ordered him to insert the duke's name in the will^g. He continued to linger long after it was signed; and

^c GARCIA DE RESENDE, CHRIST. FERR. Y SAMPAYO.

^e FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUF, VASCONC. RESENDE.

LE CLEDE, RESENDE,

^d EMAN. TELLEZ, VASCONC. LA NEUF.

^f CHRIST. FERR. Y SAMPAYO, EMAN. TELLEZ,

^g LA NEUF, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, VASCONC. RESENDE.

though

- ^a though he sent for the duke more than once when he drew towards his end, yet, through fear and distrust, he did not arrive till he was dying, or, as some say, till he was dead. He added a codicil, by which he declared his son duke of *Coimbra*, and gave him all the lands and estates of Don *Pedro*, who had formerly enjoyed that title. He demised on the twenty-fifth of *October* 1495, in the fortieth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign, less hated than he had been by the nobility, but admired, and even adored by the people ^b. His device was a pelican feeding her young with her blood, with these words, *Pro lege et grege*, i. e. "For the constitution and the commons ^c." It was truly said of his father and of him, that one was a better man than a king, and the other a better king than a man. He fixed, however, the grandeur of *Portugal*, and left *Vasco de Gama* on the point of sailing for the discovery of the *Indies*. His parts, or rather his abilities, eclipsed those of his predecessors, and in return were eclipsed by the virtues and the fortune of his successor ^d.

^a CHRIST. FERR. Y SAMPAYO, VASCONC. RESENDE, EMAN. TELLEZ, Elogios dos Reis de Portugal, FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUF. LE CLEDE, FERR. TURQUET. ^b LA NEUF. tom. i. p. 626. ^c DAMIAN DE GOES, HIERONYMUS OSORIUS de rebus Emanuelis Regis Lusitaniæ, FERR. LA NEUF. FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA.

S E C T. V.

The reign of Emanuel, surnamed the Fortunate.

- ^c **A**T the time of his accession to the throne, Don *Emanuel* was with the queen his sister at *Alcaçar-do-Sal*, where he caused himself to be proclaimed, as soon as he was assured of the death of his predecessor ^a. He had indeed all the titles that he could wish: he was the next heir by blood: he was recognized as such by the late king in his will: he had the hearts of the nobility, and the voice of the people: he was in the twenty-sixth year of his age; agreeable in his person; courteous in his behaviour; and universally beloved for that generosity which his vast estate enabled him to shew, even in a private condition. He came to the crown, therefore, and entered into the possession of the dominions of *Portugal*, peaceably and without the least opposition, though there was a pretender to the crown, whose claim was never considered by any body but himself. This competitor was the emperor ^d *Maximilian*, whose mother was the sister, as Don *Emanuel's* father was the brother, of the king Don *Alonso*. He pleaded, therefore, that standing exactly in the same degree, he ought to be preferred to the duke of *Beja*, as being an older and a greater man ^b; but this had no manner of weight with the *Portuguese*: on the contrary, they shewed the utmost eagerness in congratulating their new king, who received every body with the greatest kindness; promised much in general, but would not enter into any particular engagements; ordered the body of his deceased predecessor to be transferred to *Silves*, till it could be removed to the royal abbey of *Batalha*; demanded of all the ministers a distinct account of their respective departments, using his private fortune, till whatever regarded the public finances could be adjusted, and neglecting nothing that could spread universal satisfaction, and dispose the bulk of the nation to love him as their benefactor, though they might not reverence and admire him as they did their late king, of whose loss they spoke as a thing that must be endured, though it could never be repaired. In this he succeeded so well, that every thing remained quiet, and the people pleased ^c (A).

ONE

^a LA NEUF. Histoire generale de Portugal, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR. TURQUET. ^b FARIA Y SOUSA. ^c Cronica do felicissimo Rey Don Emanuel, composta per DAMIAN DE GOES.

(A) It will be requisite towards the understanding the history of this reign, to say somewhat of this young prince, before he ascended the throne. He was the grandson of king *Edward*, the nephew of *Alonso* the fifth, and cousin to *John* the second, his predecessor (1). He was the third son of the infant Don *Ferdinand*, duke of *Viseo*, by Donna *Beatrix*, the daughter of the infant Don *Juan* (2). He was born at the castle of *Alchochetti*, May 3, 1469, which fell that year upon a *Thursday*, and the feast of *Corpus Christi*. This young prince being born at the very instant the sacrament passed by the door, it gave occasion to his receiving the name of *Emanuel* or *Manuel* (3). He had an excellent education given him, more especially in *Castile* during the time he remained there as a hostage, upon the conclusion of the peace between their Catholic majesties and king *John* of *Portugal* (4). He returned into his own country about the time the duke of *Bragança* lost his life; and the very next year, his brother being killed by king *John*, he came into the possession of his estates, and by the king's desire assumed the title, not of *Viseo*, but of *Beja* (5). As he grew to man's estate, he discovered the most amiable qualities; his disposition was mild and humane; his temper naturally grave, but

(1) Elogios dos Reis de Portugal. (2) Manuel de Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas. (3) Cronica do felicissimo Rey Don Emanuel, composta por Damian de Goes. (4) Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Ferreras. (5) Hieron. Osorius de rebus Emanuelis Regis Lusitaniæ.

Wise precau-
tions attended
by happy
events.

A. D. 1495.

Restores the
family of Bra-
gança to their
rank, titles,
and estates.

ONE of the first acts of his government was, to call an assembly of the states at *Monte-Mor-o-Novo*, that every thing might have their sanction, and that he might the better judge of the temper of his new subjects. In this assembly a law was made, for appointing commissioners to inquire into the grants of the late king, and the services rendered by those who had obtained them; an augmentation of the number of judges, that justice might be the more speedily and effectually administered; with some others of less importance^d. He gave very early marks of his intention to act on a very different principle from that which had governed king *John*; and this was reviving the power of the nobility, with whose arms, in conjunction with his own, and those of the princes of the blood, he caused his halls and dining rooms to be adorned, that the populace might be gradually drawn to reverence and esteem them: a conduct publicly applauded, but privately disapproved. We have before^b observed, that the *Jews* were admitted into *Portugal* in the late reign, for which they paid a heavy capitation tax; and not being able, or not being willing, to transport themselves abroad within the time given them, had been actually made slaves, and distributed through all *Portugal*, by the command of king *John*. To these afflicted people the king extended his mercy, restored them to their liberty, and fixed a new time for their departure. In gratitude for this favour, they would have given him a sum of money, but Don *Emanuel* very generously refused it^c. Their Catholic majesties, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, sent very early an embassy to compliment the new king, to assure him of their friendship and alliance, and to propose a marriage with the princess *Mary* their daughter. The king treated these ministers with great respect, assured them it was his settled intention to maintain the peace between the^c two nations; but insinuated, that it was time enough to think of marriage; and that when the time came, he would intimate his inclinations to their majesties, who were not ignorant of the meaning of this; and that it respected their daughter *Isabella*^f. Amongst those who came to pay their addresses to the king, came Don *George*, who was presented to him by the grand commander Don *Diego Almeyda*. He was then about fourteen years of age, and had so strong a resemblance to the king his father, that when Don *Emanuel* had looked upon him a little time, he burst out into tears, and promised to do for him all that he could desire or expect^g. The king's behaviour encouraged the nobility; so that many of them who were under great obligations to king *John*, came and kissed his son's hand, which in this country is the highest mark of respect. The youth received them with great dignity, and expressed the^d same affection and obedience to the king, as if he had been his son, and had the like honours paid him as in the former reign. The king likewise sent his ambassadors to foreign princes, caused supplies and recruits to be transported into *Barbary*, and had the satisfaction of learning that the revolt had been happily suppressed there, and a great victory gained over the *Moors*, which he looked upon as a fair omen of the succeeding glories of his reign^h. His subjects had the same opinion, and a general satisfaction was diffused through the state.

As the plague continued at *Lisbon*, the king, as well for the sake of pleasure as for the preservation of his health, went to *Setubal*, where he met with his mother and his two sisters, who pressed him very warmly to restore the family of *Bragança* to his favour and their estates, to which he consented. This was far from being universally pleasing, though the king took all possible measures to prevent its giving just offence; for he gave those who were benefited by the forfeitures of this family, equivalents with which they were fully satisfied, and assured

^d LA NEUF. LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA, VASCONC. FERR. Emanuelis Regis Lusitanæ, DAMIAN DE GOES, TURQUET. DE GOES, OSORIUS, FERR. MARIANA.

^e FARIA Y SOUSA.

^f HIERONYMUS OSORIUS de rebus ZURITA Annal. Arragon. DAMIAN DE GOES, FERR.

accompanied with an agreeable sweetness and easy affability. He was extremely punctual in every thing, rose rather before day, and after he had performed his devotions, dispatched whatever business he had to do, and then diverted himself in hunting, shooting, or tennis. He was magnificent in his house, and very elegant in his table; but at the same time very temperate, abstaining wholly from wine⁽⁶⁾. He loved music and conversation, more especially as to the mathematical sciences, travels, voyages, and discoveries, which induced the king, who really loved him more for his personal qualities than for his near relation to him, to give him, by way of augmentation to his arms, a sphere, which he made use of ever after as his impress, and placed it over his arms when he was king⁽⁷⁾. It might

be accounted the first instance of his good fortune, that he was not born heir to the crown; and, perhaps, the situation in which he lived, during the reign of his cousin, was another great advantage, as it obliged him to live cautiously, and very much within bounds. It had, however, no bad effect upon his manners; he was rather serene than serious, and very far from declining any innocent diversion⁽⁸⁾. He was circumspect, without being suspicious, very grateful and just, rewarding all services that were done him, and providing for all who attended him in any capacity. In fine, free from any apparent vice, at an age when follies are most excusable; and with all this regularity in himself, very far from being severe to others⁽⁹⁾.

⁽⁶⁾ Damian de Goes, Hieron. Osorius de rebus Emanuelis, Faria y Sousa, Mayerne Turquet.

⁽⁹⁾ Damian de Goes, Osorius, Faria y Sousa.

⁽⁷⁾ Osorius, Vasconcellos, ⁽⁸⁾ Elégios dos Reis de Portugal, Faria y Sousa.

a his council he did not do it with a view of throwing any imputation on his predecessor's justice, but from a persuasion, that children ought not to suffer for the offences of their parents. Some of his ministers took the liberty of representing, that he not only acted contrary to the maxims of his predecessor, but impoverished the crown to purchase an estate for those he recalled; that he administered fuel to factions and discontents; and that the nobility, encouraged by this act of clemency, would begin afresh to persecute and oppress the common people. But the influence of the ladies prevailed; and Don *Diego* duke of *Bragança*, was fully reinstated in his titles and fortune¹. The king was likewise desirous of recalling cardinal *da Costa* from *Rome*, where he had resided during the reign of king *John*, notwithstanding, that under that of his father he had been in great credit. At first he listened to the king's
b proposition, and had some thoughts of returning to his native country; but upon mature deliberation, he acquainted the king, that he should be able to render him more service where he was, and that his infirmities made it very inconvenient for him to leave *Rome*^k. Don *Alvaro*, uncle to the duke of *Bragança*, was employed by the king to negotiate his marriage with the princess dowager of *Portugal*, *Donna Isabella*, either because *Emanuel* was enamoured of her, or because he judged it probable she might become the heiress of *Castile* and *Aragon*, and consequently his issue by her, possessors of all *Spain*, and the most powerful monarchs in *Europe*. But the first is the more probable opinion, though it coincided with the latter. A. D. 1496.

Don *Ferdinand* and *Donna Isabella* seemed very well inclined to this marriage, from which, *Espous. Donna Isabella, who becomes heiress of the crowns of Castile and Arragon.*
c however, they thought to draw this advantage, that to purchase their daughter, Don *Emanuel* should enter into a league with them against *Charles* the eighth, king of *France*; but the king, though very desirous of a wife, would not purchase her upon such terms, because there had been always a good correspondence between the two crowns, and the *Portuguese* were great gainers by their commerce; but he went so far as to promise, that if the *French* king should act offensively, and enter *Spain* with an army, he would assist their majesties to expel them. He was not so much upon his guard against the lady, who pretended that she had an utter aversion to *Portugal*, from the grief that she had sustained there; that to marry a second time was beneath a princess of her rank; and that she could not give her hand to one who was a protector of the *Jews*^l. The wiser and better part of the council opposed this, as
d a measure that would be detrimental to the state, as well as inconsistent with the king's own promise to these unhappy people. Don *Emanuel* was desirous of pleasing both parties. By a new edict he gave the *Jews* leave to depart within a certain time, assigned them different parts where they were to embark, then reduced them to *Lisbon* only, disappointed them in furnishing ships, and by these steps obliging them to elapse the time, punished them with slavery for not doing what it was impossible they should do; but afterwards, as if it had been a mere grace and favour, they had the space of twenty years allowed them for their thorough conversion to Christianity, though in appearance they were all obliged to become Christians immediately; and upon accepting this offer, their children were restored to them, which had been taken from them, in order to prevent their embarking: a severity which they bore so
e ill, that multitudes of them murdered their children to prevent their being made slaves to the Christians; and not a few, out of the horror of having done this, murdered themselves likewise: so that it is no wonder that when any expedient was proposed, by which both their liberty and their children might be preserved, they readily embraced it^m. Many of the writers who relate this, admire the wisdom, but most of them commend the zeal and firmness of the king; though it must be admitted, that the learned prelate of *Algarve*, and a few others, have treated this measure in the manner it deserved, and have expressed their amazement, that it could ever be thought consistent with the principles of true religion and sound policyⁿ. In consequence of this expedient, the blood and sentiments of the *Portuguese* nobility have been corrupted, and the severe tribunal of the inquisition made necessary, to keep numbers in
f a state of religious hypocrisy, without ever making perhaps one true Christian. After the point had been fully debated in council, the king took a resolution of prosecuting the discovery of a new passage to the *Indies*; and gave the command of four vessels, appointed for that expedition, to *Vasco de Gama*, who sailed on the ninth of *July*, and happily accomplished it^o. In the autumn the king made a tour into *Valentia*, and there espoused the infant *Donna Isabella*, at the very same time that her brother Don *Juan*, prince of *Asturias* expired at *Salamanca*, by which she became the heiress of her parents dominions; and as mirth and mourning could not well agree, as soon as the news of the prince's death was made

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES, OSORIUS, TURQUET, MARIANA, LE CLEDE.^k FARIA

Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES.

^l MARIANA, FERRERAS, TURQUET, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, BER-

NALDEZ, CARVAJAL, GARIBAY.

^m LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.ⁿ OSORIUS.^o JO. PETRI MAFFOEI, S. I. Historiarum Indicarum, libri xvi. fol. LEQUIEN DE LA

NEUFVILLE.

public, the king Don *Emanuel*, with his bride, having taken leave of her mother, returned into their own dominions ^p.

An excellent
code of laws,
and other be-
neficial con-
stitutions, by
this monarch.

As many inconveniencies had been experienced by the clashing of jurisdictions, and as these had been hitherto settled by occasional inspections, of which there were but few records, the king caused a survey to be made of his whole dominions, and the bounds of every jurisdiction was therein distinctly settled, the whole being divided into five books: from whence it seems probable that *Algarve* was excluded. The queen becoming pregnant, their majesties were invited into *Castile*; and after having held the states of *Portugal* at *Lisbon*, and received a new oath of fidelity, they set out for *Toledo*; where the states of *Castile* being assembled, the queen of *Portugal* was acknowledged for the presumptive heir ^q. Their majesties then proceeded with the like view to *Saragossa*; where, on the twenty-fourth of *August*, Donna *Isabella* of *Portugal* was delivered of the prince Don *Michael*, and expired an hour afterwards ^r. Upon this Don *Emanuel* resolved to return into his own dominions, having first agreed to send ambassadors to *Rome*, who, in conjunction with those of their catholic majesties, were to admonish Pope *Alexander* the sixth of the scandalous life he led, and to exhort him to behave for the future with more moderation and decency. The *Portuguese* ambassadors were Don *Rodrigo do Castro* and Don *Henry de Coutino*, men of great quality, and consummate prudence. They prosecuted therefore the instructions they had received very exactly; but the Pope answered them so smartly, and they were so well apprized of his true character, that they judged it convenient to withdraw as soon as possible out of his reach ^s. But after this, the Pope shewed much deference and respect for the two kings.

A. D. 1498.

The discovery
of the Indies,
happily at-
chieved by
Vasco de
Gama.

In order to satisfy the demands of their catholic majesties, the king caused his son Don *Michael* to be acknowledged by the states the heir of that kingdom, as he had been in *Castile* and *Arragon*; but at the same time he promised upon oath, and gave it under his hand, that no *Castilian* should be capable of any preferment, ecclesiastical or civil, within the kingdom of *Portugal*. This young prince dying soon after, put an end to all fears that this promise might not be duly executed ^t. The king, his father, applied himself with great vigilance and vigour to the care of the administration, and attended more especially to justice and the finances. The fleet of *Vasco de Gama* returning from the *Indies*, filled *Lisbon* with joy, and the rest of *Europe* with astonishment: The history of his expedition belongs to another place: it is sufficient to say here, that he performed it in something more than two years; and that of one hundred and forty-eight persons, which made up the complement of his squadron, he brought home but fifty-five. The king received him with all possible testimonies of respect and kindness, created him count of *Videgueira*; and not only declared him admiral of the *Indies*, but made that office hereditary in his family, that the reputation and reward of his discovery might go together ^u. As he had now some leisure, Don *Manuel* took this opportunity of removing the body of his predecessor from the town of *Silves* in *Algarve*, where it had been deposited after his decease, to the monastery of *Batalha*, where a beautiful tomb of white marble had been erected to his memory ^v. At his return he caused a great quantity of gold and silver to be coined, and ordered a numerous squadron to be fitted out for maintaining and extending the newly opened trade to the *East Indies* ^x: that what prudence had acquired might be secured by spirit.

1499.

The king pro-
motes the son
of his prede-
cessor, and his
own nephew by
his brother's
side.

As the son of the late king was now arrived at man's estate, Don *Emanuel* thought it high time to perform what his father seemed to expect from him at his hands; he therefore caused him to marry on the twenty-fifth of *May* Donna *Beatrix de Velen*, the daughter of Don *Alvaro*, of *Portugal*, brother to Don *Ferdinand*, and uncle to *Diego*, duke of *Bragança*; and upon this occasion, declared that young prince duke of *Coimbra*, with all the lands and revenues which had formerly accompanied that title. At the same time he created his nephew Don *Alonso*, the son of the duke of *Viseo*, whom king *John* killed with his own hand, constable of *Portugal*, and gave him in marriage Donna *Joanna de Norogno*, the daughter of Don *Pedro de Meneses*, marquis of *Villa Real* ^y. This young nobleman, though very high born on the side of his father, is supposed to have been as well descended on the side of his mother, who was a *Castilian* lady of such quality, that the historians of those times did not think it expedient to transmit her name to posterity. The king being without children, and a widower, was continually pressed by the nobility to a second marriage: in order to which he had been for some time treating with their catholic majesties for the infanta Donna *Maria*, whom he declined when she was offered him before; which treaty was at length brought to an issue, and the marriage portion fixed at two hundred thousand crowns, with an annuity of

^p FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES, PETRI MARTYR Ep^{ist}. OSORIUS, BERNALDEZ, GARIBAY, CAR-
VAJAL, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, LE CLEDE, LA NEUFVIL. FERR. MARIANA. ^q GARIBAY, CAR-
VAJAL, TURQUET. ^r ZURITA Annal. Arragon. LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERR. ^s DU
CHESNE Hist. des Papes, OSORIUS, FERR. MARIANA. ^t FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES,
^u MAFFOEI Hist. Indic. OSORIUS, LA NEUFVIL. ^v FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE. ^x OSO-
RIUS. ^y DAMIAN DE GOES, FARIA Y SOUSA.

^a ten thousand, established on the revenues of the port of *Seville* ². At this time the king meditated a formidable expedition against the *Moors* in *Barbary*, with a numerous fleet, and an army of twenty-six thousand men. This he intended to command in person, nor could the advice of his nobility, or the intreaties of his new queen, prevail upon him to lay aside this resolution. But the *Venetians* having represented to him, that the *Turkish* emperor *Bajazet* ^{A. D. 1500.} threatened their state with destruction, and was about to attack them with the whole force of his empire, the king very generously relinquished the plan he had laid for raising his own reputation, and declaring, that the safety of his allies, and the interest of *Christendom*, were infinitely dearer to him than his own glory, he ordered a squadron of thirty sail, with a proportionable number of troops, to join the fleet of the republic, in order to act against the *Turks* ³.

^b The king being very desirous of promoting to the utmost the welfare of his nephew the duke of *Bragança*, whom he looked upon as his presumptive heir, laboured to find out a fit match for him, as the most effectual means of diverting that melancholy with which he was afflicted sometimes to such a degree, that, forgetting to take proper sustenance, he was in danger of being lost for want of food. At length the king fixed on Donna *Leonora de Guzman*, daughter to the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, whom, in obedience to his majesty's commands, Don *Diego* married; but soon after disappeared, and left a letter for the king, in which he desired that his majesty would bestow his honours and estates on his brother Don *Denis*, as he was determined to travel to, and spend the rest of his days at *Jerusalem*. Don *Emanuel*, however, caused him to be so carefully sought after, that he was discovered in the kingdom of *Arragon*, and sent back; when the king received him with so much affection, that he was prevailed upon to lay aside the scheme he had formed; and lived ever after in a manner suitable to his birth and quality ^b (B). The squadron sent to the assistance of the *Venetians*, stood first over to the *Barbary* shore, and attempted to surprize *Mazalquivir*: but the *Moors* making a gallant resistance, and the *Portuguese* having suffered some loss, Don *Juan de Meneses*, count of *Tarouca*, thought it best to pursue his voyage; and after scouring the coasts of *Sardinia* and *Calabria*, he bore away for the island of *Corfu*, where the *Venetian* fleet was to rendezvous. There his soldiers beginning to intrigue with the women of the country, the inhabitants fell upon them and killed seventy. However, the *Venetian* and *Portuguese* fleets joining, and going in search of the *Turkish* force, *Bajazet* thought fit to drop his design, and to order his fleet to return into port. Soon after which, the *Portuguese* squadron set sail for *Lisbon*; and soon after them arrived an ambassador from the republic, to acknowledge and thank the king for this timely and effectual succour ^c. This year *Pedro Alvarez de Cabral* discovered in his passage to *India* the noble country of *Brazil*, in *South America*, and having anchored in *Porto Seguro*, took possession of it for the crown of *Portugal*, to which it still belongs. The king also founded the famous monastery of *Bethlehem*, justly esteemed one of the finest edifices in *Portugal* ^d (C). He shews the like regard for the duke of Bragança his nephew by the sister.

THE

² PETRI MARTYR Epist. GARIBAY, FERR. CLEDE, LA NEUFVILLE.

^c DAMIAN DE GOES.

^a DAMIAN DE GOES.

^b FARIA Y SOUSA, LE

^d FARIA Y SOUSA.

(B) This Don *Diego*, duke of *Bragança*, had an excellent education in *Castile*, where he was treated with much kindness and respect. However, the misfortunes of his family depressed his spirits so much, that notwithstanding the sudden change of his condition, and the great affection which the king shewed for him, he was very restless and uneasy. In 1498, when Don *Emanuel* went into *Castile*, he declared this duke heir to the crown of *Portugal*, in case he died without children. It was with a view to dissipate this melancholy, that the king in a manner forced him into a marriage with Donna *Leonora de Guzman*, and forced him afterwards to live with that lady, instead of passing his days, as he intended to have done, in a hermitage near *Jerusalem*. By degrees, however, this had its effect, and he shook off in a great measure that melancholy which was the sole effect of his disposition. The constant kindness of the king contributed not a little to it, for he appointed him frequently to represent his royal person; put him at the head of the great army he sent into *Africa*, and omitted nothing that could serve to convince him of the sincerity of his sentiments. By the lady before-mentioned, he had a son and a daughter; the name of the former was *Theodosius*, who succeeded him in his titles; and of the latter *Isabella*, who espoused the infant Don *Duarte*, son to king *Ema-*

nuel. After the demise of his first duchess, Don *Diego* fell in love with Donna *Joanna*, the daughter of Don *Diego de Mendoza*, governor of *Moura*, by whom he had four sons, and several daughters, whose names we shall mention as briefly as possible, because the succession in this family is absolutely necessary to be thoroughly known, for the clearer understanding of the succeeding part of this history. Don *Diego de Bragança*, who died without issue; Don *Constantine de Bragança*, great chamberlain to king *John* the third, his ambassador in *France*, and viceroy of the *Indies*, who espoused Donna *Maria de Meneses*, daughter of Don *Rodrigro de Mello*, marquis de *Ferreira*, by whom he had no issue; *Fulgencio*, prior of *Guimaraez*, who left two natural children; and *Theoton*, archbishop of *Evora*. The daughters were Donna *Francisca*, who became a canoness at *Evora*; Donna *Angelica*, abbess of *Villa Viciosa*; Donna *Joanna*, who married the duke de *Maqueda*; Donna *Eugena*, who married Don *Francisco de Mello*, marquis de *Ferreira*; Donna *Maria*, abbess of *Villa Viciosa*; and Donna *Vincenta*, who became a nun in that monastery.

(C) The proper name of this noble foundation is *Bethlehem*, but the *Portuguese* spell and pronounce it *Bellem*. There is a town, a monastery, and a fort, all of this name, which lie between four and five miles from *Lisbon*, on the river *Tagus*; but the monastery

Engages in a
war with the
Moors, and
upon what mo-
tives.

A. D. 1502.

THE king, though the commerce of the *Indies* had not as yet produced any thing comparable to the expectations that had been formed from it, continued to send squadrons thither well manned, and with great store of naval and military provisions, not doubting that in process of time it would amply repay that expence; at which some of the narrow minded amongst his subjects grievously repined. He also continued to meditate an expedition of more importance into *Barbary* than had been made by any of his predecessors; to which he was instigated by the memoirs left by king *John*; in which it was insinuated, that the opposite coasts of *Africa* were first to be conquered, then covered by fortresses, next adorned with cities and sea-ports, to which inhabitants might be drawn by gentle laws and extensive privileges, which would gradually produce a communication between the interior parts of the country and strangers resorting to the cities and havens, to the inconceivable benefit of the subjects of *Portugal*; which, far from being impoverished by the expence, or weakened by the sending out, would, in the compass of a single reign, be greatly enriched by her conquests, and strengthened by her colonies. He laboured also to repair and restore such places as were in a manner depopulated by the plague, and by reviewing the charters of the principal cities and towns in his dominions, to repress what, through a change of customs, was become grievous, to supply defects, and to insert new privileges^c. While he was thus employed, the queen, on the sixth of *June*, was delivered of a prince, in the midst of one of the most violent storms that was ever felt or heard; and as this, according to the superstition of those times, gave birth to many strange notions, so these were strengthened and increased when the prince came to be baptized, on account of a fire breaking out in the palace, which threw all things into confusion^f. The king, full of piety, according to the mode of those times, made a solemn pilgrimage to the shrine of *St. James* at *Compostella*. In his passage thither, he directed the finishing a most beautiful tomb in the city of *Porto*, for *St. Pantaleo*, the patron of that place, which had been begun by the late king^g. At the cathedral of *St. James* he left a noble silver lamp, in the shape of a castle, valuable from its weight, much more so from its workmanship; and distinguished himself by liberally relieving the poor where-ever he came^h. In his return through *Coimbra* he saw there the sepulchre of *Don Alonso*, the first king of *Portugal*, with the meanness of which he was so much affected, that he directed a new one, worthy of himself and of the memory of the great prince whose remains were to rest thereinⁱ. The fleet he had sent to *Africa*, with orders to reduce a certain fortress, returned without doing any thing. Notwithstanding which, he was received upon his return to *Lisbon*, with all possible marks of satisfaction and joy^k. In this he might be truly stiled *Fortunate*; for whatever were the issue of his designs, his subjects were so thoroughly persuaded of the rectitude of his intentions, that they were equally grateful for what they actually received, and for what, if it had been in his power, they knew their king meant to bestow.

^c OSORIUS, MAFFOEI Hist. Indic.
^g GARIBAY, CARVAJAL, FERR.
GOES, LA NEUFVIL.

^f DAMIAN DE GOES, OSORIUS, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR.
^h MARIANA, TURQUET, FARIA Y SOUSA.
^k FARIA Y SOUSA, OSORIUS, DAMIAN DE GOES.

gave its name to the other two. The church, which at a distance appears a most stupendous fabric, is allowed to be a most correct and finished structure, when surveyed with the greatest care. It is not so much worthy of the great *Emanuel* from its beauty and magnificence, though there can be scarce any thing more splendid, as from the boldness of the design, and the success with which it is executed. It is the true picture of its founder, sublime and striking, but at the same time regular and harmonious. His tomb, and that of the queen *Donna Maria*, are very fine; as are indeed all the monuments that adorn this sacred structure, which are many in number, princes and princesses of the blood being interred here, as well as kings and queens; with this difference, that the tombs of the latter are supported by elephants, and adorned with crowns and escutcheons. The cloister belongs to the order of *St. Jerom*, capable of holding two hundred monks, who have very spacious and airy apartments, which look either upon the sea, or upon beautiful orange gardens, that equally charm the sight and smell. The revenue of this convent amounts to about eight thousand ducats; and besides those vast and elegant gardens, that serve for pleasure and amusement, there is a very large park, capable of supplying them with corn, wine, and fruits of every kind. This park is compleatly walled round; and not only the church and convent, but every building dependant on them, is of hewn stone. There is

in its vicinity another building, large, neat and wonderfully convenient, into which are received all such gentlemen as have spent their lives in the king's service, without acquiring wherewith to maintain themselves. At their admittance they receive the order of *Christ*, which is the most noble in *Portugal*; and, during the remainder of their lives, enjoy every thing that can render their decline comfortable; a good table, pleasant apartments, suitable diversions, cheerful conversation, with strict attendance; and in case of sickness, the assistance of physicians, surgeons, and nurses, all of whom treat them with a respect due to persons honoured with the express protection of the crown, according to the solemn institution of *Don Emanuel*, whose design it was that they should not be relieved there, but rewarded. Over against the church and cloister, but in the middle of the river, there stands a large square tower, which may be considered as the citadel of *Lisbon*, as all ships that pass are obliged to salute it, and to produce their bills of health at their arrival, and proper certificates when they depart. The place of arms is extremely well fortified, and supplied with artillery. The lower stories of the fort are employed as magazines, and the upper furnish apartments for prisoners of state. The village or town of *Bellem* has risen from the great resort to the places already described.

- ^a THE new project which the king had formed for going in person to *Africa*, was frustrated by the breaking out of a famine in his own dominions; by which he was obliged to divide his fleet into small squadrons, in order to send them to the coasts of *Africa*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *France*, *Great Britain*, *Germany*, and the north, to bring in supplies of corn, without which his people must have been famished ¹. This misfortune did not hinder him from sending some missionaries over to *Congo*, with instructions to civilize the people, and to bring them as much as possible to relish their own manners and way of living; and to engage the king to send over some of his sons to be educated at *Lisbon*, that by extending these notions, their commerce with that kingdom, which was very beneficial, might be increased. By the return of *Vasco de Gama*, who had been sent again into the *Indies*, with a very rich cargo to *Lisbon*, an end was put to all the objections and suspicions concerning that trade: the importance of which was now become conspicuous even to the meanest understanding ^m. Amongst men of family and parts the spirit of discovery prevailed rather too strongly. About two years before *Gaspar Cotereal*, a young gentleman of birth and genius, fitted out a ship at his own expence, which he commanded in person; and that he might not be reproached with thrusting his sickle into another man's harvest, bent his course to *North America*; and sailing along the coast, which he found inhabited by a barbarous people, but very pleasant, and capable of great improvements, he bestowed upon it the name of *Greenland*: and returning home, fitted out another vessel, with an intent to settle there, but was never heard of more. His brother *Michael* went in search of him, and had the like fate; and this year a third brother would have taken the same route, if the king had not interposed. From these brothers those coasts are entitled *Tierre de Cotereal*. The king had directed *Don Juan de Meneses* and the count *de Tarouca* to reduce the fortrefs of *Alcaçer-quivir*, which the king of *Fez* had augmented, with a view to bridle *Arzila*; and they attempted it, and shewed in that attempt all the courage and skill possible, but without effect; for in truth their force bore no proportion to the undertaking. At home *Don Emanuel* called an assembly of the states at *Lisbon*; where, notwithstanding affairs were but in an untoward situation, yet their desire of obliging that monarch was so strong, that they granted him all he demanded; together with a free gift of fifty thousand cruzadoes for the war in *Africa*: they likewise acknowledged *Don Juan* in quality of heir apparent ⁿ. On the fourth of *October* the queen was delivered of the infant *Isabella*, afterwards empress and queen of *Castile* and *Arragon* ^o. As soon as the states separated, the king went to *Tomar*, where he held a chapter of the order of Christ, and reformed many abuses. A. D. 1503.

- Don Emanuel* was extremely affected by the death of his nephew the constable, who left behind him an only daughter, who married into the house of *Villa Real*: but this loss did not affect the public so much as that of the queen's mother, *Donna Isabella of Castile* ^p: for *Don Emanuel* being well apprised of the character of the archduke *Philip*, and of those about him, began to entertain so slender an opinion of his friendship, that he gave orders for repairing all the strong places on the frontiers towards *Castile*. It is not, however, certain, that he carried his suspicion of this prince so high, as to enter into any negotiation with *Don Ferdinand*, king of *Arragon*, in order to a marriage between him and the unfortunate *Donna Joanna*, who had formerly born the title of queen of *Castile*. In *Africa* *Don Juan Meneses* forced the *Moorish* port at the mouth of the river *Larache*, carried out ships that lay therein, which, with other excursions by land, very deservedly raised his character; but did not much advance the design of *Don Emanuel*, or any other solid and valuable purpose. The inclemency of the season was rather more remarkable this year than the last; more especially at the entrance of the autumn, when several shocks of an earthquake were felt with such violence, that the people abandoned the towns and fled into the mountains; where being saluted with the same terrors, they descended into the plains, and remained under tents and cabins till the approach of winter. On the last day of the year, the queen was delivered of the infant *Donna Beatrix*, who became afterwards duchess of *Savoy* ^q. 1504.

- ^f As the situation of things in *India* required a superior force, the king caused a better fleet, and a greater number of troops to be sent thither under the command of *Don Francisco de Almada*; than at any time before; and if it had not been for his consummate prudence in this respect, it is highly probable the *Portuguese* had been beat out almost as soon as they had entered into *India*. For the *Mohammedan* princes there, and particularly the king of *Aben*, who pretended to be descended from their prophet, applied themselves to *Campson*, soltan of the *Mamalukes* in *Egypt*, requesting him to protect them against the Christians. At the same time there were at the court of the soltan ambassadors from the republic of *Venice*, who like-

¹ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL. LE CLEDE.
DE GOES.

^o FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR.

ZURITA Annal. Arragon, MARIANA, DAMIAN DE GOES.

^m MAFFOEI Hist. Indic. OSORIUS.

^p PETER MARTYR Epist. BERNALDEZ, GARIBAY,

^q FARIA Y SOUSA, OSORIUS, FERR.

ⁿ DAMIAN

wife

wife prompted him to drive the *Portuguese* out of the *Indies*; and who, to render this the more practicable, supplied him with engineers to cast cannon, and to build ships in the ports of the *Red Sea*. By their advice also the sultan sent a monk, whose name was *Maurus*, with letters to the Pope, then *Julius* the second, complaining bitterly of the conquest of *Granada*, by *Don Ferdinand*, and the expedition of *Don Emanuel* into *Africa* and the *Indies*, threatening to make reprisals on the Christians, and intimating, that unless he had satisfaction, he might not find himself safe even at *Rome*. The Pope sent copies of these letters to *Lisbon* and to *Madrid*; but neither of the kings seemed to be much affected: on the contrary, they exhorted his holiness to do his duty, and publish a crusade, which would infallibly furnish a number of men sufficient to defend him against all his enemies. In the assembly of the states held this year many good laws were made for encouraging industry and frugality, and for preserving equality among the people. Amongst these there was one very remarkable: the king forbade hospitaliers to purchase lands without licence, under severe penalties; because it was discovered that taking advantage of people's necessities, they purchased on every side, and as they had no power of selling, were amassing vast estates. About this time arrived from the *Indies*, *Duarte Pacheco*, who had performed there actions almost beyond the power or the belief of man. The king, to shew him how much he esteemed virtue, did him the highest honours, and not only caused a thanksgiving to be celebrated for his victories, but made him walk by his side to church, upon that occasion. After this, understanding that honour was all that he had brought with him from the *Indies*, he appointed him governor of the castle *St. George del Mina*, upon the coast of *Guiney*; where, performing his duty exactly, some envious persons accused him of such atrocious crimes, that he was ordered home in irons, long confined, at last tried, and acquitted; and left innocent and indigent to the contemplation of that antient maxim, *Virtue is its own reward*. So easily are even the best princes misled by flatterers. While the king fled from place to place for fear of the plague, which was brought into *Portugal* by the Pope's ambassador, some excursions were made in *Barbary*, but of no great consequence; from whence the king was more and more confirmed in his opinion, that his great design could not be carried into execution but by transporting a considerable force, and making a considerable conquest at once, towards the expence of which he had received a bull of crusade.

A. D. 1505.

Dangerous sedition at Lisbon.

THE court being at *Abrantes* to avoid the infection, there happened a dismal misfortune at *Lisbon*, where some zealous persons observing in a church that the glass which covered a hole in the side of a crucifix seemed to shine, cried out, "A miracle!" A Jew, who had been but lately converted, happened unluckily to say, it was the reflection of the sun beams, which fell from an opposite window. This made a prodigious disturbance, and two seditious monks exciting the people to take vengeance of the Jews, they murdered about five hundred of them that day. The men from on board some *French* and *Dutch* ships in the river landed and joined the mob, and bringing with them a new spirit of devotion, which directed them to the richest houses, without making any distinction of Jew or Christian, murdering and plundering without mercy. A recruit of villains of the same stamp out of the villages, entered *Lisbon*, and committed the most horrid outrages during the third day; so that in the whole there perished upwards of two thousand persons, the most part Jews. The king being informed of this, sent commissioners, with a corps of troops to support them. On a strict enquiry the magistrates were deposed, such of the ringleaders as could be found hanged, the two monks degraded and burnt, and the city deprived of all its privileges. As for the *French* and *Dutch*, who had been the most active, as soon as they had loaded their ships with plunder, they sailed away, and thereby escaped the due reward of so infamous an action. While their majesties were at *Abrantes*, the queen was delivered of the infant *Don Lewis*. The king being informed of the arrival of the archduke *Philip* in *Spain*, sent to compliment him, which was very well received: and in *Africa*, the *Portuguese* commanders, who began to be as great proficient in intrigue as the *Moors* themselves, surprised the port of *Saffi*, which they kept and fortified, esteeming it a very considerable conquest.

1506.

Affairs in dispute with Castile, left to the determination of commissioners on both sides.

By the king's great application to whatever regarded the extension of his power in the *Indies*, his influence in *Congo*, and the commerce of his subjects in *Guiney*, immense wealth was brought into *Portugal*, and the port of *Lisbon* grew one of the most considerable in *Europe*, and this, notwithstanding the plague still prevailed. The king and court remained at *Abrantes*: there, on the fifth of *July*, the queen brought into the world the infant *Don Ferdinand*. Some disputes having arisen with the crown of *Castile*, in relation to their conquests in *Africa*, *Don Emanuel* applied himself to his father-in-law, to prevent things from coming to extre-

¹ MAFFOEI Hist. Indic. OSORIUS, DAMIAN DE GOES, FERR.

² DAMIAN DE GOES, OSORIUS, MAFFOEI Hist. Indic.

RIUS, DAMIAN DE GOES, MARIANA, ZURITA, FERR.

FERR. TURQUET.

³ FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

⁴ LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVIL.

⁵ DAMIAN DE GOES, FARIA SOUSA,

⁶ OSORIUS, DAMIAN DE GOES. LA NEUFVIL.

mities,

a. mities, and offering to leave all points in dispute to be settled by their commissaries, which was accepted. The prince of *Mequinez* being driven out of his dominions, fled for shelter to *Don Emanuel*, and promised to put the strong city of *Azemor* into his hands, if he would intrust him with a proper force. The king consented to this, and embarked four thousand horse, and two thousand foot for this expedition, which, however, came to nothing, and which some also place in the succeeding year. It had, however, one good effect, which was, that the king determined with himself not to confide any more in such renegadoes; and indeed; hitherto, all the conquests he had made in *Barbary* had been so expensive, that if the nation had not been enriched in another manner than formerly, they must have been abandoned ².

b. As the famous *Albuquerque* was now in the *Indies*, the concerns of the *Portuguese* went to their wish, and the advantages derived from thence enabled *Don Emanuel* to gratify his passion for building, and indeed for every other branch of magnificence ³. At the same time, however, he was very careful in sending over annual supplies, well knowing how many and how powerful enemies he had to withstand, since it may be truly affirmed, that the *Mohammedans* were more firmly united, and much more formidable in those parts at this juncture, than they have been at any time since; and that this power of theirs was entirely broke and defeated by the *Portuguese*, without the assistance of any *European* ally, and when there were no Christians but themselves in the *Indies*. The commissaries that had been appointed to treat with the *Castilians* came at last to this agreement, that *Velez de la Gomera* should be their common frontier; and that all the country eastward should be considered as appertaining to the crown of *Castile*; while the same right was to be acknowledged in the crown of *Portugal*; as to the countries lying west. But while they were settling these imaginary bounds of empire, the king of *Fez*, at the head of upwards of one hundred thousand men; invested *Arzila*; and though *Vasco Coutigno*, count of *Borba*, made a gallant defence, and gave immediate notice of his danger to the *Portuguese* admiral, and to the governor of *Tangier*, yet he found it absolutely necessary for his own preservation to abandon the town, and to retire with the remains of his garrison into the castle: the news of which affected *Don Emanuel* to such a degree, that he ordered an army to assemble in *Algarve*, to which kingdom he posted in person, and directed as many ships as could be got ready to be sent thither from *Lisbon*. All his endeavours, and all his expedition, however, had proved ineffectual; if *Don Ferdinand* of *Arragon* had not employed the whole force he had in *Africa*, under the command of the famous *Don Pedro Navarro*, for the assistance of the *Portuguese*, who, by this timely support, were so much encouraged, and behaved themselves so gallantly; that they constrained the king of *Fez* to set fire to his new conquest; and to retire with his army, which had suffered prodigiously during the course of the siege. This welcome news reached *Don Emanuel* at *Tavira*, where in a very short space he had assembled twenty thousand men, and was on the very point of embarking; but the *Portuguese* nobility representing to him the impropriety of such an expedition, in the present circumstances of his kingdom, he was prevailed upon to lay it aside, chiefly from the apprehension that those who gave him this advice in *Europe* might make him repent the not following it, if he carried them against their wills into *Africa* ^b.

c. *Don Ferdinand Coutigno*, a nobleman of great personal merit, was sent with fifteen sail of large ships into the *Indies*, with orders to regulate all disputes between *Almeyda* and *Albuquerque*; to send the former home, and to put the latter into full possession of the supreme power in those parts, the factions amongst the *Portuguese* having already produced great inconveniences ^c. On the twenty-third of *April*, the queen was delivered at *Evora* of the infant *Don Alonso* ^d. The war in *Africa* still continued, though the *Portuguese* writers are silent upon it; and the king of *Fez*, having raised another formidable army, disposed every thing for the siege of *Arzila* in such a manner, that the place had very probably been taken, if the count de *Borba* had not very wisely had recourse to those who were nearest him for their assistance. The town of *Xerez* sent him three hundred cross bow-men; arms, ammunition, and provision in plenty came from the city of *Seville*; and *Michael Soler*, admiral of *Arragon*, hastened thither with a small squadron of gallies, upon which the king of *Fez* finding the enterprize more difficult than he had conceived, retired and dismissed his forces ^e. There was at this time a *French* corsair, whose name was *Mondragon*, who with a squadron of four sail of stout ships, took, without much ceremony; whatever vessels came in his way, and amongst others made free with a *Portuguese* Indiaman; very richly laden. The king complained of this to *Lewis* the twelfth, then engaged in the league of *Cambray* against the *Venetians*, and not receiving such an answer as he expected, ordered *Duarte Pacheco* with six ships to go in search of the corsair, with whom he came up off *Cape Finisterre*. *Mondragon*, whose trade was

1508.

1509.

² DAMIAN DE GOES, LE CLEDE, FERR. MARIANA, TURQUET.³ OSORIUS, MAFFOEI Hist.

Indic LA NEUFVIL.

^b DAMIAN DE GOES, GARIBAY, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR.^c MAFFOEI

Hist. Indic. OSORIUS, LE CLEDE..

^d DAMIAN DE GOES, MARIANA, ZURITA, FERR.^e TURQ.

GARIBAY, ZURITA, FERR.

fighting, behaved very gallantly; but *Pacheco* having sunk his own ship, and taken him prisoner, soon made himself master of the other three, and returned to *Lisbon* in triumph, with the pirate in chains. Don *Emanuel*, however, having received full satisfaction, and having taken an oath of *Mondragon* to respect the *Portuguese* flag for the future, set him at liberty: but what reward *Pacheco* had for this gallant service does not appear. This year *Luis de Camoens*, the prince of *Portuguese* poets, was born ^f.

An inconsiderate jealousy hinders the catholic king from deposing the monarch of Fez.

A. D. 1510.

THE affairs of *India* and *Africa* entirely occupied the mind of Don *Emanuel*, as indeed, considering the posture in which they were, they very well might, since *Albuquerque*, though a viceroy only of the *Portuguese* monarch, had a mind capable of as great projects as any of the ancient conquerors; and with a very inconsiderable force had extended the *Portuguese* empire from the streights of *Babelmandel* to those of *Molacca*. From hence it is certain, that prodigious advantages accrued to *Portugal*; but it is no less certain, that it cost infinite pains to Don *Emanuel* to supply annual squadrons and armies to maintain and preserve those conquests. On the other hand, in *Africa* the *Portuguese* had to deal with a very great monarch, or, to speak with greater propriety, with the whole *Moorish* nation, who, if it had not been for the feuds and factions amongst themselves, might easily have dispossessed them of the places they held upon the coast, and have afterwards found them sufficient employment at home. As it was, the Christians, if they had not imitated the conduct of the *Moors*, might have done much more than they did; and yet what they did was very amazing, and was purely the effects of their troops being better disciplined, and better commanded than those of the infidels. Hence, in the space of two years, the attempts made to recover *Safia*, *Tangier*, and *Arzila*, though made with forces out of comparison greater than those of the *Portuguese*, all miscarried, and served only to raise the credit of the *Portuguese* governors ^e. In the midst of this success, however, it was discovered, that the king Don *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, and regent of *Castile*, had great designs upon that country; and, with a view to carry these into execution, was assembling a great fleet and army at *Malaga*. The design was indeed worthy of the vast talents of that able prince, who had formed a project for deposing the king of *Fez*, and making the empire of *Morocco* tributary to him, which was discovered and defeated by the jealousy of the *Portuguese*. Their historians in general fall in with the prejudices of their monarch, and forgetting the succours so generously given by *Ferdinand*, and without which, at this time, they had not preserved a foot of land in *Africa*, exclaim against his perfidy in forming a scheme of conquest within the bounds assigned to *Portugal*, as if it would not have been infinitely more for their interest to have had for their neighbour, a prince tributary to their king's father-in-law, than a potent monarch, whom, without assistance, they were unable to oppose. *Ferdinand* finding his project discovered, and Don *Emanuel* highly offended, yielded to the solicitations of his own nobility, who earnestly dissuaded him from this expedition ^d. He then sent ambassadors into *Portugal*, to press Don *Emanuel* to enter into a league against the *French* king, which, however, he very wisely declined, as having no quarrel with that prince, and a great trade with his subjects; and for this reason, he received the same year into his ports a squadron of *French* gallies, and supplied them with all necessaries ⁱ. As from the beginning of his reign he had maintained a close correspondence with *England*, and as *Henry* the eighth and himself had married two sisters, that monarch thought fit to send him the ensigns of the garter, unto which he had been elected the year before ^k: but it is not clear at what time he was installed.

1511.

The king of Congo sends his son, with other persons of rank, to be brought up at Lisbon.

1512.

Duke of Bragança's expedition into

On the last of *January*, the queen Donna *Maria* was delivered at *Lisbon* of the infant Don *Henry*, who in process of time became a cardinal, and at length the last king of *Portugal* of this family. It was observed, that at the time of his birth there fell a large and deep snow, a thing in *Portugal* very unusual. The king of *Congo*, upon whom the *Portuguese* had bestowed the name of Don *Alonso*, and who with great piety and industry had laboured the conversion of his subjects, sent over his son Don *Henry*, his brother Don *Emanuel*, and several of the young nobility of his kingdom, to be educated in *Portugal*; as also his cousin Don *Pedro*, a person more in years, and of riper judgment, who was to go in quality of his ambassador to *Rome* ^m. In *Barbary* the war was still carried on with various success, and great effusion of blood on both sides, though at *Fez* and at *Lisbon* they meditated putting an end to this war of excursion, which served only to ruin the territories and destroy the subjects of either crown ⁿ.

As the preceding cold season had purged the air, and entirely freed *Portugal* from any epidemic disease, the king applied himself with great diligence to restore and repeople the

^f DAMIAN DE GOES:

^g MAFFOEI Hist. Indic. OSORIUS, FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVILLE.

^h BERNALDÉZ, MARIANA, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, PETRI MARTYR Epist. FERR. FARIA Y SOUSA, OSORIUS, LE CLEDE, TURQUET.

ⁱ BERNALDEZ, MARIANA, DAMIAN DE GOES, FERR.

^k ANSTIS'S

Order of the Garter, vol. ii. p. 274. Lord HERBERT'S History of Henry the Eighth, FARIA Y SOUSA.

^l DAMIAN DE GOES.

^m FARIA Y SOUSA, LEQUIEN DE LA NEUF. LE CLEDE.

ⁿ DAMIAN

DE GOES.

a cities, towns, and villages that were most decayed, which he did by granting large privileges to the inhabitants, and such as should become so. He sent Don Pedro, the ambassador of the king of Congo, to Rome, and with him the black prince, Don Henry, with a very handsome retinue, that the Pope might be sensible of the honour paid him by this African prince. But the great business of this year was the assembling a fleet and army, to be transported to Barbary: the former was very numerous; and the latter consisted of eighteen thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse: the whole commanded by Don Diego duke of Bragança, who had orders to reduce the city of Azamor, and the country round it. He arrived before the place towards the end of August, reduced it in one day, and having put the affairs of the Portuguese in that part of the world into perfect order, returned again into Portugal, where he was very kindly received by the king, though many blamed him for not doing more; but the duke's sentiment was, that he who did what he was directed to do always did enough. He was likewise persuaded, that to march to Morocco, as he was advised, might not have been very practicable, considering how far the season was advanced; and as the only thing that could render it so was the intestine troubles amongst the Moors, he suspected that such a march might serve to unite them; and as soon as this was done, he knew very well that himself and his army must be reduced to great extremity, and perhaps might find it impracticable to fight their way back.

A. D. 1513.

It appeared to Don Emanuel a fit thing to send the first-fruits of the Indies to the Pope. Leo the tenth was then seated on the pontifical throne, and being himself the most magnificent prince of his time, the Portuguese monarch was very careful in the contrivance of this embassy; so that it might not barely raise the admiration, but strike the whole city of Rome with astonishment. Tristan da Cunha, a man of great quality and vast fortune, was at the head of this legation, and with him were conjoined Diego Pacheco, and Juan de Faria, two eminent civilians, very eloquent, and perfectly versed in the arts of negotiation. He followed in this respect the example of his predecessor Don John, who never failed to join a person of capacity and experience with the man of rank and parade; and the propriety of this caution never appeared more evidently than in the very case before us. For Tristan da Cunha conducted the pomp of his entry so handsomely, and the two lawyers managed their conferences with such dexterity, that they brought a bull from the Pope, which left the clergy in a manner at the king's mercy; insomuch that they exclaimed his holiness had been surprized and over-reached: but the king managed prudently, and instead of carrying things to extremities, demanded one hundred and fifty thousand cruzadoes in three years: to which the ecclesiastics submitted, and the king had the honour of obliging those whom he might have oppressed. The king shewed his magnanimity and justice in particular: the empire of Abyssinia, or Ethiopia, was then governed by a young prince whose name was David, under the tutelage of his grand-mother Helena, a princess of great wisdom and spirit; they sent one Matthew, an Armenian, with the title of ambassador, to Albuquerque, viceroy of the Indies, and desired that he would find him a passage in an honourable manner with their letters to the court of Portugal, which he did accordingly; but the captain with whom the ambassador sailed, having a pique at Albuquerque, treated him with the utmost contempt and ill usage, because he would not produce to him the letters from the emperor and empress, and laboured to represent him as an adventurer and an impostor. But when Matthew arrived at Lisbon, he not only produced Albuquerque's letters, but authentic credentials, which he kept concealed in a hollow cane; and the presents sent by their Ethiopian majesties, which consisted of some medals, and a crucifix in a gold box. On the whole, Don Emanuel was so well satisfied, that he caused the captain and some other officers to be put in irons, and would have punished them more severely, if the ambassador, towards whom they had behaved so ill, had not interposed in their behalf. This year likewise the Portuguese arms were wonderfully successful in Barbary; where, with the assistance of the Moors who adhered to them, they made themselves masters of several considerable places, routed the armies of the kings of Fez and Mequinez in the field, and raised the glory of Don Emanuel there, as it was already raised every where else, much beyond that of his predecessors. So soon does a small kingdom come to make a figure, when governed by a wise prince.

1514:

The wealth that flowed in annually not only from the Indies, but from the commerce which their intercourse with the Indies brought to the port of Lisbon, began to change the condition of Don Emanuel's subjects of all ranks, and to introduce gradually all the vices derived from opulence ill applied. Those who had been long out of the kingdom, and by mere dint of military discipline cut out for themselves honours and fortunes with their swords,

Some dis-
pointments in
Africa cha-
grine him very
much.

° FARIA Y SOUSA.

NEUFVIL. FERR. MARIANA.

MARTYR Anglre. ZURITA Annal. Arragon.

° FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

P BERNALDEZ, ZURITA, DAMIAN DE GOES, OSORIUS, LE CLEDE, LA

° FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVIL. LE CLEDE, FERRERAS, PETRI

° Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, MARIANA.

° DAMIAN DE GOES, OSORIUS, FERR.

were

were not indeed infected with idleness and luxury ; but a spirit of arrogance and rapine had spread amongst them to a very high degree. Some advantage they had gained over the *Moors* upon the coast *Ataida* ; and *Sousa* formed a project of taking *Morocco*, a place of great extent, well fortified, and with a better garrison than they had an army. The consequence of this expedition might have been easily foreseen : they were repulsed with loss, and retired, not without some difficulty. Their historians indeed represent the *Moors* as trembling in the pursuit of a flying enemy, which is plainly the language of partiality ^a. This was not the only abortive enterprize even on that side ; for the king being informed that it would be of great consequence to have a strong fortress at the mouth of the river *Mamora*, equipped a fleet of two hundred sail, laden with all the materials for erecting such a fortification, with several thousand workmen, and a good escort, under the command of Don *Pedro Noroño*. The king of *Fez*, apprehending the mischiefs that must attend such a new establishment, marched with a numerous army to oppose them ; but that it consisted of fourscore thousand men, as the most moderate of the *Portuguese* writers assert, is not very probable. However, as the best part of Don *Pedro*'s forces consisted of volunteers, who quitted the pleasures of *Lisbon*, and other great cities, to make a military tour, they were quickly tired of the hardships they underwent, and excessively harrassed by the continual attacks of the infidels ; so that at length they were disposed to mutiny : of which the king having an account, sent Don *Pedro* orders to abandon the half-built fortress, and to make the best retreat he could ; which the *Portuguese* authors own was attended with a considerable loss of men, and of credit, as well as the entire disappointment of the project, which mortified the king extremely ^w ; for he was exceedingly tender in these points, and bore such reverses but indifferently.

Is deceived into disgracing the famous *Albuquerque*, who thereupon broke his heart.

A. D. 1515.

YET even this was not the most sensible mortification of the year ; the enemies of the famous *Albuquerque*, after long endeavouring, at length compleated his disgrace. They insinuated, that the title of *Great*, which his actions had acquired, was not to be endured in a subject : they magnified the reverence paid him by the most potent monarchs of the East : they hinted, that the fame of *Albuquerque* already surpassed that of *Emanuel* : they gave the king to understand, that authority might be easily brought to follow fame. The consequence was, that he appointed him a successor in a manner that was far enough from being agreeable ; and this broke the heart of a hero, whom, without injury to the *Greek* conqueror, the *Portuguese* had compared to *Alexander*. In his last moments he recommended his natural son to his master, who by his kindness and gratitude towards him, confessed that he made some atonement at the same time for his weakness. The monarchs of the East, from a true spirit of greatness, did honour to the memory of *Albuquerque* by public mourning, and taught his countrymen to know what a victim had been offered to envy ^x. On the seventh of *September* the king's family was increased by the birth of the infant Don *Duarte* ; and the queen endeared herself to the people by distributing large sums to the poor upon this occasion ^y.

So much displeased with the disappointments in Africa as to think of abandoning it.

By the death of his catholic majesty Don *Ferdinand*, the court of *Portugal* was thrown into mourning. The king immediately sent an ambassador into *Castile*, to compliment the queen, Donna *Germana*, and to console her for the loss of her husband ; which minister was also directed to confer with cardinal *Ximenes*, of whose friendship the king had received many proofs ^z. The king sent likewise ambassadors into *Flanders* and *Germany*, to compliment the archduke *Charles*, and to offer him his daughter Donna *Isabella* ; and to pay the like respects to his grandfather the emperor *Maximilian*, with whose daughter, the princess *Leonora*, he proposed a match for the prince of *Portugal*, Don *John* ^a. In *Africa* the war still continued : the *Moors* formed a very right judgment of their affairs, which induced the kings of *Fez* and *Mequinez* to assemble great armies, and having joined them, to attempt the conquest of *Arzila*. *Coutigno*, son to the count of *Borba*, the first *Portuguese* governor of that city and fortress, defended it very bravely, till, by dispatching expresses on every side, he procured such reinforcements as rendered taking the place impracticable : upon which the *Moors* raised the siege. The alarm this gave in *Portugal*, and the necessity there was of accepting the assistance of the *Castilians*, displeased Don *Emanuel* ; who was become sick of seeing all the treasures of the *Indies* buried in this war of *Afric*, from whence there resulted nothing. His disgust was increased by the revolt of a great part of the *Moors*, who had submitted to him ; against whom he sent *Alvaro Ataida*, a very brave man, who, with the far greater part of his forces, were cut to pieces in this expedition. This soured the king to such a degree, that he was on the point of forming a resolution of abandoning the affairs of *Barbary* entirely ; but it happened that *Jehabentafus*, the most considerable of the *Moors* that had embraced the *Por-*

^a OSORIUS, LA NEUFVIL. FERR.

^w FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES.

^x OSORIUS.

^y FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR. TURQUET.

^z BERNALDEZ, CARVAJAL, PETRI MARTYR Epist. ZURITA

Annal. Attagon, ABARCA, ALVARUS GOMESIIUS, de rebus gestis Francisci Ximenis, EUGENIO DE ROBLEZ, PEDRO DE QUINTANILLA, FERRERAS, MARIANA, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE. LA NEUF. TURQUET.

^a PRUDENCIO DE SANDOVAL Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V. VERA Y FIGUEROA, LA NEUF. LE CLEDE, FERR.

^a *Portuguese* interests, was then at *Lisbon*. He went to the king, and told him, that it was both cheaper, and more advantageous to him, to manage a war on the other side of the sea than in his own dominions; that without doubt his countrymen had been guilty of some perfidy; but that it was also possible the *Portuguese* had been guilty of oppression: that his majesty had nothing to do but to appoint another general, with whom he would go over; and restore things to a perfect state of quiet^b. The king thereupon named *Pedro Mascarenhas*, with whom went the *Moor*, who performed punctually, and with great honour, all that he had promised. The great progress of the *Portuguese* arms, more especially under the direction of *Albuquerque*, had taught the *Persians* to court the friendship of *Don Emanuel*; who, by the advice of that great and wise man, had sent an ambassador thither; and this year the *shah* sent a minister into *Portugal*, to signify how much he esteemed the friendship of *Don Emanuel*, and how willing he was to enter into the closest engagements against the *Turks*, whom they regarded as their common enemy^c. This would have been at any time pleasing to *Don Emanuel*; but was particularly so at this juncture, on the account of the prodigious force with which the sultan of *Egypt* was preparing to attack the *Portuguese* settlements in the *Indies*, by land and sea, of which the king had received notice from the knights of *Rhodes*; as also that the *Mameluke* fleet and army was well supplied with *Italian* gunners and engineers. It was therefore of very great consequence to hinder the *shah* from entering into this confederacy, and of still greater to engage him in an alliance from whence many advantages might result. Add to all this, that the very appearance of the *Persian* ambassador at *Lisbon* did not a little raise the credit of *Don Emanuel* throughout all *Europe*. On the seventh of *September* the queen *Donna Maria* was delivered of the infant *Don Antonio*; but with such difficulty, that she fell into a weak and languishing condition, which baffled the art of her physicians; and the child also proved weak and sickly, and did not long survive^d. A. D. 1516.

DONNA Maria queen of *Portugal*, having lingered to the seventh of *March* with an incurable imposthume in the bowels, deceased, to the great grief not only of the king, and of her family, but of the people of *Portugal* in general, who admired her virtues, and who adored her humility^e. The king was so much afflicted that for some days he gave no audiences. At length the urgency of affairs requiring it, he returned to the management of business, and found in application that ease which he had sought in vain from a retreat. Human policy can never see far, and is sometimes very short-sighted. The empire which had been the object of *Don Emanuel's* jealousy but a year before, now alarmed him by its fall. A revolution of this kind with respect to a prince, would not have been without example; but in regard to a nation it was very extraordinary. *Selim*, emperor of the *Turks*, in one battle broke the power, and in a short time after utterly subverted the government of the *Mamelukes*; and thereby added the famous and fertile kingdom of *Egypt* to the rest of his dominions. This astonished the rest of the princes of *Europe*; but it alarmed *Don Emanuel*. He saw the consequences, and remonstrated to Pope *Leo* the tenth, how much it was his duty to compose all quarrels in Christendom, in order to consider of the most effectual methods for reducing the power of the infidels. The Pope accepted his advice kindly; and made some efforts in the pursuit of it: but other kings were not so easily awakened: they just opened their eyes to look about them, and then sunk into their lethargy. *Don Emanuel*, who was in earnest, and who had actually begun to prepare both a fleet and an army, when he saw it could not be used against the *Turks*, sent it under the command of *Don Diego Lopez de Siqueira*, to act against the *Moors* in *Barbary*. His design was to take the city of *Targa*, which might have been very useful as a place of arms, in carrying on the war against the king of *Fez*; but *Don Diego* differing with the governor of *Ceuta*, who was to have assisted him, the enterprize came to nothing, and *Siqueira* soon after returned to *Portugal*. Things wore a better aspect in the *Indies*, where this year they opened a passage to *China* from *Malacca*, and gained some advantages over the king of *Bantam*, in the isle of *Java*; but their principal settlement of *Goa* had been in great danger, and the vices and follies of those who succeeded him, had almost overturned the magnificent fabric raised by the virtues of the great *Albuquerque*^f. 1517.

THE war in *Barbary* was still carried on with little success, and with little hopes. Expedition after expedition, in which sometimes the *Portuguese* were victorious, and sometimes they met with the worst, and these alternatives sometimes happened more than once in the same campaign. *Don Emanuel* having carefully enquired into the reason of this, discovered the cause of it so plainly, that it left him no room to doubt, that, humanly speaking, it could never be otherwise. Intestine divisions amongst the *Moors* gave both subjects and success to the *Por-* Has thoughts of abdicating in favour of the prince, but wisely alters his mind.

^b DAMIAN DE GOES, OSORIUS, MARMOL, FERR.^c FARIA Y SOUSA, OSORIUS, LA NEUFVIL.^d LE CLEDE, MARIANA, TURQUET.^e FARIA Y SOUSA, OSORIUS, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, TURQUET.^f MAFFOEI Hist. Indic. OSORIUS, DAMIAN DE GOES, LA NEUFVIL. Histoire generale de Portugal, MARIANA, FERR.

líguese; and on the other hand, envy and jealousy amongst the *Portuguese* governors afforded the *Moors* in their turn opportunities to triumph. The king, after mature deliberation, having nothing but the glory of his crown and the good of his subjects at heart, inclined to abdicate the throne of *Portugal* in favour of his son, reserving only *Algarve* to himself, with the revenues of the mastership of one of the religious orders, and from thence to pass over into *Africa* with a complete army, concluding that his presence would put an end to all disputes, and that the remainder of his life could not be better employed than in making a thorough conquest of what some have stiled the *African Algarve*; in consequence of which some of the kings of *Portugal* have stiled themselves monarchs of the *Algarves*, in the plural number. But while the king meditated this great and disinterested design, some whispers of it flew about, which were quickly attended with consequences that obliged him to change his sentiments. For many of the nobility began to worship the rising sun; and which was still worse, laboured to give him ill impressions of his father, whose magnificence was now treated as dissipation; whose easiness of access was stiled mean condescension; and whose great attention to trade was represented as stooping much below his dignity. But above all, his complacency in some instances to the clergy, and to the people in abolishing taxes that were thought too hard, were insolently and foolishly called betraying the prerogative; for the king had very wisely procured all the formalities of law in support of these impositions, and very prudently took them away when the people had recourse to his prerogative for their relief. The prince had parts and probity, but he was very young; and stories of absolute power are apt to tickle the ears of young men^a. Don *Emanuel* quickly saw this, and immediately resolved not to deliver himself up to distress, or his subjects to oppression; but he kept this resolution as a secret of state. He saw that, to support himself upon the throne, it was become necessary to share it with a princess equal to him in birth; and therefore he directed Don *Alvaro de Costa*, whom he sent to compliment Don *Carlos* on his arrival in *Castile*, to negotiate for him a match with the infanta *Donna Leonora* his sister, which was concluded with great privacy: and the new queen being conducted into *Portugal* by the duke of *Alba*, the king was married to her at *Crato*, on the twenty-fourth of *November*, and went from thence to *Almerin*; the plague then raging at *Lisbon*^b. There, on the feast of *St. Andrew*, he was with great solemnity invested with the order of the Golden Fleece^c, as a mark of his brother-in-law's esteem; and there certainly never was a marriage of this kind more convenient, at the time it was made, for the interest of both kingdoms, or that had better effects for the time it lasted.

His consummate policy in the management of affairs, so as never to forfeit the love of his people.

AFFAIRS in the *Indies* not going entirely to the king's satisfaction, he resolved to send thither *George Albuquerque*, with a fleet of sixteen sail; and as the solemnity of his marriage, and the supplies sent to *Barbary*, had exhausted his treasure, he imposed a tax upon corn, assigning the necessity he was in, and the inexpediency of holding an assembly of the states while the country was infected as the motives, with which the better part of his subjects were satisfied. But the principal magistrate of *Evora*, a man no way considerable for birth or fortune, obstinately opposed it: not, as he said, for want of duty to the king, or because he thought his reasons ill founded, but to prevent the consequence of such a precedent. The king sent for him, tried the force of expostulation and promises: when these proved ineffectual, he confined him in his own house; but after a few days he sent for him, commended him, and abolished the tax^d. There had been great disputes with the crown of *Castile* about the limits of their discoveries, which had been partly settled by treaties, and partly by bulls from *Rome*, as we have shewn elsewhere, and upon which it would be improper, as well as tedious, to dwell here. But notwithstanding this there had been some years before several attempts made by the subjects of *Castile* to settle in the *Brazils*; of which complaint being made, it was immediately corrected by cardinal *Ximenes*; for that great statesman held good faith to be the first maxim in sound policy^e. At this time *Ferdinand Magellan* and *Ruy Falero* quitted the service of *Portugal*, and went to Don *Carlos*, to whom they offered the discovery of a new passage to the *Molucca* islands, which they positively asserted lay without the bounds granted to Don *Emanuel*, and consequently within those assigned to the crown of *Castile*. The king's ambassador, *Alvaro de Costa*, had notice of this, and had for a time so much interest as to prevent the acceptance of this proposition; but at length the promises of *Magellan* wrought so effectually on the avarice of the ministers, who had appetite to wealth beyond all things, that a small squadron was ordered for this service, on board of which *Magellan* sailed from *Seville* in the beginning of *August*, having rejected all the offers made him by *da Costa* to return to *Portugal*, as having the gratification of his resentment in view, which resentment rose from Don *Emanuel's* refusing to raise his salary in the *Indies* nine shillings a month. So dangerous it is to

^a FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES, OSORIUS, LE CLEDE.

GENSOLA, PETRI MARTYR Angl. Epist. OSORIUS, LA NEUVILLE, DAMIAN DE GOES, MARIANA, TURQUET, FERR.

^c FARIA Y SOUSA, SANDOVAL, LE CLEDE.

^d PRUDENCIO DE SANDOVAL, AR-

^e OSORIUS.

^f SAN-

DOVAL, FERR. MARIANA.

a quarrel for little things with men of great parts^m. The nobility, who had declared themselves so early, found themselves exposed to the king's indignation, without either shelter or defence; for on the one side the confusions in *Castile* left them no place of retreat: and on the other the government, civil and military, was so exact, that all were steady to the king, who were in his service, because they knew that the best part of the emoluments they drew from thence were not national establishments, but flowed purely from his bounty. In regard to the former, he was close and reserved, because the salaries once stated and settled, in a certain way, became a charge upon the crown, and were paid out of the ordinary revenues; but easy and beneficent in respect to the other, as being disbursed by himself out of certain privileges, which he had reserved in the commerce to the *Indies*. He governed, therefore, with an authority, the plenty of which was so much the greater, as it was not either seen or felt; the king's good fortune being so extraordinary, that his own and his subjects affairs were continually improving; and as this proceeded apparently from the measures of his government, the far greater part of those who lived under it were thoroughly, and with good reason, persuaded that it was incomparably wise and justⁿ. In *Africa* only affairs went not entirely to the mind of *Emanuel*; and yet, even in *Africa*, things began to grow better than they did. The *Portuguese* cavalry equalled the *Moors* in expedition, and excelled them in discipline; and their infantry were always incomparably better. Their government also was so much better and milder than the *Moors*; that the more industrious part of that nation willingly accepted of their protection; and those who growing rich under it, had out of wantonness revolted, were so humbled by repeated defeats, that their very chieftains, who had excited them to this act of ambition, were constrained out of regard to their own safety to persuade them to submission, to charge themselves with the negotiation and treaty, and to give hostages out of their own families for the due observance of it; so that, on the whole, things had a fairer prospect on this side, than they had hitherto worn from the commencement of this reign^o.

By this time the harmony of the royal family was entirely restored; for *Don Lewis de Silveira*, who was in great credit with the prince, and who had been the principal agent of the young nobility, in filling his head with false maxims, being banished, *Don Juan* found it expedient to conform to his father's will; and being treated with great kindness by the new queen, and perceiving that after a short coldness his father was disposed to forget what was passed, he altered his conduct entirely, and instead of affecting the government, appeared desirous of learning from the king what it was to govern. On the eighteenth of *February* the queen was delivered of a prince, whom, in honour of her brother, now become emperor, she, with the king's consent, caused to be baptized by the name of *Carlos*, but he died in the succeeding year^p. The rebellion of the commons in *Castile* was now at its height; and as some persons of quality, and many of the clergy, had embarked on the side of the people, they judged it expedient to send the dean of *Avila* to *Lisbon*, with an offer of the crowns of *Castile* and *Leon* to *Don Emanuel*. The king gave him several audiences, received his propositions favourably, and heard all he had to say. He then told him, that he had managed a bad cause in the best manner: that he believed it might be in the power of his party to put many great cities and strong places into his hands, and to enable him to raise a numerous army; but he assured him that this was no temptation to injure a neighbouring prince absent, and his brother-in-law: that these very propositions shewed they were rebels; and that they had taken arms, not to protect their own, but to overturn their sovereign's rights. However, as he apprehended they might be driven by necessity beyond what they originally intended, he was willing to interpose his good offices to procure for them what they had any title to demand; and that if any of their chiefs would lay down their arms, and retire into his dominions, he would grant them his protection till he could procure them a pardon. This answer, though it was not very acceptable, was in appearance well received by the malcontents^q. Cardinal *Adrian*, and the lords of the king's party made their applications to *Don Emanuel*, who granted them ammunition, artillery, provisions, and a corps of auxiliary troops, for suppressing the rebellion, advising them not to lessen the king's authority by any ill-judged treaty, nor to preclude his mercy by any violent proceedings against their fellow-subjects. This was very kindly taken by the emperor *Charles*, notwithstanding the king of *Portugal* kept his word to the malcontents, receiving many of them, and by his example his son did the same, even *Maria de Padilla*, who had been the very soul of the revolt; but without affording them any countenance or assistance^r.

On the return of the emperor *Charles* into *Spain*, *Don Emanuel* sent a minister to compliment him upon his new dignity, and to inform him of his design to build a new fortress in *Africa*, that he might not take umbrage at it. The emperor assured him, that he entirely ap-

Begins to listen to the clergy.

^m DAMIAN DE GOES.

ⁿ LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE.

^o DAMIAN DE GOES, FARIA Y

SOUSA, MARIANA, LE CLEDE, FERR. TURQUET.

^p OSORIUS, DAMIAN DE GOES, FARIA Y SOUSA.

^q SANDOVAL, PETRI MARTYR Angl. Epil. LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERR.

^r GEDDES'S

Miscellaneous Tracts, FERR. MARIANA, TURQUET.

proved his project, and that if it was any-way inconvenient for him to carry it into execution, he would do it himself with his leave^a. Don *Emanuel* upon this sent a squadron of eight sail to examine the spot where it was intended his fort should be; and received as favourable a report as he could desire; notwithstanding which some unforeseen accidents intervening, there was nothing more done in this affair. The truth is, the clergy about this time had gained a great ascendancy over the king, and by drawing false consequences from true divinity, had perplexed him extremely. They told him that the Pope's bulls could only exempt him from papal censures; but that revenues once consecrated to sacred uses could not lawfully be applied to any other; and this they assured him was the reason that all his attempts in *Africa* had hitherto proved unsuccessful, the money levied upon the clergy having been chiefly employed in that service; and this it was that occasioned some stop in the dispositions he intended to have made^b. In the mean time, *Mohammed* king of *Fez*, who saw a great part of his territories taken from him; and the power of the Christians daily increasing, was continually in the field, and no less active in his intrigues; sometimes regaining the *Moorish* tribes, who had revolted to the *Portuguese*; and at others, rendering those suspicious in the eyes of their new friends, whom he could not debauch^c. This very year there happened several instances of this sort; but upon the whole there was nothing done of any great importance to either party, since the *Moors* were not able to recover any of their fortresses out of the hands of the Christians: and on the other hand, the *Portuguese* had much ado to maintain the ground they had gained, and to recover several little *Moorish* clans who had revolted from them in the spring. But the greatest mischief they met with, was the death of *Jehabentasuf*, the most able and the most faithful *Moor* who had embraced their interest. The king of *Fez*, notwithstanding their long acquaintance and friendship, had found means to create a jealousy of him in Don *Nugno de Mascarenbas*; which the *Moor* no sooner perceived than he acquainted Don *Emanuel* with it, and desired that the strictest enquiry might be made into his conduct; but the king, who was grown extremely cautious since the affair of *Albuquerque*, transmitted his letter to *Mascarenbas*, and ordered him not to give so worthy a man any offence. As this justified the governor in trusting him, he made no scruple of doing it, and *Jehabentasuf*, either by force or persuasion, brought back all but one tribe of the revolted *Moors*. At length a conference was demanded by their chiefs; to which he went with three of his officers, and was by them most perfidiously murdered as he sat at table, to the great sorrow and irreparable misfortune of the *Portuguese*^d.

His project of
penetrating
thro' Congo
into Ethiopia.

THE king flattered himself this year with having found out the means of gaining some degree of certainty, in respect to the only part of his oriental discoveries, which even till this time was not thoroughly understood. There was one captain *Quadrás*, who being shipwrecked in the *Arabian* gulph, fell into the hands of the natives, and having suffered a long and severe imprisonment, acquired their language in such a degree of perfection, that by concealing his country, and pretending great zeal for the *Mohammedan* religion, he passed through *Arabia* into *Persia*, and so to *Ormus*, where resuming the habit and the manners of a Christian, he was sent home with great recommendations of his knowledge, capacity, and integrity. With this gentleman the king had many conversations, and having learned from him many particulars relating to *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, which he never knew before, he conceived that he was a very fit person to execute a scheme that had long occupied his mind, of discovering a passage by land from the kingdom of *Congo* into the empire of *Abyssinia*. His predecessor, king *John*, arrived at a certainty with respect to a passage to the *Indies*, by employing men of learning to travel, as well as men of courage to discover by sea; and Don *Emanuel* had formed to himself great hopes of the advantages that might be derived by opening a correspondence between two Christian potentates, with whom he was in alliance, and who had ports on both sides of *Africa*. What the nature of his system was is very uncertain; to what height it might have been carried we are likewise ignorant; but the learned bishop of *Silves* has very truly observed, that it was very judicious, and manifested his perfect skill in the art of making, managing, and completing discoveries. According to his scheme, whatever it was, captain *Quadrás* was dispatched to *Congo*, where he safely arrived, and presented letters from Don *Emanuel* to the king of that country, desiring he would give him proper instructions, and the necessary passports for his journey into *Ethiopia*. The monarch of *Congo* received him kindly, and treated him respectfully; but the *Portuguese* in his court, and about his person, conceiving that *Quadrás* might acquire great riches by establishing such a correspondence, became envious of him to such a degree, that they insinuated to the king these letters were either forged or obtained from Don *Emanuel* by surprize, and that he ought to do nothing in an affair of so great a consequence, without obtaining from that prince some more particular and authentic explanation of his in-

^a SANDOVAL, FARIA Y SOUSA, DAMIAN DE GOES.
GOES.

^b OSORIUS, FARIA Y SOUSA.

^c MARMOL,

^d FARIA Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVIL. LE CLEDE, OSORIUS, MARIANA, FERRERAS, DAMIAN DE GOES.

a tention. Captain *Quádras*, after waiting some time, was obliged to return to *Lisbon*, where finding the king dead, and his hopes blasted, it made such an impression on his mind, that he shut himself up in a convent, where he spent the remainder of his days in pious meditations ^a.

As the fame of Don *Emanuel's* greatness, magnificence, and other royal virtues, was diffused throughout *Europe*, he had always many ambassadors at his court; and amongst these there was one from *Charles* duke of *Savoy*, a prince, who, during the war in *Italy*, had rendered himself more considered and more respected than could have been well imagined from the size of his dominions. The true business of this ambassador was to negotiate a marriage for his master, with the infanta *Donna Beatrix*, the king's second daughter. Don *Emanuel* b listened at first to the proposition: but he drew the negociation into some length, sent ministers of his own into *Piedmont*, and at length, in the spring of this year, consented to the duke's desire, and concluded a marriage. His circumspection in this affair was not so much the effect of policy as of paternal affection. He was desirous his daughter should be as happy in her own dominions as in his; he ordered his ministers, therefore, to study the temper of the duke; to give him an exact account of the disposition of his court, of his family, and manner of living; and having received satisfaction in these points, he gave the infanta one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and a great many fine jewels. While every thing was preparing for this wedding, the queen was delivered at *Lisbon*, on the eighteenth of *June*, of the infanta *Donna Maria* ^c. As the king was naturally magnificent, so he never shewed it more than in the squadron appointed to carry the infanta to her husband's dominions. It consisted of eighteen sail of the largest ships that had been seen in *Portugal*. She was attended by many of the nobility of the first quality; and *Martin da Costa*, archbishop of *Lisbon*, accompanied her in a new ship, built and equipped at his own expence, and which was not at all inferior to any in the fleet. She sailed from the river of *Lisbon* on the ninth of *August* ^d; and arrived towards the end of *September* in the port of *Villa-Franca*, in the county of *Nice*, where she was received by the duke and his court ^e. In their return, the fleet touched at *Ceuta*, where the archbishop of *Lisbon* breathed his last. About this time the *Venetians* sent a solemn embassy to Don *Emanuel*, to desire of him several favours; but the principal design of it was to make a contract for all the spices that came from the *East Indies*, that they might d manage that trade throughout all *Europe*, as they had formerly done. The king received these ministers very politely, treated them kindly, and granted them all their other requests; but declined entering into the contract for spices, as conceiving it unreasonable that they should reap the profit of the risks and dangers to which his subjects were exposed ^b.

SOME military expeditions there were this year in *Barbary*, but of no great consequence; *Dreadful* which was chiefly owing to a grievous famine, occasioned by a great drought in the spring. *famine in* This oppressed the *Moors* to such a degree, that they pretended to be generally inclined to *Barbary* embrace the Christian religion, and offered to become slaves to those who would instruct them. Don *Emanuel's* piety was so great, that he would willingly have accepted this proposition, and have contributed all in his power towards their subsistence; but his subjects absolutely refused to receive them, from an apprehension that it was rather bread than instruction they sought; and that it might be extremely dangerous to admit such numbers, as upon the least encouragement would have taken this method to prevent starving. Besides, the harvest had been but very indifferent in *Portugal*; and they were afraid of heightening that scarcity they already felt, into the same evil from which these poor wretches sought to be delivered. However, from his own tenderness of heart, the king gave them great supplies, and neglected nothing that might make their conversion numerous and sincere ^e. Their corsairs being at this juncture very troublesome, and there being a strong suspicion that the ships of other nations dealt in the same trade of piracy, and sold their prizes to the *Moors*, the king caused a strong squadron to be fitted out, which he sent to cruise in the strait of *Gibraltar* and upon the coast of *Africa*, with strict orders to take the vessels of all nations by whom any prizes had been f made from his subjects; which had so good an effect, that in the space of a few months those seas were entirely clear. He also gave instructions for visiting and repairing the fortifications of all the places he possessed in that country, paid the arrears due to the garrisons, and caused the magazines to be filled, that they might be in a better condition to resist the efforts of their enemies, and to protect such of the *Moors* as continued to acknowledge him for their sovereign. It may be he had also greater designs in his intention, which were prevented from disclosing themselves by his unexpected death ^d.

^a OSORIUS. ^y DAMIAN DE GOES, LE CLEDE, FERR. ^z FARIÁ Y SOUSA, LA NEUFVIL. ^b OSORIUS, DAMIAN DE GOES. ^c LEQUIEN DE LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE. ^d MARMOL, OSORIUS.

Unexpected
death of Don
Emanuel.

THE temper, regularity, and excellent constitution of Don *Emanuel*, seemed to promise a florid old age; the rather, because as yet he was unattacked by infirmities, and so constant and exact in his diet and exercise, that his subjects flattered themselves he had still many years to reign. However, in the beginning of the winter an epidemic fever prevailed in *Lisbon*, which, either through the constitution of the air, or the unskilful management of the physicians, commonly terminated in a lethargy, which proved mortal. The king was seized with this fever in the beginning of *September*, and died of it upon the thirteenth. He was assisted in his last moments by some of the most eminent persons amongst the clergy, and died with all possible marks of piety and firmness. Such was the end of Don *Emanuel*, in the fifty-third year of his life, and in the twenty-seventh of his reign^c. He directed that his corpse should be interred in the royal monastery of *Bethlehem*, which he intended should become the burying-places of the princes of his line^f. He was universally lamented by his subjects, and with great reason. He completed what his predecessors had begun; reduced the government of *Portugal* into a regular system, which moved uniformly, and without interruption, as the great wheel of the finances turned steadily, and without interruption. He kept war and discord at a distance: he communicated by his own example a placid and chearful disposition to his subjects: and might justly boast, that he had banished poverty and sorrow out of his dominions. But what contributed above all to endear him to all ranks and ages, was the indefatigable pains he took to procure them ease and satisfaction, and the sincere joy he expressed in contemplating the success with which his endeavours were attended. In a word, from his accession to his demise he was always, and in all instances, the parent of his people; just without severity; affable without affectation; compassionate without weakness; and pious without any tincture of hypocrisy (D).

His character.

HE was justly stiled *the Fortunate*; but his good fortune was the effects of the divine blessing on his great wisdom, and the good ends to which it was directed. He promoted and employed the worthiest men his country produced: the intrepidity of *Vasco de Gama*, the steady courage of *Duarte Pacheco*, the noble spirit of *Francisco Almeyda*, the vast abilities of the incomparable *Albuquerque*, were all called forth to action by his discernment. He saw the discovery, and he saw the empire of the *Indies* carried to the greatest height: he reaped the fruits of that spirit of commerce and navigation, the expectation of which only had been the delight of his predecessor. He did much, though he did not all he proposed in *Africa*. He made that country a nursery for officers and soldiers: he broke the spirit of the *Moors*, by inflicting on them the miseries that *Portugal* and *Spain* had felt from them in former ages. He raised the naval power of his kingdom not only beyond what it was, and beyond expectation, but even to a degree that, till it was visible, had been held impossible. He was respected, and formidable to his neighbours, without injuring them. His friendship was courted as an honour, and not from a principle of fear. His magnificence carried utility with it; and the splendor of his buildings and establishments of every kind, bore at once the marks of his magnanimity and generosity. Amongst these were reckoned thirteen monasteries in *Portugal*, besides those

^c FARIA Y SOUSA, OSORIUS, MAFFOEI Hist. Indic. VASCONCEL. LA NEUFVIL. Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. ii. p. 606. LE CLEDE, DAMIAN DE GOES, FARR. MARIANA, TURQUET. ^f FARIA Y SOUSA.

(D) Don *Emanuel* was in point of stature rather above the ordinary size, but somewhat lean; his forehead high; his hair of a dark brown; his eyes blue, and remarkably soft and pleasant. His arms, like those of the *Persian* emperor *Darius*, so long, that when he stood upright his fingers reached below his knees. He performed all his exercises gracefully, and with much agility. He was very knowing in astronomy, geography, and navigation; and though he seemed to spend a great deal of time in diversion, yet while he appeared to be only occupied about these, he did a great deal of business. It was a maxim of his, that to hear truth and to obtain the best advice, the surest way was to ask and to receive answers on the sudden. He did not affect to be thought a great politician, and perhaps this shewed that he was so. The troubles that his predecessors met with, came either from *Rome* or from *Castile*. He met with no vexation from either quarter. The presents he received from *India*, when they had been sufficiently stared at in *Lisbon*, he sent to *Rome*, accompanied with more solid presents. Methods by which he obtained bulls for reforming and taxing his clergy, very little to their satisfaction, but which, however, kept them humble and quiet. In regard to *Castile*, he was always courted by its sovereigns, and yet put no great

confidence in their friendship, which, however, he retained during his whole reign, partly from the ties of alliance, and partly from the respect due to his great power. In point of justice, he was not either remiss or inexorable. He was told one night, when he was on the point of going to bed, that a lady pressed earnestly for an audience; upon which he dressed himself, and ordered her to be admitted. "If my husband, sir," said she at her first entrance into the room, "had caught me in the act of adultery with any man, would you not have pardoned him if he had killed me?" "I certainly should, madam," returned the king. "Then I," replied the lady, "claim the same indulgence. I found my husband at his country-house in the arms of my slave, and in the heat of my resentment I dispatched them both with the single stroke of a dagger." "So far as in me lies," added the king, "your offence shall be remitted." He kept his word, and sent her a pardon the next day. There was no court in *Europe* more gallant or more polite than his, without being at all dissolute; for in this he was extremely correct, laying it down as a rule of great consequence, that where women were conspicuous for their virtue, men would be always distinguished by a true spirit of honour.

- a in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*. Eight great churches, the hospital of *Lisbon*, five palaces, upwards of twenty fortresses, exclusive of lesser castles, and several bridges, moles, fountains, and other public works, were begun and finished by him. He dedicated the hundredth penny of all his revenues to pious uses: he gave proper appointments to one hundred knights who served in *Africa*; and he made this service the road to preferment. He created a king at arms: and as he had reduced the laws, so he likewise brought the system of nobility into perfect order. He caused *Edward Galvam* and *Roderic de l'ina* to reduce the ancient chronicles into some tolerable method. He loved and encouraged the sciences chiefly by shewing a singular respect for those who excelled in them. He was a great reformer of his clergy; not by intruding into ecclesiastical affairs, or making strict regulations, but by paying a just deference to learning and merit, and raising none who were defective in either. He brought this
- b so far, that the great officers of state, and the great prelates were equally the ornaments of his court; and he would often say, that the prosperity of a state depended on paying an equal regard to nobility of blood and nobility of mind. As an instance of this he wore mourning for the great officers who died in his service, and kept his chamber three days upon the death of the best pilot in his dominions. One of his courtiers told him that would not recal him. "It is true, said *Emanuel*, and it is because I know his loss is irreparable that I mourn." He had faults, but they were not considerable either in their nature or in their number; and which is more, they were the excesses of his virtue. His own candour made him think all men candid; by this he was sometimes deceived, but he quickly perceived it, owned it, bewailed it, and
- c atoned for it. He had a familiarity which some of his courtiers thought incompatible with his rank. As for instance, he was pleased in hearing the children examined at church, and frequently asked them questions himself. It may be he had more religion and less pride than those who censured him. He loved music and dancing, and would often pass the whole night at a ball; but it was privately, and in his own family. He had set hours for business, which he never neglected; but this was for business that could be done at those hours; when any thing happened unexpectedly, he dispatched it where-ever he was, or however engaged. He loved rural sports, and manly exercises, and he spent much time in them; but it was not thrown away. He would sometimes say to one minister, sometimes to another, "Come, we are
- d "alone, have you any thing to say." When they came in from hunting, or from tennis, when he found proper persons about him, he would tell them, "Now we are fatigued with "play, let us divert ourselves a little with business." These appeared great things to some, and trifles to others. The reader will think of them as he pleases ^z.

^z DAMIAN DE GÖES, OSORIUS Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas, LA NEUFVILLE, LE CLEDE, FERRERAS.

S E C T. VI.

The reigns of John III. Sebastian, and Henry.

- e **A**T the time of his father's demise, *John* prince of *Portugal* was in the twentieth year of his ^{Accession of} age. By the advice of his council he retarded his proclamation to the sixth day after his ^{king John III.} father's death; whereas till that time it had been always on the third. But when it was performed, it was with very great magnificence; almost all the nobility and prelates of the kingdom assisting, and all the king's brethren being present. The cardinal *Alonso* administered the oath to the king, and the infant *Don Lewis*, duke of *Beja*, was the first nobleman who did homage ^a. He recalled immediately *Don Lewis Silveyra*, whom his father had banished, and received him again into his favour, but in conjunction with *Don Antonio de Ataida*, who was a man of a very different character. *Don Lewis* had wit, learning, and spirit; was a very accomplished nobleman, and in all respects an ornament to the court. *Don Antonio*, with all
- f the good breeding of a courtier, and with the abilities of a great statesman, had clean hands, and an upright heart. They shared the confidence of the king for a time: but as he grew older he bestowed it entirely on *Don Antonio* ^b. One of his first acts of government was to send *Don Juan Silveyra* to the court of *France*, to expostulate roundly about the depredations committed by some ships that bore the *French* flag, and the attempts made to interfere with his colonies and conquests by others. He sent likewise an ambassador to compliment cardinal *Adrian* upon his advancement to the papacy, to offer him a squadron to carry him to *Italy*, and to desire a dispensation for his brother *Don Lewis* to hold the priory of *Crato*, which he had be-

^a Cronica do Rey de Portugal Don Joan III. composta por FRANC. D'ANDRADA, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, MARIANA, TURQUET.

^b FARIA Y SOUSA, ANDRADA.

stowed

flowed upon him. But the ambassador came too late, for the Pope was already gone^c. There had been in his father's life-time a treaty of marriage between the infant Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Maria Coutinho*, which had been delayed on account of her youth, and which her father, the count *de Marialva*, desired might be now celebrated. But the marquis *de Las Torres*, son to Don *George*, duke of *Coimbra*, interposed, and affirmed, that there was a contract between him and the young lady. This she solemnly denied, and the king thereupon committed the marquis, and consented to his brother's marriage: upon which Don *George* retired from court in discontent^d. As the council were unanimously of opinion, that the king ought to think of a fit marriage, the duke of *Bragança* proposed that he should espouse his mother-in-law, Donna *Lenora*, who was immensely rich, and to whom his father had left a large jointure; and as strange as this proposition might seem, it was supported by a strong party. But the count *de Vimioso* steadily opposed it; and the city of *Lisbon* having remonstrated against it, the king declined all thoughts of it; so that in the month of *November*, when the count *de Cabra* came from the emperor *Charles* the fifth, to desire that his sister might have leave to retire into *Castile*, with her daughter Donna *Maria*, the king readily granted it with respect to his mother-in-law, though it was with some difficulty he consented to part with his sister, and at length revoked it^e (A).

A very singular instance of the prime minister's disinterestedness and probity.

A. D. 1523.

THE plague being in *Portugal*, the king was obliged to shift from one province to another, and so was the queen likewise, to whom Don *John* made a visit at *Meija*, where he took his leave in public; and that princess set out in the month of *May*, accompanied by the princes Don *Lewis* and Don *Ferdinand*, and continued her journey to *Valladolid*, and from thence to *Medina el Campo*, where the emperor then was^f. Don *Juan Silveira* was received with all possible testimonies of respect in *France*; but except these, and a smooth answer, he could obtain nothing. The king's favourite, Don *Lewis de Silveira*, was sent to the court of the emperor where he remained eight months. It was intended that he should have offered the infanta Donna *Isabella* to that monarch; but one of the ships that *Magellan* carried to the *East Indies* returning, the king restrained Don *Lewis's* negotiation to mere points of ceremony. At his return he found the king at *Almeyrin*, where entertaining him with his usual familiarity, and forgetting to kiss his hand at his first appearance, he lost his favour; with which he was not much affected, nor did he enter into any intrigues against Don *Antonio de Ataida*, who became in a manner first minister. There is a passage related of this statesman that ought to be preserved: the lord of *Azambuja*, a nobleman of one of the

^c PETRI MARTYR Angl. GARIBAY dans l'Histoire de Navarre, SANDOVAL, LE CLEDE, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR. ^d FARIA Y SOUSA. ^e ANDRADA, SANDOVAL, MARIANA. ^f FARIA Y SOUSA, ANDRADA, FERR. LE CLEDE.

(A) This prince was born at *Lisbon*, on the sixth of *June*, 1502; and from the violent storm that happened at his birth, so much the more uncommon, as it fell out in the most serene season of the year, the vulgar figured to themselves perpetual wars abroad, and it may be popular stirrings and commotions at home, whenever he came to reign (1). The palace taking fire while the ceremony of his christening was performing, revived these idle discourses, which passed for oracles, through the superstition of those times. When he was a year old, the king his father caused the nobility to swear to his succession. He was first committed to the care of *Gonsalo Figueyra*, a citizen of *Lisbon*; but the queen his mother took upon her the care of his education, and was very solicitous about it herself, admonishing him frequently, that nothing rendered a man so despicable as ignorance; and that at the same time it rendered no man so despicable as a prince, whose authority was best supported by his personal merit. Don *Emanuel*, his father, who was himself a very learned prince, and who had always persons of distinguished knowledge in his presence, was extremely desirous that his son should be distinguished by his science, and for this purpose fixed upon Don *Diego Ortiz*, bishop of *Tangier*, to instruct him in the languages; *Lewis Teixeira* to acquaint him with the laws, and to give him fit notions of them, and of the principles on which they were made; and one *de Torres*, who was then

famous for his skill in physic and astrology, to give him lights into the superior sciences (2). The prince, however, shewed no inclination to study; and all the pains that his masters took were to very little purpose. When he was about ten years old, he had the misfortune to fall out of a high gallery, by which he was so much stunned, that the surgeons and physicians thought his life in danger: however, he quickly recovered, without suffering any thing more by the accident than having a small scar in his forehead. Not long after, he had a violent fit of sickness, and from the time of his recovery from thence, a very firm and settled state of health (3). His father perceiving that Don *Juan* had not either taste or application sufficient to render him learned, had recourse to another method of instruction, placing about him noblemen distinguished for wit and parts, and bringing him before he was eleven years of age to the council table. This had a very good effect; he improved daily, listened with attention to debates, and came to entertain very right notions in politics; but at the same time he grew vain, opinionated, and full of presumption (4). His father's second marriage, and the alteration of his behaviour, corrected these defects; so that at the time of the king's demise, Don *Juan* was infinitely more capable of the administration than most of his father's old ministers ever believed he would have been, and shewed for them all the respect and attention they could desire (5).

(1) *Damian de Goes, Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa.*

(2) *Andrada, Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa.*

(3) *Andrada, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Le Clede.*

(4) *Elogios dos Reis de Portugal, Andrada, Vas-*

concellos, Faria y Sousa.

(5) *Andrada, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Vasconcellos, Mayerne Turquet,*

a most ancient families in *Portugal*, partly through his zeal for the public service, was so reduced that he was constrained to sell his lands. The king told Don *Antonio* that he would do well to buy them, as they lay next his own. "Your majesty," replied the minister, "will do much better to enable him to keep them, since himself, and his ancestors, have been impoverished by the services they have rendered the crown." The king took his advice, and so that noble family was saved from ruin ^g.

In order to restore a right understanding between the crowns of *Castile* and *Portugal*, it was absolutely requisite that the dispute about the *Moluccas* should be adjusted, and for this purpose commissaries were named on both sides, who met, debated, and disagreed; by which the breach was made wider than before, and the emperor actually granted a commission for sending thither another fleet, notwithstanding the *Portuguese* commissioners, at their departure, had protested against the proceedings of those who assisted at these conferences on the part of *Spain*. King *John* upon this sent Don *Pedro de Corred* and doctor *Juan de Faria*, his ambassadors to the emperor, to treat of a marriage with his sister the princess *Katherine*; which these ministers not only concluded, but also by the loan of a considerable sum of money for the *Italian* expedition, obtained a convention, by which all points in dispute in regard to the *Moluccas* were to be suspended, till this money should be repaid; and thus this troublesome affair was laid asleep. As to the marriage, it was agreed, that the emperor should be at the expence of his sister's journey, but that the king of *Portugal* should pay for the dispensation; that the princess should have two hundred thousand crowns, exclusive of her jewels, and an annuity of five thousand crowns *per annum*. These points being settled, she was conducted with great solemnity to the frontiers of *Portugal*, received there by the king's brothers, and upon her arrival at *Crato*, the marriage was celebrated with all the magnificence possible ^h. This year the king found it necessary to send *Vasco de Gama*, count of *Videguira*, to the *Indies*, which he discovered, where, old and infirm as he was, he settled all things to the general satisfaction of the *Portuguese* and the natives; and soon after expired at *Goa*, universally regretted by both ⁱ. The *Portuguese* still continued their expeditions in *Africa*; but the cherifs extended their empire in that country notwithstanding, and revived thereby the credit and power of the *Moors*. A. D. 1524.

THE emperor Don *Carlos*, perceiving that little or no advantage would arise from the negotiation he had been long carrying on in *England*, resolved at length to send ambassadors into *Portugal* to demand the infant Donna *Isabella*. It was not long before the treaty was concluded, by which the emperor charged himself with the expences of the dispensation; the king promised to defray those of the journey, and the fortune was fixed at a million of ducats, nine hundred thousand to be paid in money, and the rest to be bestowed in jewels. This marriage was celebrated in the month of *November* by proxy, and in the spring the infanta set out for *Castile* ^k; the *Portuguese* noblemen who accompanied her, having orders to take possession of certain lands, which the emperor was content to give in mortgage for his sister's fortune that was not yet paid. About this time arrived an ambassador from *Ethiopia*, sent by the emperor *David*, who governed that country, now stiled by the *Portuguese* the *Grand Negus*, and who had formerly made such a noise in the world by the title of *Prester John*. This ambassador, who did not make any great figure, proceeded afterwards to *Rome*, in order to pay his master's homage to the Pope, or at least it was so given out ^l. At this juncture the affairs in the *Indies* were in a very flourishing condition, and the vast treasures they brought into the kingdom occasioned a great resort of strangers. This, with some insolent actions of the *Jews*, either really committed, or boldly invented, and confidently maintained, gave the clergy an opportunity of pressing the king to introduce the inquisition ^m, which at length they obtained; and it happened luckily for them, that soon after the holy office was established a great famine ceased, which the priests persuaded the people was the peculiar blessing of Heaven on this pious action. It was not long, however, before the bulk of the nation saw what a blessing this was, but their penetration came a little too late; for by this time the authority of that inexorable tribunal was risen to such a height, that it was equally unsafe and ineffectual to aim at disclosing the miseries and inconveniencies that had attended it. Some indeed place this event ten years later, and found their calculation upon the bull granted by Pope *Paul* the third, for establishing the holy office at *Evora*; which very possibly might be, and yet the tribunal might have been brought in by the king and clergy before, who now applied to the holy see to still the murmurs that were raised against it, by this authentic act of approbation (B).

THE

^g FARIA Y SOUSA, ANDRADA.^h SANDOVAL, ANDRADA, MARIANA, TURQUET.ⁱ MAF-

POEI Hist. Indic.

^k SANDOVAL, ANDRADA, FERR. MARIANA, TURQUET.^l FARIA Y

SOUSA.

^m ANDRADA, FARIA Y SOUSA. FERR.

(B) There is something very dark in the introduction of the inquisition into *Portugal*, so that even the most intelligent authors are far from being well agreed

either as to the time or manner of it. But if any credit be due to a certain relation, we may, notwithstanding, have a pretty good account of this perplexed affair,

The infant
Don Lewis,
duke of Beja,
attends the em-
peror Charles
V. into Bar-
bary.

THE *Moors* began at this time to reduce some of the *Portuguese* garrisons in *Africa*, and to extend their power very considerably. The *Turks* also sent the famous *Barbarossa* to give the Christians all the trouble in his power, who having overturned the king of *Tunis*, became very formidable. This induced the emperor *Charles* the fifth to make an expedition for the restitution of that city to its old monarch; in which he desired and received the assistance of *Portugal*: the king sending two or three very large ships, and a numerous squadron besides, under the command of Don *Antonio Saldagna*, with whom went privately the infant Don *Lewis*, who was received at *Barcelona* by the emperor with all possible marks of esteem and regard; and the king likewise sent after him an hundred thousand ducats for the expences of the campaign: in which he distinguished himself exceedingly, and in a short time became the delight of the whole army. In the main, however, this was no great benefit to the *Portuguese*; for, by employing the greatest part of their strength on that side, they left their own conquests open to an enemy that never let slip any advantage; neither does it appear that the *Castilians*, after they had carried their point, were in any condition to assist the governors who held places for the king of *Portugal*, and consequently, whatever glory might be gained by this transaction, there was little or no profit resulted from it, but rather the contrary; and it was not long before they were made very sensible of this, as well as of the difficulty and expence of supporting a war at so great a distance, and with such an inequality of forces; more especially as they were obliged to make their utmost efforts for the preservation of their acquisitions in the *Indies*.

A. D. 1536.

The *Turks*
and *Moors* at-
tack the *Portu-
guese* conquests
but are soon
repelled.

1538.

SOLYMAN the second, emperor of the *Turks*, being solicited by the *Mohammedan* princes in the *Indies*, resolved to take up the quarrel against the *Portuguese*, as lord of *Egypt*, where the *Mamelukes* had dropped it, and accordingly sent orders to the bashaw who governed for him there, to employ his whole strength against the Christians; which he did, and sailed out of the *Red Sea* with a greater naval force than the *Mohammedans* had ever employed before, having four thousand janissaries, and sixteen thousand other land troops on board. Yet the courage of the *Portuguese* soldiers, and the conduct of their officers, taking the advantage of the insult, cruelty, and perfidiousness of the *Turkish* general, defeated all this mighty force, and saved their empire from that ruin with which it was threatened. In *Africa* also the king of *Fez* was baffled before the town of *Safi*, and fresh quarrels breaking out amongst the *Moorish* princes, gave great and unexpected relief to the Christians in those parts, who were in a manner quite exhausted by the long continuance of a defensive war; and had even sunk under the last attack, if they had not twice received timely supplies from the island of *Madeira*. But whenever the cherifs quarrelled with each other, one party was sure to have recourse to the *Portuguese*, who, by sending them a small supply, preserved quiet to themselves, and had the satisfaction of seeing their enemies employed in destroying each other. Yet in the end even this had

ⁿ OCHOA, PARUTA, RAINALD, SANDOVAL, ANDRADA, FARIA Y SOUSA, MARIANA, TURQUET, FERR.
^o OCHOA, SANDOVAL, RAINALD, PARUTA, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR.

affair (6). It is said that a certain monk, one *Juan Perez de Saavedra*, a native of *Cordova*, feigned himself cardinal legate for *Paul* the third, brought a bull from *Rome*, appointing certain inquisitors into heresy, and other dangerous opinions, which instrument, besides all exterior marks of authenticity, was drawn up with all the care and caution imaginable, and executed by those to whom it was directed with equal vigour and vigilance (7). However, some suspicions arising, upon a strict enquiry, this bull was found to be forged and counterfeit: for publishing of which the monk was condemned to spend the remainder of his days in the galleys; but by the interposition of the Pope, after some years released (8). The inquisitors, however, went on in the discharge of their offices, as if the authority by which they were appointed had been the best founded in the world; and the king was persuaded that this was so much for his service, for the benefit of the church, and the welfare of the people, that he not only acquiesced but actually procured a new bull from *Rome* for the establishment of the holy office (9). It appeared, however, in a very short space of time, that the post of first inquisitor was of such consequence, that it could not be put into better hands than those of

the cardinal infant Don *Henry*; and indeed it has been ever since held the highest ecclesiastical promotion in this kingdom (1). To prevent opposition, the power of the inquisitors was somewhat qualified in *Portugal*. They were not to imprison bishops upon suspicion of heresy; or to proceed to the conviction of any charged with that crime, without the consent or concurrence of the bishop in whose diocese the person accused of heresy resided. But the inquisitors, who have the strongest aversion in the world to restraints, have explained away both these clauses in a very plausible manner. They confess they have no authority to send any prelate to prison; but that this does not hinder their confining him to his own house. Upon convictions, they demand the consent and concurrence of the diocesan; but as they seldom vouchsafe to give him sufficient lights, this is commonly refused: however, the having demanded it, is in the judgment of the holy office, a sufficient act of complaisance; and the refusal, a sufficient provocation to proceed without it, which without any farther ceremony they do (2). We shall have occasion to touch this subject more than once hereafter, and shall not therefore pursue it any farther here.

(6) *Memoires historiques pour servir a l'Histoire des Inquisitions*, tom. ii. p. 3.
cardinal Don *Juan Tavera*, cap. xxxvii.

(7) *Cronica de el Car-*

(8) *Aubery Histoire generale des Cardineaux*, tom. iii. p. 618.
(9) *Andrada, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras, Faria y Sousa, Le Clede.*

(1) *Papir. Masson. Elog.* tom. i.

p. 384. (2) *Geddes's Account of the Inquisition in Portugal.*

bad consequences, for on one hand it kept up a martial spirit amongst the *Moors*, and on the other it made them acquainted with the *Portuguese* discipline; so that after every short interval of repose, they not only found them as much enemies as before, but likewise more formidable through constant exercise, and these accidental improvements.

WHATEVER pleasure king *John* might take in the prospect of foreign affairs, it was much qualified by disagreeable events at home. Don *Philip*, who was the heir apparent of his dominions, died at six years of age at *Lisbon*, and his mind was scarce composed, before the empress *Isabella*, his sister, finished her days at *Toledo*^p. The next year was big with more black events, since death bereaved him of his son Don *Antonio*, and of his brothers Don *Alonso* and Don *Duarte*, which renewed his grief for the infant Don *Ferdinand*, and his two sons, who died some years before^q. These disasters rendered him not a little melancholy, and this was heightened by an act of treachery, of which the king was so much the more sensible, as flowing from a person whom he could never have suspected. This was Don *Michael de Silva*, bishop of *Viseo*, brother to the count of *Portalegre*, and secretary of his cabinet, who having privately negotiated at *Rome* for a cardinal's hat, on condition of revealing his master's secrets, stole from him some papers of great importance, and then privately withdrew to *Rome*; where, for this infamous action, he was received with the greatest joy, and, according to the Pope's promise, admitted into the college. The king, as it might be well expected, resented this highly, caused him to be out-lawed as a traitor, deprived him of his honours and benefices, and forbid all his subjects to hold any correspondence with him on pain of his highest displeasure; which fell upon his brother Don *George*, count *Portalegre*, who ventured to write him a letter, for which he was sent prisoner to the tower of *Bellem*, where he remained till the infanta Donna *Maria* prevailed on the king to release him, and even then he was banished to *Arzila*: where, by his gallant behaviour against the *Moors*, he at length effaced the memory of this miscarriage, and recovered his sovereign's favour, who, in the course of his reign, had never proceeded with the like severity against any of the nobility^r; but, however, it had a good effect.

Melancholy
events in Por-
tugal.
A. D. 1539.

1542:

As the emperor was very solicitous to conciliate the close alliance between the two crowns, another marriage between his son, the infant Don *Philip*, and the infanta Donna *Maria*, daughter to king *John*, was proposed, and well received by the court of *Portugal*: the terms were quickly adjusted, and the princess married by proxy. She did not, however, set out for *Spain* till some months after, shewed a visible reluctance at quitting her own country and family, who made her the like returns of tenderness^s. The king had a natural son, Don *Duarte*, archbishop of *Braga*, whose mother was Donna *Isabella Nugnez*, daughter to the alcaide of *Lisbon*: he caused him now to appear for the first time at court, caressed him extremely, and seemed to expect the like regard should be paid him by the rest of the royal family. This young prelate, who was between twenty and thirty, was distinguished by his learning and piety, and his great knowledge in, and application to the *Portuguese* history, which rendered his father inconsolable for his loss, which happened by sudden death not long after^t. In the *Indies* things were carried with a high hand: Don *Juan* was very circumspect in the choice of the officers he sent thither, supported them thoroughly, and rewarded them amply. In *Africa* he contented himself with keeping on the defensive, in which, though his subjects did wonders, yet their force gradually declined, and he saw himself at length under a necessity of constructing at a great expence a new citadel at *Alcazar*, to which he was desirous the emperor should contribute, as that fortress was like to be of more consequence to *Andalusia* than even *Portugal* or *Algarve*. When the *Portuguese* minister stated this to the emperor, he very readily admitted the fact, and as cheerfully complied with what king *John* desired, who also accepted of the order of the Golden Fleece, which hitherto for certain reasons he had declined^u, and as the emperor had revived this order, he was the more obliged.

Prince Philip
of Castile
espouses the in-
fanta Donna
Maria of Por-
tugal.

THIS good correspondence, however, between the two crowns, did not in the least abate king *John*'s attention to his just rights, or render him in the least passive when they were violated. He understood that there was one *Antonio de Pesquera*, a merchant at *St. Lucar*, who carried on privately a great trade to *Guiney* and the *Brazils*, upon which he gave orders to *Vasco Lorenzo* to keep an eye upon him; and accordingly *Pesquera* having fitted out his vessel for a new voyage, *Vasco* came up with, and took him in the height of the *Canaries*. Of this the arch-duke *Maximilian*, who was regent of *Spain*, complained very loudly, as *Pesquera* was taken within the dominions of the crown of *Castile*, and before he had engaged in any illicit trade; and therefore, upon the first application of the Imperial minister, the king ordered him to be set at liberty, and his own officer to be sent to prison: but he ordered his ambassador to tell the arch-duke, that he did not do this because he thought *Pesquera*

The king causes
many good
laws to be
made for the
benefit of his
subjects.

^p ANDRADA, MARIANA, TURQUET, SANDOVAL.

^r Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas.

Historia de Espana, part xiii. § xvi.

SANDOVAL, OCHOA, TURQUET.

^q FARIA Y SOUSA, ANDRADA, LE CLEDE.

^s SANDOVAL, ANDRADA, SALAZAR DE MENDOZA, FERR.

^t ANDRADA, MARIANA, TURQUET, LE CLEDE.

^u SAN-

innocent, or his own officer at all to blame, but that he might shew him how exactly he complied with treaties, and the manner in which he expected they should be complied with ^w. Don George, the son of king John the second, after having lived upon bad terms with the court from the beginning of his reign, returned thither now of his own accord, and though seventy years of age, fell violently in love with Donna Maria Manuel, one of the queen's maids of honour, whom he would have married, if, at the request of his son, the king had not interposed, and prevented it: upon which he once more withdrew from the court in discontent ^x. The king, finding that wealth and indolence had rendered the kingdom in some measure defenceless, very wisely established a militia, appointing, that every man of such an estate should keep, or at least be ready to find, a foot soldier with the usual weapons, whenever he was called upon: that he who had double that estate, should provide a musqueteer; ^y and he who had thrice that income, a trooper. By another law, he restrained the breeding of mules, that he might be the better able to remount his cavalry, and prevent that fine breed of horses, for which his dominions had been famous, from being lost or injured. He gave rewards for hunting wolves, as well for the sake of destroying those ravenous creatures, as to revive an active and manly spirit amongst the common people: but another regulation he made at the same time, though nothing could be better intended, had consequences of the most pernicious kind ^z. The king had hitherto had an eye to all business himself, and had shewn great sagacity in the choice of ministers, but as he could not do every thing at once, there wanted not some complaints that affairs were not dispatched, which put the king upon imitating the practice in *Castile*, leaving most of the affairs of government to council, and dividing that council into boards, or committees, for different purposes. To which an able and honest *Portuguese* historian attributes the declension of the kingdom; for irresolution, feuds, and perhaps corruption, crept into these boards; and if affairs went slowly before, they now either went not at all, or went so fast that justice could not keep pace with them. The king perceived it too soon for himself, and too late for his subjects, as we shall see hereafter ^a.

Marriage concluded between the prince of Portugal, and the infanta Donna Joanna. On the death of Pope Paul the third, the king sent orders to his minister at Rome to employ every method practicable for raising his brother cardinal Henry to the papal throne, and he demanded likewise the assistance of the emperor and the French king, to which he thought himself well intitled, by his near relation to the one, and the alliance that had so long subsisted with the other. He was promised, and deceived by both ^a. Cardinal de Monte was chosen, and assumed the name of Julius the third ^b. The copper money in *Portugal* being intrinsically of a higher value than what it was coined for, it was gradually carried out of the kingdom; upon which one of the new councils devised a large new copper coinage under the intrinsic value, which was thereupon counterfeited abroad, vast quantities of it brought in, and silver and gold carried away ^c. It is possible the king did not fully understand this matter, but his good sense should have engaged him to enquire, and his interest inclined him to listen to those who did. The Spanish and Portuguese coasts were at this time miserably infested by pirates under Turkish and French colours: to remedy which, king John determined to fit out guard-ships; but considering with himself that these might prove little better, if not under due regulations, he concerted measures with the emperor, who also fitted out others, and the instructions of their officers being reciprocally exchanged, it was impossible for them to find their account in any thing but doing their duty. The prince Don Juan being now near man's estate, it was thought highly expedient that he should marry, and the princess fixed upon was the princess Donna Joanna, daughter to the emperor, niece to the king of Portugal by the mother, and to the queen by the father's side. The treaty was quickly concluded; the portion fixed at three hundred and fifty thousand ducats; the duke of Aveyro and the bishop of Coimbra were sent to receive her on the frontiers towards the end of November. She was met by the king soon after she entered his dominions, and by him conducted to Lisbon, where the marriage was solemnized with a degree of splendor, and with such testimonies of public joy as had been scarce seen in Portugal before ^d.

The unfortunate death of the prince of Portugal, and birth of Don Sebastian. As the king apprehended domestic affairs to be now in a great measure settled, he applied himself with vigilance to those at a distance, sending to the Indies several young men of birth and spirit, with reasonable appointments for their subsistence, and promises sufficient to entertain their hopes. Amongst these was Camoens, the famous poet, who celebrated the behaviour of others, and was no way inferior to them in his own. In Barbary the Moors gained ground; for the king apprehending the projects of his predecessors impracticable, be-

^w ANDRADA.^x FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.^y ANDRADA.^z FARIA Y SOUSA,

LE CLEDE.

^a FARIA Y SOUSA.^b MARIANA, TURQUET, SANDOVAL.^c Epitome de

las Historias y Portuguesas.

^d ANDRADA, SANDOVAL, FERR. MARIANA, Epitome de las Historias y

Portuguesas, TURQUET.

a gan to bound his own to the preservation of the fortresses upon the coast, which, though not pleasing to the generality of his subjects, was perhaps a measure necessary to his affairs, since the expence of men and of money was too great to be borne by the kingdom of *Portugal*, even in its most flourishing state. The joy expressed on the prince's marriage had been heightened by his consort's pregnancy; but it was quickly turned into mourning. He became so uxorious, that it was visibly detrimental to his health, upon which, under pretence of tenderness for that of his consort, she was removed into the queen's apartment. The remedy was applied too late, the slow fever which had seized the prince, augmented in such a manner as to carry him off on the second of *January*, in the seventeenth year of his age^c. He was remarkably handsome in his person, of sprightly parts, which made him uneasy under the tuition of Don *Pedro Mascarenbas*, one of the worthiest and wisest men of that age; who, to gratify the prince, was made viceroy of the *Indies*, and forced to go thither against his will. Don *Juan*, if he had remained under his care, might probably have lived to ascend the throne. To conceal the knowledge of his death from the princess, the king visited her out of mourning. She was delivered on the feast of St. *Sebastian* of a son, to whom that name was given, in honour of the saint^f. After she recovered her health, she appeared inconsolable for the death of the prince; notwithstanding which, she quitted *Portugal* in the month of *April*, in order to assume the regency of *Spain*^e, and the care of the infant Don *Carlos*, upon the departure of his father, prince *Philip*, who was on the point of sailing to *Flanders*, to facilitate the negociation of his marriage with queen *Mary*. Don *Pedro d'Acunba*, having a squadron of five ships and four gallies on the coast of *Algarve*, received intelligence that Hamet *Arraez*, a famous *Mohammedan* corsair, was in the bay of *Tavira*, with four gallies, upon which he sailed thither immediately to attack him; but the wind failing, his ships were of no use: however, he very gallantly fell upon the enemy, notwithstanding they were double his number. The two admirals engaged with great fury; at first the *Portuguese* had the worst, but the *Turk* boarding them, was taken; the other gallies sunk one of the infidels and took two, upon which the rest fled. Don *Pedro* returned victorious to *Lisbon*; and by the exchange of the corsair, preserved the life of captain *Peter Paul*, a *Mohammedan* convert, whom the *Turks* had otherwise destined to the most exquisite tortures^h.

A. D. 1553.

1554.

THE king exerted himself with great spirit in the settlement of *Brazil*, which he brought into a very good state; caused several strong towns to be erected there, and took all possible methods to encourage the conversion of the natives to christianity. In this it is said, they met with great difficulty; and the writers of those times describe the *Brazilians* as the most obstinate, barbarous, and bloody of all the natives then discovered in *America*; notwithstanding which, it is very certain that the *Portuguese* were forced to be at great pains to prevent other *Europeans* from settling amongst or trading with them, whence it may be suspected, that those accounts were at least a little exaggerated. The grief of the kingdom for the loss of the prince was renewed by the death of the infant Don *Lewis*, duke of *Beja*, on the twenty-seventh of *November*. He was commonly stiled the delight of *Portugal*; and a very impartial historian assures us, that for piety, learning, sagacity, courage, and generosity, he was not exceeded by any prince of his timeⁱ. The disputes amongst the nobility about precedence, were frequently attended with very untoward consequences, which obliged the king to take a resolution of settling them, once for all, which he did, by established rules, that have subsisted ever since, and have in a great measure prevented the revival of such altercations. He restored the lustre of the university of *Coimbra*, and brought several professors thither from *Paris*. He had other great designs in his head, particularly with regard to reformation, which he had pushed very far with respect to religious persons of both sexes; but upon a close inspection into affairs, he found his subjects in general to have been so much injured by his leaving their concerns to the inspection of his council, that it affected him to a very great degree; so that he was seized with a kind of apoplexy, from which he recovered only so long as to make the necessary preparations for a christian death, to which, with great calmness and resignation, he submitted, *June* the sixth, or as others say, *June* the eleventh, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, to the great regret, and to the irretrievable misfortune of his people. His corpse was interred with prodigious pomp in the royal monastery of *Bellem*, to which he had been a great benefactor, and^k dutifully accomplished all his father left undone (C).

King John dies of an apoplexy.

1557.

By

^c OCHOA, ANDRADA, MARIANA, TURQUET.^f Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas, FERR.^e ANDRADA, SANDOVAL, MARIANA.^d FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, FERR. MARIANA.ⁱ FARIA

Y SOUSA, ANDRADA.

^k VASCONCELLOS, TURQUET, MARIANA, ANDRADA, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE

CLEDE.

(C) This monarch was in his person of a middle size, somewhat inclined to fatness; his eyes were of a lovely blue; and his countenance so majestic and serene, as to excite affection and respect in all who came near him.

Accession of
Don Sebastian.

By this unexpected and unfortunate death of so great a monarch, the crown of *Portugal* devolved on the head of *Sebastian*, a child of three years old. The regency, pursuant to the king's will, remained in the queen his grand-mother, who exercised it with great circumspection and moderation¹. The *Moors* supposing, that under a minority they might be able to dispossess the Christians of the fortresses they yet held, they laid siege in the first place to *Masagnan*. The queen regent, alarmed at this, sent such speedy succours, and promised such rewards to those who should do their duty, that notwithstanding the *Moors* brought fourscore thousand men before the place, they were at length constrained to raise the siege. This was at first magnified as a high proof of the queen's wisdom and capacity; but by degrees the natural aversion of the *Portuguese* to be governed by a woman, and perhaps also by a *Castilian*, appeared so visibly, that of her own accord she quitted the administration, and retired into a convent, devolving the power and title of regent upon the cardinal infant Don *Henry*, who it was thought did not dislike the queen's resolution^m. He presently appointed Don *Alexius de Meneses* the king's governor, and *Gonsales de Camera*, and two other priests for his preceptors, being content to apply himself wholly to affairs of state; in which, though he was very profound, yet he had an invincible love for peace, and a noble spirit of equity and justice. By this means the nation in general, and the city of *Lisbon* in particular, increased in wealth, and the people became every day more and more pleased with the lenity of his administration.

Short account
of that young
monarch's dis-
position, and of
the errors in
his education.

At length the king drawing near the age of fourteen, the cardinal began to prepare all things for delivering up his charge. Authors are very much divided as to the capacity of the young prince his pupil; for some represent him as a prodigy in point of capacity and abilities; while others would persuade us that he was either deficient in parts, or at certain times frantic, and deprived of the free use of his senses. What seems to be most certain is, that while a child, he had a very quick capacity, and a very unusual eagerness for learning, which certainly might have been improved, so as to render him a great and good prince; but those

¹ Epitome de la vida y hechos de D. Sebastian Rey de Portugal, par JUAN DE BAENA PAREDA, MARIANA, TURQUET, FERR. ^m FARIA Y SOUSA.

him (2). In his youth he spoke very quick, and loved talking a little too much; but before he came to the crown he set himself studiously to correct these and other defects, in which he was peculiarly happy (3). His piety was solid, and free from superstition. He was a great friend to the jesuits, because at the first appearance of that order they were very strict in their morals, and declaimed perpetually against the luxury and intrigues of the monks, who were by no means in the king's good graces; who, following the maxims of his father and grandfather, studied to be well with the court of *Rome*; and having procured from thence bulls for the reformation of the mendicant orders, he took care they should be thoroughly executed; and though the monks clamoured, it was all in vain, for having the nuncio, the bishop, the jesuits, the nobility, and the people on his side, they were constrained to submit (4). He instituted the council of conscience, in which the sentences of all courts of law were reviewed, that they might be moderated according to equity. He likewise formed the council for the inspection of military orders, and heightened the lustre of that of *Christ*, in a manner suitable to its dignity (5). His tenderness for his people was so great, that nothing could move him to tax them. When his ministers proposed it, "Let us be first clear," said he, "that raising of money is necessary." When that point was cleared, "Now," says the king, "let us see what expences are unnecessary." So that frugality was the fund that answered all extraordinary demands in his reign (6). He had a great, and even a miraculous memory, insomuch, that upon reading the roll of the students, in the university of *Coimbra*, he retained it at once, and saluted each of them by their names (7). He rewarded all services with his own hands, and that without delay, but withal moderately; and he used to say upon such occasions, "I would give more, but I

"must give to many." He loved to have his nobility about him; but he created no new employments, nor reduced any; yet he did not heap them upon a few persons, for his maxim was, that one public employment, and his own private business, was occupation enough for one man (8). In ceremony he was extremely correct, and carried magnificence to the greatest height, but very rarely and upon extraordinary occasions: at other times he was modest in his garb, and very familiar with those about him. His nobility understood this, and that he looked upon all spectacles as masquerades, where a man was to be careful in acting his part properly, for the entertainment of the people, but was to lay aside his theatrical air with his fine cloaths. He built and endowed several hospitals, some religious houses for women, and finished whatever structures had been begun by his father (9). In the first part of his reign he made so good a choice of ministers, and all things went on so regularly, that he believed they would still proceed in the same manner, though he did not inspect them constantly himself: but there his judgment failed him; and when he saw this, and to how great a degree his subjects were injured by it, the sense of it was so strong, that it affected his health. In one thing he far exceeded all his predecessors; for though he put an end to the feuds that reigned amongst his nobility, reconciled all the great houses, and restrained some of their prerogatives, yet he kept them in the strictest dependency, by paying them all possible respect in public, and being very familiar with them in private (1). By his neighbours he was always courted and revered; for though he loved peace, his troops were kept full and in constant exercise, a strong squadron at sea, and an exchequer never empty; which precautions deterred insults, and in case of accidents procured immediate satisfaction.

(2) Andrada, Ferreras, Faria y Sousa.

de las Historias Portuguesas, Mayerne Turquet, Le Clede.

(6) Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.

Ferreras, Le Clede.

(9) Faria y Sousa.

(3) Vasconcellos, Andrada, Faria y Sousa.

(5) Vasconcellos, Andrada, Faria y Sousa.

(7) Andrada, Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa.

(1) Le Clede.

(4) Epitome

(8) Andrada,

a: who had the care of him, ruined the capacity they should have cultivated, and by the violence of their practices in his tender years, produced those inconsistencies in his character that were afterwards ascribed to natural imbecility^a. It will be necessary, however, to explain this more clearly. His governor infused into him an opinion that the distinguishing quality of a king was courage, and courage he represented to him as a contempt of danger, however great, which was to be always surmounted, and never avoided. His preceptors on the other hand, taught him to place all religion in the abhorrence of infidels; so that from the time he approached man's estate, he was in a continual fever, burning on the one hand with a vehement desire of displaying his want of fear, and as earnestly desirous to give the world marks of his implacable hatred to *Mohammedism*, which he took to be zeal for Christianity. During the time of his minority, the cardinal governed him by the assistance of those who were about him, and who for this reason were suffered to go their own way; but by that time he had governed the kingdom three years in his own name, they exerted their power over him for their own advantage, and not only deprived the cardinal of his confidence, but had the boldness also to propose to him resigning his archbishopric.

Few kingdoms have been more exposed to a spirit of intrigue than this of *Portugal*, His ministers during the reign of Don *Sebastian*. His grand-mother queen *Katherine*, and his great uncle the cardinal, certainly meant well to him and to the state, but not to each other; and therefore while they were employed in destroying each other in the king's good opinion, they threw him into those hands that ruined both him and his kingdom. *Martin Gonzalez de Camera*, the brother of his preceptor, was his first favourite, and the person who prevailed upon him to discard *Alcaçova*, who had been long secretary of state; he was a person of great abilities, and, if it had not been for his boundless ambition, very equal to the post he affected of first minister. He bore his disgrace with great firmness, contented himself with publishing through the court what the arts were by which he had been circumvented, and how they might be turned upon their authors^b. He then withdrew, and left his lessons to work, which they did so effectually, that the court was very soon in confusion. Don *Alvaro de Castro*, a young man of great spirit and courage, possessed himself of the king's favour from the similarity of their tempers. He drew him into *Algarve*, under pretence of examining the state of the country, the garrison and ports. When he had him there, and had shewn him abundance of things, of which he had no true conception before, he began to talk to him very plainly. He told him he meant well, but he knew nothing; that he was totally governed by the jesuits, who exhausted the treasures of the kingdom in establishments that had a plausible appearance, but which at the bottom were useless, and consequently ruinous, from the want of capacity in those by whom they were directed; and that after all, they were properly the monarchs of *Portugal*, and he only their minister. The king was astonished at this boldness; but when he recollected and compared facts, he returned to *Lisbon*, as much an enemy to the jesuits, as he had been before their creature. *Alvaro de Castro* soon discovered that he wanted political abilities, and that he had taught his master to find this out, upon which he recalled *Alcaçova*, and brought him again into the council; who in return insinuated to the king, that *Alvaro* had a mind to pass for the greater hero of the two, which probably would have ruined him if death had not interposed and screened him from disgrace^c.

AFTER this succinct account of the intrigues, we will proceed in the detail of the events that happened under this reign. In *India* and in *Brazil* things were well administered, and in general the government was regular throughout all *Sebastian's* dominions; for as soon as he was past his childhood, he made with his own hands an abridgement of the laws, in the knowledge of which he was very correct, and took care to see them punctually obeyed. He loved war, and had a great propensity to naval affairs; and it was to gratify both at once that he projected an expedition to the *Indies*; but *Alcaçova*, who had no inclination to attend him thither, set that aside, and substituted *Africa* in its stead. When, therefore, he was invited by *Philip* the second of *Spain* to concur in the grand alliance against the *Turks*, he excused himself, under pretence that the plague had made such ravages in his dominions, as, notwithstanding the warmth of his inclinations, put it entirely out of his power. He is also said to have declined marrying the princess *Margaret de Valois*, sister to *Henry* the third of *France*, though the Pope sent a cardinal legate to press it. However, a famous *French* historian relates the matter otherwise, and much to the honour of Don *Sebastian*; but the fact is so clearly on the side of the *Portuguese* and *Spanish* historians, that it would be unjust to suspect their veracity; more especially, as he soon after made an expedition into *Africa* hastily, and in a manner by surprise^d. He first sent over Don *Antonio*, prior of *Crato*,

1574.

^a LE CLEDE, Histoire generale de Portugal, FARIÁ Y SOUSA.^b JUAN DE BAENA PAREDA, MARIANA.^c Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas, LE CLEDE, JUAN DE BAENA, FERR.^d ANTONIO DE HERRERA, JUAN DE BAENA, MARIANA, TURQUET.

with

with some hundreds of soldiers, carried his principal courtiers over with him from a hunting match, and without equipages; then sent for the duke of *Aveyro*, with such troops and volunteers as he could collect at such short notice; and, when he had them, he spent his time in hunting, and slight excursions, without doing any thing of consequence, unless exposing his person upon all occasions could be so counted; and at length returned to *Portugal* in the month of *November*, in such tempestuous weather, that his subjects gave him up for lost, when they were agreeably surprised by his unexpected arrival in the river of *Lisbon*, which they celebrated with a degree of affection which must have given him great satisfaction.

Declares in favour of Muley Hamet against Muley Moloch, king of Fez, Morocco, and Tarudant.

It might have been reasonably imagined, that this disappointment would have opened the king's eyes, and have shewn him the impossibility of invading *Africa* with success. It was, however, so far from having any such consequence, that it served only to exasperate his martial humour; so that from the very time he came back he meditated nothing else; and those who had a mind to make their court to him, could not do it any other way than by flattering his appetite for conquest; and, according to the common lot of princes, he found numbers who took this way, without considering whether it would lead either him or them to it. The king was highly delighted by an incident which offered him a pretence for war, though of that he stood in no need. *Muley Hamet*, king of *Fez, Morocco, and Tarudant*, had been dispossessed of his dominions by his uncle *Muley Moloch*. At the beginning of this war *Don Sebastian* had offered him his troops in *Africa*, which offer was rejected with contempt; but now being a fugitive; and having demanded succours from *Philip* the second of *Spain*, without effect, he had recourse to the king of *Portugal*; and that he might the more easily prevail, caused the fortrefts of *Arzila*, which his father had recovered, to be restored to the *Portuguese*. *Don Sebastian* was in raptures at this event; he looked upon himself as destined to exceed his predecessors in their conquests, and sent *Alcaçova* to secure the friendship of king *Philip*, and to procure an interview between them. In this the minister had all the success he could wish: *Philip* consented to an alliance, promised the king his daughter, and appointed the place of conference to be *Guadalupe*. *Don Sebastian* set out from *Lisbon* on the twelfth of *September*, accompanied by the duke of *Aveyro*, the count of *Portalegre*, and some other persons of distinction. *Philip* represented to him fully and fairly the great difficulties of the expedition; but finding his nephew not to be dissuaded, he promised him fifty galleys, and five thousand men; but the *Spaniard* did still more: he sent *Francisco Aldana*, an old and experienced officer into *Morocco*, and at his return ordered him to attend *Don Sebastian*, and give him an account of the state things were in; which he performed with great fidelity, but without the least effect. The queen dowager and the cardinal, forgetting all former disputes, united in their endeavours to divert the king from an enterprize which was so apparently inconsistent with his true interest, and so incompatible with the present situation of his dominions. He treated them both with so little respect that his grand-mother quickly broke her heart, and the cardinal, to shew his distaste to this measure, retired to *Evora*, and came no more either to court or to council; and many of the first nobility followed his example, tho' even these sent their brethren or their children to accompany the king.

King Philip and the principal nobility in Spain and Portugal labour to dissuade the expedition.

THE more difficulties appeared, the more the king seemed determined to persist in his design; and as it was impossible to undertake it without money and troops, neither of which could be obtained by ordinary methods, he authorized *Alcaçova* to take any that he could devise; and as he had a fertile invention, and no other way to maintain himself in that absolute degree of credit which he had with his master, he pushed his contrivances to the utmost. In virtue of a bull of crusade he levied one hundred and fifty thousand ducats on the clergy; he laid a heavy tax upon salt; he augmented the excise; he gave the money of *Castile* a currency through the dominions of *Portugal*, and raised it a ninth part of its value; he drew under the title of exemptions, from the *Jews*, two hundred and twenty thousand ducats; he extorted loans from such as were in easy circumstances, and demanded free gifts from the nobility. He sent into *Italy, Germany, and Holland* to raise forces, and he drew from different quarters several thousand men, but at a large expence. While these preparations were making, he called an assembly of the nobility, in which he gave them a large account of the motives and end of his expedition; which he concluded by telling them, he meant to let them know his intentions, but not to receive their advice, and so withdrew. This did not hinder his receiving remonstrances from all quarters: the count of *Tentugal*, his ambassador in *Castile*, wrote him a long, and very free letter upon this subject; others of the nobility did the same, but in person; but none with so much freedom as *Don Juan de Mascarenhas*, who had served with great reputation in the *Indies*: upon which the king got his physicians to certify, that age might make

¹ FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, JUAN DE BAENA. ² CABRERA, HERRERA, FERRERAS, Historia de España. part xv. § xvi.

³ Jornada de Africa, por el Rey Don Sebastiano de Portugal, compuesta por HIERON DE MENDOÇA, CABRERA, HERRERA, JUAN DE BAENA, FERR. MARIANA, TURQUET. ⁴ Epitome das Historias y Portuguezas.

⁵ LE CLEDE, Histoire generale de Portugal, FARIA Y SOUSA.

a a man a coward, who was a hero in his youth : upon which Don Juan observed, that the advice he had given proved them to be both liars and fools *. Lastly, king Philip sent the duke *de Medina Celi* to lay before him the reasons why he thought his design impracticable, and to put him in mind that he had no hand in pushing him upon his own destruction, or in concealing from him the dangers upon which he seemed determined to throw himself and his subjects †, and this to answer no end.

It would lead us much beyond the bounds to which a work of this nature must be confined, if we should enter into all the methods practised on the one hand by the friends of this unfortunate prince to divert him from this design, or, when that appeared impossible, to defeat it, and the contrivances he used to accomplish his desire, and to bring about what strangers and his own subjects daily prophesied would prove his destruction. Let it suffice therefore to say, that in the midst of this struggle Don Sebastian received a letter from Muley Moloch, against whom these preparations were made. In this epistle he explained to him his own rights, and shewed him he had only dispossessed a tyrant and a murderer, who therefore had no title to his friendship or assistance. He next assured him, that he had no reason to be apprehensive either of the power or the neighbourhood of the Portuguese; as a proof of which, and as a mark of his esteem, he was content to make him a present of ten miles of arable ground, round each of the fortresses he possessed in Africa, which were Ceuta, Tangier, Arzila, and Masagan, to be enjoyed by his subjects without molestation or disturbance. At the same time he addressed himself to king Philip, with whom he lived on good terms, to interpose with his nephew, that things might yet be adjusted, without the unnecessary effusion of human blood ‡. Some say that Don Sebastian did not so much as write an answer to this letter; others, that he demanded Tetuan, Larche, and Cape Alguer, as the price of peace, which Muley Moloch treated with disdain. The Portuguese writers complain, that Philip the second did not perform his engagements, though they admit he covered this with very plausible excuses. The truth was, that he thought the Portuguese ministry would have rendered the enterprize abortive, and have laid the blame upon him, and he was inclined to give them an opportunity of doing this, which was their real intention: but Sebastian's obstinacy got the better of all; upon which Philip collected in haste two thousand Castilian foot, and sent them under Alonso Aquilar, an excellent officer, that he might not seem to abandon his nephew §.

d WHEN his preparations were in a manner completed, the king offered the regency to his great uncle cardinal Henry, which he roundly and absolutely refused: he then devolved it upon Don George de Almeida, archbishop of Lisbon, Pedro de Alcaçova, his secretary, Francisco de Saa, and Don Juan de Mascarenhas, notwithstanding the two last had steadily and vehemently opposed this enterprize from the very beginning ¶. He first of all appointed Don Lewis Ataida general and commander in chief, a man of great merit and military skill; but taking offence at the circumspection he used, ordered him to repair to the East Indies, and gave the command to Don Diego de Sousa, a very brave man, but unequal to it in every other respect. On the seventeenth of June, he went in procession to the cathedral, where his standard was blessed by the archbishop; he gave it instantly to Don Lewis de Meneses, with orders to embark the troops as fast as possible: these consisted of nine thousand Portuguese foot; three thousand Germans, which the prince of Orange spared him, under the command of colonel Amberg; seven hundred Italians, under the command of Sir Thomas Stukeley, an English exile, but remarkably brave; the two thousand Castilians before mentioned, and five hundred volunteers, commanded by Don Christopher de Tavora, master of the horse, a man of courage, but without either conduct or experience. His fleet consisted of fifty ships of war, and five galleys; his train of twelve pieces of cannon; his transports and tenders made up near a thousand sail ††. The king had with him Don George of Lancaster, duke of Aveyro, Don John and Don Diego, sons to the duke of Bragança, Don Antonio, prior of Crato, Don Manuel, bishop of Coimbra, Don Arias, bishop of Porto, the count de Vimiezo, Don Juan de Silva, ambassador from king Philip, and many others ‡‡.

f ON the twenty-fourth of June the king Don Sebastian sailed from the bar of Lisbon, with a fair wind, and bore for Lagos bay, in the kingdom of Algarve, where he remained for four days; then he proceeded to Cadiz, where he was magnificently feasted for a week, by the duke de Medina Sidonia, who took the first opportunity, by the command of his master, of renewing his representations to the king on the folly of proceeding further in person †‡. But as soon as the reinforcements were arrived, the king sailed for Tangier, with a good detachment of troops, and ordered Don Diego de Souza to embark the rest, and to decamp them

* JUAN DE BAENA, FARIA Y SOUSA.

† CABRERA, HERRERA, FERR. MARIANA.

‡ HIERON DE MENDOÇA, CABRERA, HERRERA.

§ JUAN DE BAENA, HERRERA, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR.

¶ FARIA Y SOUSA, JUAN DE BAENA, LE CLEDE.

†† HIERON DE MENDOÇA, FERR.

‡‡ FARIA Y SOUSA, JUAN DE BAENA, HIERON DE MENDOÇA, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

‡‡ CABRERA, HERRERA, MARIANA.

in the neighbourhood of *Arzila*, where it was three weeks before the king joined them. ^a He met the cherif *Muley Hamet* at *Tangier*, with three hundred *Moors*, who delivered to him his son *Muley*, a boy of twelve years old, as a hostage, whom he sent to *Mafagan* under a guard; but the cherif himself accompanied the king to *Arzila*, where it was resolved in a council of war to reduce *Larache*: but whether to march thither by land, or to reembark the troops and proceed by sea to that place, admitted a long debate. But at length the march was approved, chiefly by the king's influence, and orders given to advance directly to the river *Luco*, over which they were to ford. The cherif opposed this; but the king gave him so rude an answer, that he left his presence in discontent. On the twenty-ninth of *July* the army began its march, and encamped two leagues from *Arzila*. There *Don Francisco Aldana* joined them, who presented the king with a letter from the duke of *Alba*, in which he ^b advised him to think of nothing beyond taking *Larache*, and a helmet which had been worn by *Charles the fifth* ^c.

The monarch
of Fez, march-
es against him
with a nu-
merous army.

ON the other hand, *Muley Moloch* having intelligence that the king's fleet was arrived before *Arzila*, marched from *Morocco* with sixty thousand horse, and forty thousand foot. In his passage, finding reason to suspect that part of his army were inclined for his competitor, he declared that such as were disposed to join their old master were at liberty to do it, which permission was accepted by some few, and punctually complied with. There was a corps of three thousand horse, of whom he stood likewise in some doubt; he sent these to reconnoitre the enemy, and by that act of confidence he secured them. He was yet under some uneasiness as to his officers; for though he was not afraid of the *Portuguese* troops, he was very apprehensive of their money, and of the knowledge his competitor had of those who were most like to take it. To guard against this, he changed the disposition of his army entirely, so that none of his officers commanded the corps which had been under their orders; and having new men to deal with, had consequently none whom they could trust. It is wonderful he was able to take these precautions, considering he was so ill of a fever, that he was unable to sit his horse; notwithstanding which, he marched directly towards the *Portuguese*, and on the third of *August* encamped within a league of *Alcazar-quivir*, within sight of the Christian troops, with a full resolution to give them battle, his brother *Muley*, governor of *Fez*, commanding under him ^e.

Don Sebastian
calls a council.

AS soon as the scouts of the *Moorish* army were perceived, *Don Sebastian* called a council ^d of war, in which, contrary to custom, there was much order and moderation. The count *de Vimioso*, and those who out of complaisance to the king had given their opinions for this march, were now for returning. They said the enemy were masters of the ford, and of the river; that there was no forcing them in their posts immediately; and that it was impossible for them to wait a more favourable opportunity, as they had no victuals. The foreign officers, whom they were now glad to hear, had changed their opinion, and were now for fighting; not because they thought it more reasonable than before, but that now it was become necessary. This was vehemently opposed by the cherif, who saw very clearly, that they ran the hazard of being beat, and of losing all, and were not sure of gaining any thing, even if they were victorious; whereas, if they drew down towards the sea, and intrenched, they ^e might be relieved by their fleet, during which space, if *Muley Moloch* died, he looked upon it as a thing certain that a great part of the army would desert to him, which would render him master of three kingdoms, and of the fate of the Christians also. When he found that the king was bent on fighting, he only desired that he would delay till four o'clock in the afternoon, that, in case things went amiss, they might have some chance of escaping in the night; but even in this he could not prevail, for the king disposed every thing for an engagement the next day, which was the fourth of *August*; and it was not at all owing to him that he did not begin as soon as it was light. *Muley Moloch* now so clearly perceived his advantage, that he was inclined to make the *Portuguese* army prisoners; but finding his strength, and even his life, sinking, he had taken the resolution of fighting that very night, fearing ^f those very events in which his competitor *Muley Hamet* placed all his hopes; so that after all, if the cherif's advice had been taken, things might have gone otherwise than they did: but the king wanted experience and judgment; the first put it out of his power to act for himself, and the latter hindered him from discerning which of different counsels it was most expedient for him to pursue ^h.

Disposition of
both armies.

THE disposition of the Christian army was very regular and correct, through the care of *Aldana*, and other old officers: the infantry were disposed in three lines, the battalion of volunteers made the vanguard; colonel *Amberg*, with his *Germans*, and Sir *Thomas Stukeley* with the *Italians*, were on the right; the *Castilian* battalions on the left; the *Portuguese* regiments in the center and in the rear; the cavalry, consisting of about fifteen hundred men, partly on

^f HIERON DE MENDOÇA.
FERR. TURQUET, MARIANA.

^e HERRERA, LE CLEDE, FERR.

^d HIERON DE MENDOÇA,

a the right under the command of the duke of *Aveyro*, to whom the cherif joined himself with his horse; on the left was the standard royal, and the rest of the cavalry, under the command of the duke of *Barcelos*, eldest son to the duke of *Bragança*, Don *Antonio*, prior of *Crato*, and several persons of great rank. The king took post at first with the volunteers. *Muley Moloch* disposed his troops also in three lines: the first consisted of the *Andaluzian Moors*, commanded by three officers who had distinguished themselves in the wars of *Granada*; the second of renegadoes; and the third of the natives of *Fez*, *Morocco*, and *Tarudant*. They moved in a half-moon, with ten thousand horse on each wing, and the rest in the rear, with orders to extend themselves so as to encompass the Christian army. *Muley Moloch*, though extremely weak, was taken out of his litter and set on horseback, that he might see how his commands had been obeyed; and being perfectly satisfied with the situation of his troops, he directed the signal of battle to be given, about an hour before noon, by a general discharge of his artillery, which was immediately answered by the Christians, who advanced with the utmost alacrity, and charged with the greatest spirit¹. This was an effect of that generosity natural to noble minds, and all the youth of quality in *Portugal* were present.

Don *Sebastian*, in the beginning of the action, received a musket shot in the shoulder, which did not hinder his charging at the head of the horse on the left wing, by whom, by the *Castilians*, by the volunteers, by the *Italians*, and by the *Germans*, the first line of the *Moorish* infantry was broke, and the second disordered. On this *Muley Moloch* drew his sword, and would have advanced to encourage his troops, but that his guard prevented him; at which, his emotion of mind was so great, he fell from his horse, and one of his guards having caught him in his arms, conveyed him to his litter, where he immediately expired, and had only time to lay his finger upon his lips to enjoin them silence². *Hamet Taba*, a renegade, stood by the curtains of his litter, opened them from time to time, and gave out orders as if he had been living. By this time the *Moorish* horse had quite wheeled round, and charged the *Portuguese* in the rear; upon which the cavalry in the *Moorish* left wing made so vigorous an effort that they broke the *Portuguese* horse on the right, and put them into confusion; and at this time in passing a rivulet the cherif was drowned. The *Germans*, *Italians*, and *Castilians*, did wonders; but the *Portuguese* foot, as their own writers say, behaved but indifferently. The king had two horses killed under him. *George Albuquerque Aldana*, all *Castilians*, were killed by his side. At length he was surrounded by the *Moors*, who seized his person, stripped him of his sword and arms, and secured him. They immediately fell out amongst themselves, about whose prisoner he was; upon which one of the generals rode in, and crying out, "What, you dogs, when God has given you so glorious a victory, would you cut one another's throats about a prisoner?" at the same time discharging a blow on the head of Don *Sebastian*, over his right eye, brought him to the ground; when, despairing of ransom, the rest of the *Moors* killed him. This is by some held the most authentic account³. Others say, that *Lewis de Brito* meeting the king with his standard wrapped round him, *Sebastian* cried out, "Hold it fast, let us die upon it:" upon which, charging the *Moors*, he was seized, rescued by *Brito*, who was himself taken with the standard, and carried to *Fez*. He affirmed, that after he was taken he saw the king at a distance unpursued. Don *Lewis de Lima* afterwards met him making towards the river; and this *Emanuel de Sousa* says was the last time he was ever seen alive⁴. Of the whole army there were not above fifty escaped. There fell on the field of battle the count of *Vimioso*, Don *Lewis de Coutigno*, Don *Vasco de Gama*, Don *Alonso de Norogno*, the counts of *Redondo*, *Videguera*, and *Mira*, Don *Diego*, son to the duke of *Bragança*, the bishops of *Porto* and *Coimbra*, and many others. The young duke of *Barcelos*, then but twelve years old, and the prior of *Crato*, were amongst the prisoners⁵. The plunder of the *Portuguese* camp was a prodigious booty, for all the young lords had piqued themselves upon a very ill-placed magnificence. *Muley Hamet*, the brother of *Muley Moloch*, was saluted king by the *Moors* that very night. The victory, however, cost them dear, for they lost at least eighteen thousand men; and those who fled, when the first line was broke, made their way to *Fez*, and published that the battle was lost; so that when the news of the victory arrived the next day, it was scarce believed, more especially as those who brought it acknowledged that *Muley Moloch* was dead, so that it was looked on as an artifice to keep the city quiet; but they were quickly undeceived, and immoderate rejoicings succeeded to ill-grounded apprehensions.

¹ HERRERA, FARIA Y SOUSA, TURQUET.

Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

Y SOUSA.

FERR. MARIANA, TURQUET.

² HIERON DE MENDOÇA, JERON. FRANQUI, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE.

³ HIERON DE MENDOÇA, SEBASTIAN DE MESA Jornada de Africa.

⁴ FARIA

⁵ CARRERA, ANTONIO DE HERRERA, JUAN DE BAENA, HIERON DE MENDOÇA, LE CLEDE,

THE day after the battle the cherif ordered all the prisoners to be brought before him : amongst whom was Don *Nugno de Mascarenhas*, a domestic of the king's, who affirmed he was present at his death : he described the manner of it, and the place where he fell ; upon which proper persons were sent to examine the truth of it, with whom went *Sebastian Resende*, the king's valet de chambre, who brought back a body which he affirmed to be that of his master, and which was acknowledged for such by most of the prisoners, who saw and examined it. This body, by the cherif's order, was deposited in the house of a Jew at *Alcaçar-quivir*°. Some time after *Philip* the second of *Spain* sent over captain *Zuniga*, as his minister to the cherif, with whom he made an alliance in his master's name, procured the duke of *Barcelos* and the *Spanish* ambassador to be released without ransom ; and the supposed body of Don *Sebastian*, deposited at *Alcaçar-quivir*, was likewise given to his Catholic majesty, by whose direction it was sent to *Ceuta* ; and the governor, having given an authentic receipt for it, transported it from thence to *Portugal*, where it was interred with the rest of his ancestors in the monastery of *Bellem*, with all possible solemnity ; and with the like ceremony his obsequies were observed at *Madrid* (D). This was the end of Don *Sebastian*, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign ; who, by his obstinate imprudence, sacrificed himself and his subjects ; for he left the kingdom in a most exhausted state, deprived of men, money, and reputation, most of her nobility slain, and scarce an ancient family which had not some member or other in slavery : so that a country, which at the demise of king *John* was the wonder and envy, became in so short a space of time the object of amazement and pity, to all *Europe* (E).

AT

° HIERON DE MENDOÇA.
MARIANA, TURQUET, FERR.

P CABRERA, ANTONIO DE HERRERA, SIGUENCA, JUAN DE BAENA,

(D) All the pains taken to authenticate the death of this monarch could not effect it, and plausible answers were given even to those which seemed the most direct proofs. As for instance, it was said that his valet de chambre brought a body to *Muley Hamet*, and owned it for his master's, that he might stop all farther searches, and facilitate his escape. The nobility of *Portugal*, who saw and owned this body, are said to have acted from the same motive ; and some of them, after they came back, did acknowledge, that it was so disfigured with wounds and blood, that it was impossible to know it (2). Yet it was this body that king *Philip* received from the *Moors* ; it was this body that was delivered to the *Portuguese* ; it was this body that was interred at *Bellem* ; and it was upon the supposition of its being the body of Don *Sebastian*, that *Philip* the second caused his obsequies to be celebrated at *Madrid* (3). However, Don *Antonio*, prior of *Crato*, always affected to speak doubtfully of this event. In the reign of the king and cardinal *Henry*, there was a rumour prevailed that Don *Sebastian* was actually returned into *Algarve* ; and a person has been named who is said to have carried a message from Don *Sebastian* to that king, whose ambition is said to have stifled all affection for his nephew (4). Be this as it will, it is very certain that there were several impostors who assumed the name of this prince, as we have shewn in the history of *Spain* ; and we shall hereafter mention one, with respect to whom it is by no means clear whether he was an impostor or not (5). But though his history be very marvellous, yet there is nothing in it so strange as that there should be still persons in *Portugal*, and persons in other respects of good sense, who would die martyrs for their opinion, that he is yet miraculously preserved ; and that some time or other he will be again seated on the throne of *Portugal*. This faction, or sect, call them which you please, are stiled in *Portugal* *Sebastianistas*, and though they have not printed any arguments, yet they have written many memoirs, which are handed about, in which they have laboured, with incredible zeal and industry, to support this strange opinion (6).

(E) As to the person of Don *Sebastian*, he was above the common size, his body well proportioned, his eyes blue, his countenance pleasing and majestic, extremely adroit in his exercises, prodigiously strong, incapable of fear, magnificent, generous, affable, full of justice, piety, and truth. His virtues he owed to nature ; his faults and follies to his education (7). He must have been in all respects an extraordinary person, to have attached in the manner he did a whole nation, not only to his person but to his memory. He had, however, great imperfections ; and amongst these his passion and his obstinacy were by far the greatest. There are certainly great inconsistencies in all the accounts we have of him, and in almost all the considerable branches of those accounts (8). It is not only the *Portuguese*, but also the *Spanish* history, in which the beauty of his person is commended ; and yet both seem to admit that it had some singular and surprising defects. His right hand, for instance, was longer than his left ; as he was higher on the left side than on the right. We meet with no particular accounts of mischiefs that befel him, before his expedition to *Africa* ; and yet it is affirmed that he had upon his body the scars of twenty-five remarkable wounds (9). The current of the best histories make it apparent, that his expedition and his end proceeded intirely from himself. His appetite for glory was so strong, that nothing could restrain him ; his contempt of danger so great, that he wore green armour in the battle of *Alcaçar*, that he might be the more easily distinguished by friends and foes. But notwithstanding this, some, and particularly *Brantome*, have laboured to induce the world to believe the king was persuaded, or rather seduced, to invade *Africa*, by the jesuits, who were in the interests of king *Philip*. That the jesuits were the authors of the expedition, and of the king's misfortunes, is certainly true in one sense, but not in this (1). They inspired him with the notions that undid him ; but certainly they had not this in view ; for in his first expedition, which was as wild and desperate as the last, it was the pathetic letter of father *Gonsalez*, of that order, which induced him to return ; and if *Philip* is to be acquitted of any accusation that was ever

(2) *Jornada de Africa, Histoire veritables des derniers Guerresade tenues en Barbarie, &c. Mesa, Baena.*
(3) *Mayerne Turquet, Faria y Sousa, Ferreras.* (4) *Avantures admirables du Roy de Portugal D. Sebastian.*
(5) *Mayerne Turquet, Avantures admirables, Le Clede.* (6) *Memoires de Portugal.* (7) *Faria y*
Sousa, Mayerne Turquet, Le Clede. (8) *Faria y Sousa, Baena, Mendoça, Herrera, Ferreras.* (9) *Avan-*
tures admirables, Mayerne Turquet, Le Clede. (1) *Bayle.*

brought

At the time the fleet arrived in *Portugal* with the melancholy news of the defeat at *Alcaçar-quivir*, cardinal *Henry* was at *Alcobaçar*, of which royal monastery he was abbot: the regency immediately sent him notice of it; upon which he came to *Lisbon*, where, on the twenty-second of *August*, in the house of the duke of *Bragança*, he assumed the title of protector, and on that day sevensnight, having received the news of the king's death, after celebrating mass in the church of the hospital of *All Saints*, he assumed the crown, being then in the sixty-seventh year of his age^a. He was at this time archbishop of *Braga*, *Lisbon*, and *Coimbra*, from which, and from the abbey of *Alcobaçar*, though he drew an immense revenue, he was far from being rich: neither was the wealth of these ecclesiastical preferments at any time better bestowed. He was an enemy to pomp, without vices, sincerely pious, and had been hitherto occupied in providing for the education of poor children, relieving the sick and infirm, building hospitals for the aged, giving fortunes to young women disposed to marriage, and encouraging men of letters. This great change in his circumstances made some in his conduct: he shewed that he was not altogether so free from spleen as had been imagined: he removed *Alcaçova* from his employments, banished *Lewis de Silva*, and some others who had treated him ill under the reign of his nephew^b. King *Philip* immediately dispatched *Christopher de Moura* to compliment him upon his accession, and to sound his inclinations, which he found to be entirely favourable to *Katherine* dutchess of *Bragança*. He treated the poor king, however, with civility and respect, and advised him to take every measure he could to make his own life easy. The return of Don *Antonio*, prior of *Crato*, did not much contribute to this: he found means to get out of *Barbary* by pretending to be a poor ecclesiastic, and that he should lose his benefice if he did not return within a limited time: upon which a *Jew* either paid or became bound for his ransom; on which he set out for *Ceuta*, and from thence came to *Lisbon*, where he began to cabal; which provoked the king his uncle extremely, who never had any good opinion of him, and now thought of him daily worse and worse^c. The bulk of the people seemed desirous that *Henry* should marry, and pressed him to send ambassadors upon that head to the Pope, which for some time he declined: at length they were nominated, but did not go. However, *Philip* the second discovered that this prince was more a politician than he expected; and that he had privately directed his agents to apply to Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth upon this head. The *Spanish* ambassador had orders to take every method possible to prevent it. The Pope, notwithstanding, directed a particular congregation of cardinals to consider this point, who reported to him, that it was not fit for him to grant a dispensation; yet the agents of *Henry* still solicited with so much zeal, that it was suspected at *Rome* the cardinal had some illegitimate son, whose title he might have a desire to help by marrying his mother. It is more probable those agents solicited without the king's orders, through an honest desire of saving their country from falling under the yoke of foreigners; but it proved ineffectual, for, under pretence of its requiring mature deliberation, *Gregory* would decide nothing; and though he made a merit of this to king *Philip*, yet the true reason of his conduct was, that he had a mind to frame a title of the holy see to the crown of *Portugal*, or at least to establish in himself the sole right of judging to whom the succession of that crown belonged: in order to which it was equally necessary to him and to king *Philip*, that this cardinal monarch should die without issue^d.

ALL monarchs, however great and happy, have notwithstanding some causes of chagrin; but *Henry* of *Portugal* had every thing to chagrin, and no one circumstance to console or content him. He heard nothing from the hour he was seated upon the throne but enquiries who was to be his successor, and saw plainly that the utmost he had to expect was to be confessed sole and supreme judge of this point; which most writers seem to agree he might have been, if he had shewn a sufficient degree of steadiness and courage; but his profession, his age, and his circumstances considered, we need not wonder that this was wanting. There were but five titles, out of many, that deserved to be considered, and of these there were three at least, in respect to preference, of which it was not easy to decide. The first of

^a FARIA Y SOUSA, HIERON DE MENDOÇA, CABRERA, HERRERA, FERRERAS.
las Historias y Portuguesas, HERRERA, MARIANA, TURQUET.
Histoire generale de Portugal.

^b FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE
^c CAERERA, HERRERA, FERR. HIERON DE MENDOÇA.

^d Epitome de

brought against him, this seems to be that which is most destitute of proof (2). It may be said with more probability, that the Pope instigated him to this fatal expedition, for he sent him one of the arrows with which the infidels pierced St. *Sebastian*; and, like the poisoned shirt bestowed upon *Hercules*, this gift continually tortured him and spurred him on to revenge (3).

The Pope likewise granted him bulls, by which he raised money upon his clergy, and sent a nuncio to compliment him upon his zeal for the Christian faith (4). Yet all this might be without any intention to promote his ruin, though the Pope set up a claim to his dominions, as well as the king of *Spain*.

(2) Faria y Sousa, Mayerne Turquet, Le Clede.
Baena, Faria y Sousa, Le Clede.

(3) Mendoça, Baena, Faria y Sousa.

(4) Cabrera;

these was the prince *Ranuccio* of *Parma*, whose mother, *Donna Maria*, died about two years before: she was the eldest daughter of the infant *Don Duarte*, and consequently her son claimed to be the legal heir of the crown. The next was the duchess of *Bragança*: she was the second daughter of the same prince; but she affirmed, or rather her lawyers affirmed for her, that the civil law did not allow the benefit of representation beyond the third degree of propinquity to the last possessor; so that she being nearer by a degree to the reigning king than her nephew *Ranuccio*, ought to be preferred before him. She likewise claimed to be preferred before *Philip*, who stood in equal degree to king *Henry*, because she claimed under a male, and he under a female. *Philip* the second was the son of the infanta *Donna Isabella*, sister to the infant *Don Duarte*. The duke of *Savoy* claimed in right of his mother *Donna Beatrix*, who was the younger sister of *Donna Isabella* above-mentioned. *Don Antonio*, prior of *Crato*, asserted, that the infant *Don Lewis*, duke of *Beja*, was privately married to his mother; which if he could have made out, would have given him a better title beyond comparison than any of these; but not against *Catherine de Medicis*, queen-mother of *France*, who set forth, that she was descended from *Robert* the son of *Don Alonso* the third, by his first wife *Maud*; so that all the kings of *Portugal* from *Don Denis* were usurpers, and therefore it was high time to restore the crown to her, who was the last of the right line. To this there lay one pretty strong objection, taken from the will of the countess *Maud*, from whence it clearly appeared that she never had any children by *Don Alonso*^a. The Pope also put in his claim, and insinuated a double right; first, because the holy see had either given or confirmed the regal title to *Don Alonso Fitz Henry*; which, however, was denied by all the laity of the kingdom of *Portugal*, who affirmed it was given him by their ancestors, and, which was more, that they purchased it too by their blood. The second claim was taken from the reigning king, to whom, as a cardinal, the see of *Rome* was heir. But this was denied, because in point of civil succession no such title had been ever admitted^w. After all, the best title was destitute of support, or otherwise the prince of *Parma* must have prevailed. The duchess of *Bragança* had in the beginning the king in possession for her, and the statutes of *Lamego*, which were either valid, or all the kings from *John* the first were usurpers. King *Philip* had his own power, and by far the best advocates; for he was one of those kings who thought the pen at least as good a weapon as the sword; and therefore attempted nothing without a previous appeal to the judgment of mankind, which he often courted in so plausible a manner as to obtain it; which, if it could not give him right, gave him what was next to it, the colour of right, which, in truth, was all he wanted. *Don Antonio*'s claim was in right of blood; but his best support was the favour of the people, and particularly of the *Jews*; and therefore it was sometimes given out, that in the present perplexed state of things, the right originally derived from, devolved again to the people^x.

His timid and
unsteady con-
duct.

In this unhappy and confused condition of public affairs, it was a great additional misfortune, that all power of rendering them better, or indeed of reducing them into any degree of order, depended upon the king. It is believed, and it is highly probable, he meant well; but at the same time it is universally allowed that he acted ill: he removed some men of merit, and more of capacity. Those he brought in were, like himself, mild and moderate; but no way suited to the juncture in which they were employed; so that, except suppressing the salt tax, there was scarce a right step taken during his reign: so very easy a thing it is for a king to be a very good man, and yet not a good prince, which, however, seldom springs so much from weakness of abilities as from want of resolution. He really wished the good of his people, but wanted the spirit, courage, and skill necessary to take proper measures for preventing the miseries with which they were threatened. The states of the realm desired him to declare his successor, and the magistrates of *Lisbon* presented to him strong remonstrances on the same subject. He answered them, it was a matter deserved much and serious reflection; but he would in time provide for the succession. He was undoubtedly inclined to the duchess of *Bragança*, and encouraged the lawyers of *Coimbra* to write for the maintenance of her title, in order to prepare the world for the declaration he was disposed to make in her favour: and had he clearly and expressly declared her his successor, and got her acknowledged as such by the states of *Portugal*, which might easily have been done, the kingdom would, in all probability, have united in supporting her interest against *Philip*, and the miseries which ensued upon a different conduct, in a great measure been prevented. What diverted, or rather with-held him from taking that step, was his fear of a civil war between her and *Don Antonio*, who was favoured by the common people. But incapable of taking a

^a Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas, CABRERA, HERRERA, P. DANIEL, MARIANA, TURQUET, FERR. LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal, Discurso sobre la succession al Reyno de Portugal siendo vivo el Rey D. Henrique, Allegações de Direyto que se offercerão a el Rey D. Henrique por parte da Senhora D. Catharina Duquesa de Bragança. ^w FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE. ^x CABRERA, HERRERA, FERR. MARIANA.

a vigorous step; finding almost equal difficulties in all that were suggested, and uncertain what party to take, he sought only to gain time, and put off a declaration, which was absolutely necessary for the quiet and safety of the kingdom, and the delay of which could not but prove fatal. This was the worst party of any that could be taken; yet he resolved to cite all that laid claim to the crown to appear before him, and produce their respective reasons. His age and infirmities were such that it was not likely he could live till a decision: he proposed therefore to appoint five governors with a sovereign authority during the interregnum; and to oblige the people to swear obedience to them, whilst they examined at their leisure the titles of the candidates, and till they had pronounced sentence on their several pretensions. The world was very justly amazed at this resolution, and the people complained of the b slowness of his determination, when he could not flatter himself with hopes of living to behold the end of the cause. They railed openly at his ministers and measures, and maintained that he ought himself to decide the right of succession, to declare his successor, and see that he took an oath to preserve the rights and privileges of the nation; and that it was too tedious in the present perilous juncture even to wait an assembly of the states, their condition and situation requiring an immediate declaration^y.

HENRY, however was positive, or rather obstinate, in his resolution, and calling together the states to confirm it, they met at *Lisbon* on the first of *April*. He asked their advice how to provide for the good of the realm, but scarce two persons agreed in the same sentiment. In this confusion he talked in private with the principal persons of the clergy, nobility, and gentry, and prevailed with them not to insist on his naming a successor at that time, but to consent to his regulation. It was resolved that he should hear the reasons of the several candidates, and give his judgment thereon; but this judgment was not to be published till after his decease. In case he died before this was done, the affair of the succession was to be decided by eleven persons to be chosen by the king out of twenty-four named by the states; and the government of the realm during the interregnum was to be in the hands of five persons appointed by his majesty out of fifteen recommended by the states, all the members whereof swore to obey the governors so chosen, and the person who should be declared successor^z. The states being dissolved, *Henry* cited the candidates. *Ferdinand Farnese*, bishop of *Parma*, came to support the interests of the young prince *Ranuccio*, who was still a child, and might have been bred up as the *Portuguese* pleased; *Charles de la Rouere* appeared for the duke of *Savoy*; and *Urban de St. Gelais*, bishop of *Cominges*, for *Katherine de Medicis*, who was admitted to set forth her claim, but could not support it by any proof. *Philip*, suspecting as well the goodness of his cause as *Henry's* disposition towards him, refused to appear, alleging, that a king's power ceased at his death, and he could bequeath no authority to governors; nor had he in his own life any power to judge of the rights of his successor, or take them away by his sentence. The duke of *Bragança* appeared to support his consort's pretensions^a; as *Don Antonio* did to support his own. These two last quarrelled, and the animosity between them raised a great disturbance in the court. *Henry* ordered the former to retire from thence, and the latter to his priory: yet the duke returned soon to maintain his cause in person: a favour which was not indulged the other. *Antonio* complained of this inequality of treatment; yet sent his agents and witnesses to make out his title; but the latter either recanting, or disagreeing in their depositions, he was declared illegitimate. Instead of retiring to *Crato*, he went over the several provinces of the kingdom to court the populace. This proceeding incensed *Henry* so highly, that he issued out a proclamation against him, confiscated his goods, and banished him the kingdom in fifteen days^b. *Antonio* not obeying this order, but lurking in secret, and being protected by the people, so that he could not be taken or discovered, was summoned to court, but did not come, being afraid to trust himself in the way of the king's resentment. King *Philip*, though he would not appear in form to support his claim, sent first *Christopher de Moura* as his ordinary ambassador, and afterwards the duke of *Offuna* as an extraordinary one, to take care of his interests^c. He wrote also to the chief cities of *Portugal*, representing his descent from the royal blood of their kings, the kindness he had shewed, and the good offices he had done their countrymen prisoners in *Barbary*, offering to augment their privileges, flattering them with the expectations of great benefit from a free trade to the *Spanish West Indies*, and laying before them every thing that they had either to hope or fear from his power. His ambassadors were continually soliciting *Henry* to declare him his successor, and neglected no measures that could be serviceable to carry their point. They did not fail to employ money properly, and by large presents, and larger promises, they drew in several persons of quality. But however notable their management, and considerable their success were, he would not trust to them entirely;

^y CABRERA, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, FERR.

^z ANTONIO DE HERRERA, Epitome de las

Historias Portuguesas.

^a LE CLEDE, Histoire generale de Portugal, MARIANA.

^b CABRERA,

FERR.

^c ANTONIO DE HERRERA, MARIANA, FARIA Y SOUSA.

but assembled a powerful army of old *Spanish* soldiers, and levied great numbers of new forces in *Italy* and *Germany*, resolved at any rate to make himself master of *Portugal*.

The states labour to set him right in vain.

THE timid and diseased old king, seeing these preparations, was afraid of declaring the dutchefts of *Bragança*, whom he judged unable to resist *Philip*, especially since the affections of the common people were so much set on *Don Antonio*, that a civil war was expected to be raised within the kingdom, at the same time that it was attacked by the *Spaniards* from without. His apprehensions of *Antonio*'s popularity were so strong, that he raised new companies of guards for the security of his person. These fears of his were so improved by *Leon Henriquez*, a jesuit, his confessor, who had a vast ascendant over him, and who, though he had been at first for *Katherine*, was now gained over to *Philip*'s party, that he was brought to think the only way to save the nation from that immediate ruin that threatened it, was to compromise things with *Philip*, and declare that prince his successor^d. This design he communicated to the *Spanish* ambassadors, and sent the project of an accommodation (in which it was provided that no charges should be given but to natives of *Portugal*, and some other flattering conditions were inserted) with great secrecy to *Madrid*, signifying his intention of laying it before the states to obtain their consent. *Philip*, though he hoped well of the clergy and the nobility, as being most of them gained by his agents, yet knowing the aversion of the people to the *Castilian* government, easily imagined it would be impracticable to obtain the concurrence of the third estate. He proposed therefore consulting the cities singly, and used strong remonstrances against assembling the states, who having already given the king power to declare his successor, there was no need of calling them again. But *Henry* was not now, more than formerly, to be diverted from his own methods by any reasons; and the states meeting at the palace of *Almerin*, *January* the ninth, he communicated to them his design of concluding a capitulation between *Philip* and the kingdom, as the only expedient of preserving peace in the nation, which, if *Philip* succeeded to on such advantageous conditions, would receive great benefit by his succession. The clergy accepted it readily; and it was after long debates among the nobility, carried there by a single voice; but it was rejected by the third estate^e. The king had used his utmost endeavours to get the cities to chuse deputies to his mind, and to gain such as were returned: he had prevailed in *Lisbon* to get such elected as he thought most dependent on his will; but failed of his point at *Coimbra*, and in the rest of the cities. These deputies were unanimous in rejecting all manner of accommodation with the *Castilians*, and *Phæbus Moniz*, one of the deputies for *Lisbon*, and more attached to him than any other, desired him, in the name of the rest, not to give them up to *Castile*; but to declare any *Portuguese* whatever his successor, and they would be satisfied. The king rejecting this, and the states perceiving that there were some secret negotiations between one of the claimants and king *Philip*, declared roundly, that they considered themselves as the supreme power, and would fill the throne, whenever it became vacant, by election^f.

Henry dies, and the male line of the Portuguese monarchs becomes extinct.

THEY had very soon an opportunity of doing this, if they had stuck to that resolution, since in the midst of these disorders and disputes king *Henry* ended his life on the last day of the month of *January*, when he had lived precisely sixty-eight years, and had reigned something more than seventeen months^g. The plague being at *Lisbon*, his body was deposited at *Almerin*, from whence it was afterwards removed by king *Philip* to *Bellem*(F). He was the nineteenth sovereign, and the seventeenth king of *Portugal*, the eighth and last monarch of his house; for in him the male line of the *Portuguese* princes determined, after having subsisted upwards of four hundred and sixty years. He was very little esteemed, and less lamented,

^d CABRERA. ^e FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR. ^f CABRERA, HERRERA, LE CLEDE. ^g Dell'unione del Regno di Portogallo alla Corona di Castiglia istoria di GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO, JO. ANT. VIPERANI de obtentâ Portugallia à Rege Catholico Philippo Historia, CABRERA, HERRERA, FARIA Y SOUSA, LE CLEDE, FERR. MARIANA, TURQUET.

(F) This last king of *Portugal* much resembled his father; of a middle stature, thin habit of body, very light and lively, and capable of much labour. He understood all the learned languages, was well acquainted with divinity, and had some tincture of the mathematics. He could command his looks much better than his passions: he not only remembered injuries, but revenged them: his judgment was sound enough in foreseeing misfortunes, though he had not sagacity enough to find out remedies(6). He died displeased with his subjects, as they also were with him. Some of the *Portuguese* writers have made many superstitious remarks on the beginning and ending of their sovereignty with a prince of the same name. They likewise observe, that this *Henry* was born precisely four

hundred years after *Henry* of *Burgundy*; but of what use these remarks are it is hard to say(7). But it may not be amiss to take notice, that in the year of his accession the mother of king *Sebastian* died, as did likewise the cardinal's youngest sister *Mary*, who, if she had survived, must have succeeded him(8). But through the indulgence of her father, and the dispositions made in her favour by the queen dowager her mother, she amassed so large a fortune, that the *Portuguese* were unwilling to see it carried out of the kingdom, which hindered her marriage; though if a proper choice had been made in that, by espousing her to a prince of the blood at home, all the miseries they afterwards felt might have been avoided(9).

(6) *Mayerne Turquet Histoire generale d'Espagne. Mémires de Portugal.*

(8) *Ferreras, Historia de España, Mayerne Turquet.*

(7) *Faria y Sousa Epitome de las historias Portuguesas,*

(9) *Faria y Sousa.* notwithstanding

a notwithstanding he had done many laudable actions in the course of his life, though very few during that of his reign; yet he lost nothing, for by a timely peace with the cherif he secured the few places that were still left in *Africa*, and procured at a large expence the return of most of those who survived the battle of *Alcaçar*; but in respect to the poverty and weakness of the kingdom, both were too visible at the time of his decease, of which, though he was very sensible, yet he knew not how to seek, or how to apply a remedy. In short, he died disconsolate, and the monarchy with him.

S E C T. VII.

The reduction of Portugal by Philip; the continuance of it under the dominion of the kings of Spain till the revolution, by which the duke of Bragança was advanced to the throne.

b **I**N the former part of this work we have already treated of the expedition into *Portugal* by the famous duke of *Alva*, in the light in which it has been considered by and from the authorities afforded us by the *Spanish* historians; but as these are not entirely consistent with what we find delivered by *Portuguese* writers, and as the reduction and revolution of *Portugal* are points of the highest importance in modern history, the reader has a right to expect a more full relation of them here. We will, therefore, within the compass of this section, endeavour, with all possible succinctness and impartiality, to explain in what manner king *Philip* annexed *Portugal*, with all her conquests in the *Indies*, to his dominions; what efforts were made by Don *Antonio*, prior of *Crato*, to support his claim; the maxims pursued by him and his successors in the administration of the affairs in *Portugal*, so long as it remained under their obedience; and lastly, what were the true sources that induced this nation so unanimously to throw off what they called the yoke of *Castile*, and what concurrent circumstances there fell out to facilitate this bold step, and to maintain them in possession of their independency, after by this generous effort they had so gloriously recovered it. In order to treat these matters with perspicuity, as well as to pursue strictly the plan we have laid down, we must resume the thread of our narration from the demise of the king and cardinal Don *Henry*.

Upon the death of that monarch, the five governors assumed the administration of the kingdom: and the duchess of *Bragança* referred her cause to them, pressing for their definitive judgment^a. *Philip* also wrote to them in maintenance of his right, and offering them the terms upon which *Henry* had insisted, sending them a copy of that prince's memorial. He wrote also to the principal nobility, and the five chief cities of the kingdom, to the same effect. The governors, three of whom were in his interest, published the conditions he had granted; viz. that he would take a solemn oath to maintain the privileges and liberties of the people: that the states should be assembled within the realm, and nothing proposed in any other states that related to *Portugal*: that the viceroy, or chief governor, should be a native, unless the king should give that charge to one of the royal family: that the household should be kept on the same foot: that the post of first president, and all civil, judicial, and military offices, should be filled with *Portuguese*; all dignities in the church, and in the orders of knighthood, confined to the same: the commerce of *Ethiopia*, *Africa*, and the *Indies*, reserved also to them, and to be carried on only by their merchants and vessels: that he would remit the third penny, the crusadoes, and other imposts on ecclesiastical revenues: that he would make no grant of any city, town, or jurisdiction royal, to any but *Portuguese*: that estates resulting from forfeitures should not be united to the domain, but go to the relations of the last possessor, or be given to other *Portuguese* for recompence of services: that when the king came into *Portugal*, where he should reside as much as possible, he should not take the houses of private persons for his officers lodging, as in *Castile*, but keep to the custom of *Portugal*: that wherever his majesty resided he should have an ecclesiastic, a treasurer, a chancellor, two masters of requests, with under officers, all of them *Portuguese*, who should dispatch every thing relating to the kingdom: that *Portugal* should ever continue a distinct kingdom, and its revenue consumed within itself: that all matters of justice should be decided within the realm: that the *Portuguese* should be admitted to charges in the king and queen of *Spain*'s households: that all duties of entry on the frontiers be taken away: that *Philip* should give three hundred thousand ducats to redeem prisoners, repair cities, and relieve the miseries which the plague and other calamities had brought on the people. The clergy and nobility were for accepting these offers; but the deputies of towns refused them, believing they would not be long kept^b.

^a FARIA Y SOUSA.^b CABRERA, HERRERA, JO. ANT. VIPERANI, FERR.

The kingdom
betrayed by the
regents.

THE kingdom of *Portugal* was at this time in a condition very unfit to oppose the arms of *Philip*. Besides the terrible blow received two years before in *Barbary*, an excessive drought had spoiled their harvest, and caused a famine. The extreme scarcity of provisions, unwholesome diet, or infected commodities, had occasioned a plague in *Lisbon*, which spread all over the kingdom. There was no money in the treasury; and when it was proposed to the merchants to lend so small a sum as one hundred thousand ducats, they refused. The very capital city of *Lisbon* was without walls in several places, and all the forts in the kingdom destitute of garrisons and ammunition. There was, however, still a sufficient force in *Portugal* to defend it, had there been any union among the nobility, any spirit of obedience among the people, or any head to direct the conduct of both, and put the nation on exerting itself with vigour, and collected force. The greater part of the governors were in the interest of *Philip*, and desirous of delivering up their country into his hands; but this they durst not declare, and they found that the execution of it was not so easy as they had imagined. The method they took was none of the most honourable: they pretended to inspect the magazines, out of which they took some of the powder, and caused the rest to be mixed with sand: they appointed an agent to go and demand succours from the crown of *France*, which they knew could not arrive in time: they dissolved the states as soon as they discovered they were bent on rendering themselves a free people: and, under a shew of confidence, they sent such of the nobility as they most suspected, to command in different places on the frontiers^c. Thus, in hopes of advantages which their posterity never enjoyed, they sacrificed the honour, independency, and welfare of their country.

The prior of
Crato pro-
claimed king.

ABOUT the middle of *June*, the duke of *Alva*, by *Philip's* orders, entered *Portugal* with twenty thousand men. *Elvas*, *Olivenza*, *Serpa*, *Moura*, *Portalegre*, *Estremos*, and other towns, submitted to him without any opposition, there being *Spanish* factions in all of them ready to force the governors to surrender^d. The people ascribed all to the five governors, and exclaimed against their betraying the kingdom to *Philip*. Don *Antonio*, to make his advantage of these discontents, took occasion, from the building of a fort at *Santaren*, to get himself proclaimed king in a tumult. The project succeeded, the mob declared for him, and several of the nobility were compelled to be witnesses of the proclamation; but being a man of little judgment (though not without some learning) his passion for a crown was too violent to let him wait so long, and he placed all his hopes in this tumultuary election; which the nobility disliking, retired to their own houses and revolted, as soon as the force upon them was removed^e. This defection was so general, that scarce any of them stood by him but the count of *Vimioso*. He was, however, so much in favour with the people, and all the religious were so zealous for him, that he was proclaimed in almost all the towns north of the *Tajo*; and marching to *Lisbon*, was received there by the inhabitants who were left in it by the plague, which had made the rich merchants quit the city, as the magistrates also did upon his approach^f. From thence he sent the count of *Vimioso* to *Setuval*, which declaring for him, the governors fled in great confusion, gave sentence in favour of *Philip*, declaring him king of *Portugal*, in virtue of the laws^g, who was like to be so by force of arms.

His forces beat
by the duke of
Alva.

DON *Antonio*, being master of the capital, seized on the arsenal and magazines, placed new magistrates, officers of justice, and ministers; but as he employed new men without experience, ready to execute all his orders with rigour, the place was soon full of violences, rapine, plunder, and all manner of disorders. He made great offers to the duke of *Bragança*, the marquis of *Villa-Real*, and other grandes: he wrote also to the lower nobility, but very few cared to acknowledge him^h. These were great discouragements: however, to provide the best he could for his defence, he sent the *French* consul to *France*, to procure a succour of two thousand men, seized the crown jewels, the collections that had been made for redeeming slaves in *Barbary*, the plate of churches, the money deposited in convents, or given to charitable uses, and left no means untried to provide a fund sufficient for the support of an army. He depended on the populace for numbers; but as the peasants could not leave their work to make a campaign, and he found it impracticable to keep any considerable number of them together for above a day, he, to supply that defect, armed the negro slaves that were in *Lisbon*, and published a proclamation, offering freedom to all that would take up armsⁱ. This gave occasion to infinite disorders, those negroes seizing arms, stealing horses, and supplying themselves with every thing they wanted or desired, wherever it was found. With this hasty ill-armed body of men he resolved on defending the *Tajo*, and hindering the duke of *Alva's* passage. On the other hand, the duke having had the town of *Setuval* delivered to him by the inhabitants, and received the submission of the kingdom of *Algarve*,

^c FARIA Y SOUSA, Dell'unione del Regno di Portogallo alla Corona de Castiglia istoria di GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO, TURQUET, CARRERA, FERR. ^d HERRERA. FRANC. DIAZ DE VARGAS, VIPERANI, CAMPANA, FERR. ^e FARIA Y SOUSA, GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO, TURQUET. ^f CARRERA, HERRERA, FARIA Y SOUSA. ^g CAMPANA, HERRERA, CARRERA, FERR. TURQUET. ^h CO-NESTAGGIO. FRANC. DIAZ DE VARGAS. ⁱ JO. ANT. VIPERANI, FERR.

- a and all the country south of the *Tajo*, advanced to pass the river, which he did at *Cascaes*, by the help of the *Spanish* galleys, without any difficulty. *Cascaes* and fort *St. Julien* being surrendered to him, and *Cabezaseca* abandoned, the duke marched to *Alcantara*, where *Antonio* was posted with all the men he could draw together; but without officers qualified to command, or soldiers that knew how to obey^k. In this condition his forces, inferior in number and all other respects, were routed *August* the twenty-fifth, when the *Spaniards* pursuing them to *Lisbon*, the city was reduced by capitulation, and saved from plunder^l: but the suburbs, which were much larger and finer than what was inclosed within the walls, and all the neighbouring villages, were sacked for several days together by the soldiers, at which king *Philip* was much offended. He was very desirous the different behaviour of his troops from those of Don *Antonio* should have done honour to his title, and he could not be disappointed without being chagrined.
- b

At the beginning of the rout Don *Antonio* passed through *Lisbon*, without stopping to *Don Antonio* have a wound dressed, fled to *Santaren*, and from thence to *Coimbra*. There he once more assembled four or five thousand men; but *Sancho de Avila* being sent against him, received in his march the submission of *Coimbra*, *Monte Mayor*, and *Aveyro*, forced a passage over the *Duero*, and, in consequence of that success, took *Porto*^m. *Antonio* quitting this last place, fled to *Viana*; but being closely pursued by some of the *Spanish* cavalry, took shipping in order to retire into *France*. The wind proving contrary, and the weather stormy, the *Spaniards* were about to attack the ship; so that he was obliged to quit it, and throw himself disguised into a little skiff, and get ashore near *Viana*, even in the sight of a party of horse; yet he had the good fortune to escape, and to be concealed privately in the country. A reward of eighty thousand ducats was put on his head, and all endeavours were used to seize his person, but in vain. He travelled about, and often passed in disguise through the midst of those that were in quest of him, without being known. Some even of his retinue and servants were taken as they were getting provisions for his embarkment at *Lisbon*, and put to death, yet they made no discovery where he was. He continued in the kingdom from *October* to *July*; was at all the ports of the kingdom seeking for a passage, and at *Lisbon* when *Philip* himself was there; but as he could not embark at that place because his men were taken, he went to *Setuval*, where, with half a dozen of his most faithful friends, he embarked, and landed safely at *Calais*ⁿ. Upon his flight, all the kingdom submitted, and owned the king of *Spain*; as did the garrisons in *Barbary*, and all the *Portuguese* settlements on the coasts of *Guiney*, in *Brazil*, the *East-Indies*, and the isle of *St. Michael*^o; but the rest of the *Madeiras* held for *Antonio* till they were reduced, and the *French* naval army, sent to their relief, beaten and destroyed^p. We have mentioned this in the history of *Castile*, with some memorable circumstances attending it.

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PHILIP would not seem a conqueror, and therefore did not enter the kingdom till it was entirely reduced; but came to *Elvas*, where he abolished the duties on entry, which were levied upon all merchandize from the one realm to the other, valued at one hundred and fifty thousand ducats a year. He entered *Lisbon* with a kind of fullen pomp, without acclamations^q. He called an assembly of the states at *Tomar*, in *April*. He confirmed the terms he had offered to the kingdom by his letters: but whereas the duke of *Osuna*, by way of security for those conditions, had promised them a law by way of proviso, that if the king did not observe them, the states should be freed from their oath of obedience, and might defend their rights by the sword, without incurring the reproach of perjury, or the guilt of treason; this he absolutely refused to ratify. He endeavoured, but with little effect, to reconcile the *Portuguese* to his government, and was so lavish in bestowing honours and gratifications, that the *Spaniards* said he had to his other titles to that crown added that of purchase^r. This, however, did not satisfy every body; for when was that ever done? It was calculated to conciliate the affections of the *Portuguese* to his family, and it failed of doing this; but it had an effect which was not foreseen even by a prince whose foresight was his characteristic; it weakened the power, it absorbed the revenues of the crown; it rendered *Portugal* a province, and a dead weight to his other dominions; and, by putting it out of the power of his successors to be liberal in any proportion, it raised a short-lived gratitude only in a few, and left a multitude of malcontents, to which time was continually adding. The *Portuguese* writers say he did not do enough for the family of *Bragança*. The *Spaniards*, as

^k FARIA Y SOUSA, CAMPANA.

^l GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO, FARIA Y SOUSA, HERRERA, CAMPANA, CABRERA, FRANC. DIAZ DE VARGAS, FERR.

^m HERRERA, TURQUET, VIPERANI.

ⁿ P. DANIEL Histoire de France, FARIA Y SOUSA, FERR.

^o HERRERA, CABRERA, CAMPANA, FERR.

^p FARIA Y SOUSA, GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO.

^q FARIA Y SOUSA, TURQUET, La entrada que en el Reyno de Portugal hizo Don Philippe II. Rey de las Espanas y de Portugal assi con su real presencia cono con el exercito de su felice campo hecho por ISIDORA VELYZQUEZ, Successi della guerra di Portogallo dall'ann. 1578 sino al incoronazione del Re Filippo II. scritti da FRANC. DIAZ DE VARGAS, dati alla luce per EVANG. ORTENSE.

^r CAMPANA, CABRERA, HERRERA, FERR.

we have shewn elsewhere, say that he did too much. It is agreed by both that the dukes was not satisfied; and that the duke and his son did him homage. It is said by the former, that *Philip's* agents had promised the kingdom of *Algarve*, and the privilege of sending an annual ship to the *West-Indies*, which the king would not ratify; and if this was true, it fortified the title of that house, for it shewed that *Philip* had treated for that title, and not giving the equivalent, left it in the same condition in which he found it^a. Here again he failed also in his politics; for he laboured to supply the defects in his gratifications, by testimonies of respect and compliment, which at once fortified the sense of the *Bragança* family of the justice of their own title, and heightened also the good opinion which had been entertained of it by the wisest people in the nation. He had his views in this; but accidents were too hard for those views, for he who framed these could not command those; but he had other difficulties to struggle with. b

He is not able to effect this; but on the contrary disgusts more than he obliges.

THE deputies of the third estate presented a remonstrance on the state of the nation, pressing him to send the prince his son to be educated amongst them; to withdraw the garrisons of *Castilians* and *Italians*, which he had put into the strong places; to abolish certain taxes; to keep *Portugal* independent of *Castile*; and to make some regulations in justice. He agreed to a few of these, and those of the least consequence; the rest were refused or declined^c. The nobility, having never acted against his catholic majesty, thought nothing could be denied them; and therefore demanded, by a deputation, a jurisdiction over their vassals; to annex the principal employments to their body, exclusive of all others; to ennoble none for the future, unless for very great services, and then for life, so that the title should not descend. These, and other articles of a like nature, were rejected; so that they now began to repent they had not acted in concert to oppose his entrance, till they had made their own terms^d. Before the assembly separated, a general indemnity, as it was called, came abroad; but so full of restrictions, that it by no means deserved the name. Fifty-two persons, of the highest consideration, were excepted; not a monk could have benefit thereby, or indeed any who had ever followed Don *Antonio*, received any honour, dignity, or gratification from, or had any employment under him. All these were declared incapable of holding, for the future, any office in the state, or of being continued in those that they possessed; so that the *Portuguese* said, the pardon extended to none but such as had never offended, or had nothing to lose; and were highly exasperated to find themselves so deceived with regard to their expectations in this respect^e. Nor could any intreaty prevail to make the pardon more general; but the excepted persons were summoned and prosecuted, great numbers of men of quality, and others, were imprisoned, put to death, treated with the utmost rigour, or sent prisoners into *Castile*: even the women were not exempted, their goods being confiscated, their persons imprisoned, and some of them taken out of convents sent into *Castile*: none suffered more remarkably than the monks and other religious, of whom he destroyed an incredible number; and not to speak of those who died by hardships in his prisons, he got, in a fit of conscience, from the Pope, a brief of pardon for two thousand religious, whom he had put to death in different manners. The carcases of many of these being thrown into the *Tajo*, were there taken up, some in their habits of monks by the fishermen, who thereupon fancying the river to be excommunicated, would not eat of the fish, nor follow their usual occupations, till the archbishop of *Lisbon*, to humour their simplicity, went solemnly, with the accustomed rites, to the river, and absolved it from the supposed excommunication. The king staid there much longer than he originally intended, and at his departure left the cardinal arch-duke *Albert* his viceroy, with a good *Portuguese* council about him, and all the exterior marks of power; but with little trust, and less of real authority^f. Thus in the dawn of *Philip's* reign the seeds were unwittingly sowed of universal discontent.

The fruitless attempts of Don Antonio, in support of his title.

As for Don *Antonio*, who had been proclaimed, and still stiled himself king of *Portugal*, he first retired into *France*, and there demanded succours for the recovery of his dominions. He found so much countenance, that with a fleet of near sixty sail, and a good body of troops on board, he made an attempt upon the *Terceras*, where his fleet was beat by the *Spaniards*; and a great number of prisoners being taken, all the officers and gentlemen were beheaded, and a great number of meaner people hanged. Don *Antonio*, notwithstanding, kept possession of some places, coined money, and did many other acts of regal power; but was at length constrained to retire, and it was with some difficulty that he did this, and returned into *France*^g. He passed from thence into *England*, where he was well received; and many fitted out privateers to cruise against the *Spaniards* under his commission. But after king *Philip* had ruined the naval power of *Portugal*, as well as *Spain*, by equipping the armada, queen *Elizabeth* made no difficulty of owning and assisting Don *Antonio*, and even of sending Sir

^a FARIA Y SOUSA, GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO.

^c CABRERA, FERR. TURQUET, FARIA Y SOUSA.

^u GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO.

^w JO. ANT. VIPERANI, FARIA Y SOUSA.

^x CAMPANA,

HERRERA, CABRERA, GERONIMO CONESTAGGIO.

^y FARIA Y SOUSA, FRANC. DIAZ DE VARGAS,

FERR.

- ^a John Norris and Sir Francis Drake with a strong fleet and a great army to restore him. Upon this occasion ² Don Antonio sent his son Don Christopher a hostage to Muley Hamet, king of Fez and Morocco, who was to lend him two hundred thousand ducats; but king Philip prevented this by surrendering *Arzila*; and this disappointment, the unseasonable enterprize upon *Corunna*, and the disputes that arose between Norris and Drake, rendered that expedition abortive; so that, except carrying the plague into *England*, it was attended with no consequences worthy of notice². He remained some time after in *England*; but finding himself little regarded, he withdrew once more into *France*, where he fell into great poverty and distress, and at length dying in the sixty-fourth year of his age, his body was buried in the church of the nuns of *Ave Maria*, with an inscription on his tomb in which he is stiled king^b.
- ^b He left several children behind him, who, on account of his being a knight of *Malta*, and having made a vow of virginity at his entrance into the order, were looked upon as illegitimate. He preserved even to the day of his death a great interest in *Portugal*, and had drawn from thence, in the course of his life, immense sums of money; which had been squandered in many fruitless negotiations, and attempts to disturb the possessions of king Philip in almost all parts of his dominions, and particularly in the *Indies*, where the *Portuguese* were rather more averse to the *Castilian* yoke, or at least testified their aversion more openly than in *Europe*.

BUT Don Antonio was not the only pretender to the crown of *Portugal*; for the people, partly through the love of their prince, and partly from their hatred to the *Castilians*, were continually feeding themselves with the hopes that Don Sebastian would appear and deliver them; and in this respect such a spirit of credulity reigned, that it was said proverbially, they would have taken a negro for Don Sebastian. This humour put the son of a tyler at *Alcobaza*, who had led a profligate life, and at length turned hermit, to give himself out for that prince; and having with him two companions, one of whom stiled himself Don Christopher de Tavora, and the other the bishop of *Guarda*, they began to collect money, and were in a fair way of creating much disturbance, if the cardinal arch-duke had not caused him to be apprehended, and after leading him ignominiously through the streets of *Lisbon*, he who took the name of Sebastian was sent to the gallies for life, and the pretended bishop was hanged^c. Not long after Gonfalo Alvarez, the son of a mason, gave himself out for the same king, and having promised marriage to the daughter of Pedro Alonso, a rich yeoman, whom he created earl of *Torres Novas*, he assembled a body of about eight hundred men, and some blood was spilt before he was apprehended: at length being clearly proved to be an impostor, himself and his intended father-in-law were publicly hanged and quartered at *Lisbon*; which, instead of extinguishing this humour, father increased it^d.

THERE was, however, a person who appeared about twenty years after the fatal defeat of *Alcazar* at *Venice*, who created much more trouble. He assumed the name of Don Sebastian, and gave a very distinct account of the manner in which he had passed his time from that fatal defeat. He affirmed, that he had preserved his life and liberty by hiding himself amongst the slain: that, after wandering in disguise for some time in *Africa*, he returned with two of his friends into the kingdom of *Algarve*: that he gave notice of this to the king Don Henry: that finding his life sought, and being unwilling to disturb the peace of the kingdom, he returned again among the *Moors*, and passed freely from one place to another in *Barbary*, in the habit of a penitent: that after this he became a hermit in *Sicily*; but at length resolved to go to *Rome*, and discover himself to the Pope^e. On the road he was robbed by his domestics, and came almost naked to *Venice*, where he was known, and acknowledged by some *Portuguese*. Complaint being made to the senate, he was obliged to retire to *Padua*. But the governor of that city ordering him also to depart, he not knowing what to do, returned again to *Venice*; where, at the request of the *Spanish* ambassador, who charged him not only with being an impostor, but also with many black and atrocious crimes, he was seized, and thrown into prison. He underwent twenty-eight examinations before a committee of noble and impartial persons; in which he not only acquitted himself clearly of all the crimes that had been laid to his charge, but entered also into so minute a detail of the transactions that had passed between himself and the republic, that the commissioners were perfectly astonished, and shewed no disposition to declare him an impostor, moved more especially by the firmness of his behaviour, his singular modesty, the sobriety of his life, his exemplary piety, and his admirable patience under his afflictions^f. The noise of this was diffused throughout *Europe*, and the enemies of *Spain* endeavoured every where to give it credit.

THE state, however, refused to discuss the great point, whether he was or was not an impostor, unless they were requested so to do by some prince or state in alliance with them. Upon this the prince of *Orange* sent Don Christopher, the son of the late Don Antonio, to make

² CABRERA, HERRERA, CAMDENI Annal. Eliz. Memoires Historiques, Politiques, Critiques, & Literaires, DANIEL, MEZERAY.

^c GRIMSTON's Continuation of Mayerne Turquet.

^a FARIA Y SOUSA.

^d LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal.

^f LE CLEDE.

^b Memoires de Portugal,

par AMELOT DE LA HOUSSE, TURQUET, P.

declare him an
impostor, but
spare his life.
1602.

that demand, and at his request an examination was made with great solemnity; but no decision followed, only the senate set him at liberty, and ordered him to depart their dominions in three days^g. He went therefore, by the advice of his friends, to *Padua*, but in the disguise of a monk, and from thence to *Florence*; where he was arrested by the command of the grand duke, who delivered him to the viceroy of *Naples*. The count *de Lemos*, then in possession of that dignity, died soon after, before whom he was first brought; this man asserted, he must know him to be *Don Sebastian*, since he had been twice sent to him from the king of *Spain*^h. He remained prisoner several years in the castle *del Ovo*, where he endured incredible hardships. At length he was brought out, led with infamy through the streets of the city, and declared to be an impostor, who assumed the name of *Sebastian*: at which words, when proclaimed before him, he said gravely, *and so I am*. In the same proclamation it was affirmed, that he was in truth a *Calabrian*, which as soon as he heard, he said, *it is false*ⁱ. He was next shipped on board a galley as a slave; then carried to *St. Lucar*, where he was some time confined; from thence he was transferred to a castle in the heart of *Castile*, and never heard of more^k. Some persons were executed at *Lisbon* for their endeavours to raise an insurrection on his behalf; but it was thought strange policy, or rather a strange want of policy in the *Spaniards*, to make this affair so public without proofs; and the attempt to silence this objection, by affirming him to be a magician, was justly looked upon as ridiculous. It is very remarkable that *Faria y Sousa*^l, a very candid and exact writer, who mentions the former impostors with abhorrence, is altogether silent with regard to this man, whose story is very extraordinary in itself; and having so close a connection with the history of *Portugal*, we thought best to insert it here, though a little out of the order of time, to prevent repetitions, and that the several cases being produced together, might illustrate each other.

Errors in Philip's administration, which laid the foundation of the Portuguese discontent.

THE administration of affairs in *Portugal*, during the reign of *Philip*, was certainly detrimental to the nation, and yet it does not appear that this flowed so much from any ill intention in that monarch, as from errors in judgment. His prodigious preparations for the invasion of *England* impoverished all his *European* dominions; but it absolutely exhausted *Portugal*. The pretensions of *Don Antonio*, and the hopes of despoiling their *Indian* fleets, exposed the *Portuguese* to the resentment of the *English*; from which the king having granted away all his domains, wanted power to defend them. Their clamours were not at all the less loud for their being in some measure without cause. The king, to pacify them, borrowed money from the nobility upon the customs, which were the only sure remedy he had still left; and this was attended with fatal consequences. The branches thus mortgaged became, and continue to this hour, fixed and hereditary; so that the merchant was oppressed, and the king received nothing. This expedient failing, a tax of three *per cent.* was imposed, in the nature of ship-money, for the defence of the coasts and the commerce, which for some years was properly applied; but then made a part of the ordinary revenue, and went into the king's exchequer without account. This made way for diverting other appropriated branches; as for instance, that for the repair of fortifications, the money being strictly levied, and the works suffered to decay, and tumble down; and that for the maintenance of the conquests in *Africa*, by which the garrisons mouldered away, and the places were lost. Upon the whole, in the space of eighteen years, the nation was visibly impoverished, and yet the government of *Philip* was incomparably better than that of his successors; so that his death was justly regretted, and the *Portuguese* were taught by experience to confess, that of bad masters he was the best^m. A miserable consolation indeed (A)!

His

^g GRIMSTON'S Continuation of Mayerne Turquet.

^h Memoires de Portugal, SPONDANUS Annal.

ⁱ GRIMSTON'S Continuation.

^k LE CLEDE, Memoires de Portugal, SPONDANUS Annal. GRIMSTON'S

Continuation.

^l Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.

^m GRIMSTON'S Continuation, LE

CLEDE.

(A) In the foregoing history of *Spain* we have observed more than once that *Philip* the second treated the people of *Portugal* with more lenity than any of his successors; and in this we follow the *Portuguese* as well as the *Spanish* authors; but the former assert, that this was merely the effect of his policy, and that he was in reality the author of all the miseries they endured. In support of this they mention, and they produce a certain memorial, which they say was drawn and digested from the instructions which he left behind him, for the use of his son *Philip* the third, by one of his ministers; and the hints therein contained, as they say, were so many maxims of state, from which his son and grand-

son never digressed. It is certain that *Philip* the second did leave a political testament for his son, for which he is commended by some, and blamed by other writers⁽¹⁾. It is generally believed that we have this testament as *Philip* wrote it; and in that we find nothing more said of *Portugal* than that it was the only conquest that remained to him, after spending, in less than thirty-three years, five hundred and ninety-four millions of ducats; and that he did not look upon himself as very secure in the possession of it. In the close of it, indeed, he mentions some schemes that he had left in a place, of which *Christopher de Moura* had the key, and desires him to take care of them immediately, that

(1) Ferreras Historia de Espana, Memoires Historiques & Politiques, par M. Anelot de la Houffaye, Discursio y Sumario de la Guerra de Portugal, &c. por Diaz de Vargas.

they

a His son *Philip*, the second of *Portugal* and the third of *Spain*, sat twenty years upon the throne before he made a visit to *Portugal*, where the people, to convince him how soon a little sunshine might banish foul weather, put themselves to a most enormous expence to receive him; for which they received little more than the compliment, that, before his entry into *Lisbon*, he knew not how great a king he wasⁿ. He held an assembly of the states, in which his son was sworn successor. He having done all that he wanted for himself, acquired a false idea of the riches of the nation from an immoderate and foolish display of them during his short stay at *Lisbon*; and having shewn himself little, and done less, he returned into *Spain*; where he acted the part of a good king upon his death-bed, in deploring bitterly that he never thought of acting it before^o. The reign of *Philip* the third and fourth was a series of worse measures and worse fortune: all his dominions suffered greatly; *Portugal* most of all. The loss of *Ormuz* in the *East*, of *Brazil* in the *West-Indies*, together with the shipwreck of a fleet sent to escorte that from *Goa*, brought the nation incredibly low, and encouraged the conde duke to hope they might be entirely crushed. These are the heads only of the transactions for forty years: to enter in any degree into the particulars, is, in other words, to point out the breaches made by the *Spanish* ministers on the conditions granted by king *Philip*; which, with respect to them, was the original contract, and unalterable constitution of *Portugal*, while subject to the monarchs of *Castile*; and which, notwithstanding, they so often and so flagrantly violated, that one would have imagined they had studied to provoke the wrath of heaven, and insult the patience of men, instead of availing themselves, as they might have done, of the riches, power, and martial spirit of the *Portuguese* people. But having exhibited such a charge as this to the reader's view, we are bound in conscience to exhibit also the evidence, which we shall do as clearly and concisely as it is possible, and then there will be no room left to wonder, that, except a few of the nobility who were meanly content to be great, while the rest of their countrymen were little, united themselves with so much zeal, and at the same time with so much fortitude in their endeavours to shake off a yoke that had already rendered them miserable; and which, with the habit of a few years more, would have sunk into a race of naked and despicable slaves^p.

It was the very basis and foundation of their privileges, that the kingdom should remain separate and independent, and consequently that *Lisbon* should continue as much its capital as ever, the several supreme councils and courts residing there; so that the natives of this realm might not be obliged to travel in search of justice. So little, or at least so short a time was this observed, that neither promotion nor justice was to be obtained without journies, and *Madrid* was not more the capital of *Castile* than of *Portugal*. The general assembly of estates was to be held frequently, and they were held thrice in the space of threescore years, and of these twice within the first three. The king was to reside in this realm, as often and as long as possible; in compliance with which *Philip* the first was there but once, *Philip* the second but four months, and *Philip* the third was never there at all. The household establishment was suppressed through all their reigns. The viceroy was to be a native of *Portugal*, or a prince or princess of the blood; yet when any of the royal family bore the title, the power was in reality in the hands of a *Spaniard*. Thus, when the princess of *Mantua* was vice-queen, the marquis de la Puebla was to assist in council, and in all dispatches; and she was to do nothing without his advice. The council of *Portugal*, which was to be composed entirely of natives, was filled with *Castilians*, as the garrisons also were, though the contrary had been

His son Philip's government serves only to heighten this spirit, and to impoverish the nation.

Fundamental articles of the convention made with the Portuguese broken.

ⁿ FARIA Y SOUSA. ^o GONSALEZ DE CESPEDES Historia del Rey Don Philipe III. ^p LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal, Historia de Don Phelipe IV. Rey de las Espanas, por Don GONSALEZ DE CESPEDES Y MENESES, FARIA Y SOUSA.

they might not fall into other hands; it is possible this might be of the number: but let us see what were its contents (2). He first observes, that *Portugal* can be but of little value if not absolutely reduced: he next shews, that prodigious advantages may be drawn from it when it shall be reduced. The way to do this, he says, is not by imposing taxes, increasing the revenue, or invading their privileges; but, on the contrary, treating them gently, and behaving mildly towards them upon all occasions, augmenting their liberties, and gradually introducing *Castilians* into employments, caressing their nobility, and using every method to entice them to *Madrid*, employing them in *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *Low Countries*; and, having thus disarmed the minds of the people, keeping the feuds amongst their great families open, and spies continually on the duke and the lords of the *Bragança* family, they might easily discover the proper time of sapping one privilege after

another, bringing *Castilian* magistrates into towns, marrying the poor nobility of *Castile* to the rich heiresses of *Portugal*; and having found, or created a pretence, seize the person and family of the duke of *Bragança*, confiscate his and his friends estates, and then applying some popular palliatives to appease the minds of the people, remove all marks of a separate government, and render it in effect, though not in name, a mere province to the crown of *Castile*. Till this could be done, he directs that the government should be ever in the hands of a prince or princess of the blood, but surrounded by ministers who should be alone intrusted with ministerial secrets; and that where they could be trusted, *Portuguese* should be employed, because this would provoke odium, and take from them all connection with or concern for their countrymen. Such were the lessons of this *Solomon* of *Spain*.

(2) Le Clede Histoire generale de Portugal.

promised. The presidents of provinces, or corregidores, were to be natives ; but by keeping a those offices in his own hands, the king eluded this article. No city, town, or district, were to be given but to *Portuguese* ; yet the duke of *Lerma* had *Beja*, *Serpa*, and other parts of the demesnes of the crown, which were formerly appenages of the princes of the blood. None but natives were capable of offices of justice, in the revenue, in the fleet, or of any post civil or military ; yet these were given promiscuously to foreigners, or sold to the highest bidder, not excepting the governments of castles, cities, and provinces. The natives were so far from having an equal chance in such cases, that no posts in the presidials were ever given to them, and scarce any in garrisons ; and whenever it happened, in the case of a person of extraordinary merit, whose pretensions could not be rejected, he was either removed, or not allowed to exercise his charge, as fell out to the marquis of *Marialva* and others. The forms of proceeding, the jurisdiction, the ministers, the secretaries, were all changed, in the council of *Portugal*, being reduced from five to three, then to two, and at last to a single person ^a.

Their commerce neglected, undermined, and oppressed by the Spanish ministers.

In points regarding trade, equal alterations were made, of which the consequences were still worse, more especially to the people in general. The *Portuguese* had been assured, that a fleet should be kept off their coast, for the security and for preserving the freedom of their commerce ; and, when it was needful, that this should be reinforced with *Castilian* ships : but instead of all this, the fleet of *Portugal* was employed on all occasions, ruined in the *Spanish* service, and the *Portuguese* admiral and general, in all expeditions where they acted together, were obliged to obey the *Castilian*. They had no fleet or galleys to cruise or to escorte vessels, to secure the ports, or scour the coasts : so that the sea was full of pirates, the *Moors* made descents, navigation was unsafe, and commerce daily decaying. The number of *India* ships lessened ; and whereas twenty used to go, and scarce one miscarried, the number was reduced to a few in a year, and these indifferently laden, and generally half of them lost or taken, in sight of port, by corsairs : so that above two hundred great galleons, besides other vessels, were lost while *Portugal* was dependent on *Spain* ^c. If a fine ship was built at *Lisbon*, it was immediately put into the *Spanish* fleet ; so that people were discouraged from building. The arsenals of *Portugal* were emptied of their artillery and arms of all sorts : so that above two thousand pieces of brass, and an infinite quantity of iron cannon were carried away into *Spain* ; and in the grand place of *Seville*, there were nine hundred cannon to be seen at a time, marked with the arms of *Portugal*. The *Portuguese* were not admitted to the *West Indian* commerce, though they had been flattered with a promise of indulgence in that respect, whilst the *Flemings* were allowed to trade to the *Portuguese* plantations. How very little the court of *Madrid* had the trade of *Portugal* at heart appears from the truce concluded with *Holland*, which was limited so, that it should not extend to countries beyond the equinoctial ^d, as if on purpose that the *Portuguese* settlements in *Brazil*, *Ethiopia*, and the *East Indies*, might have no benefit, and all their plantations in those parts be exposed to the attempts of the *Hollanders*. In consequence of which, the *Dutch* were soon enabled to take *Gale*, *Colombo*, and drive them entirely out of the isle of *Ceylon*, and monopolize the cinnamon trade to themselves ; and likewise out of *Ternate*, *Tydore*, and most of the *Molucca* islands, by which they likewise became masters of cloves, nutmegs, and in a great measure of pepper. These were not the only losses of the *Portuguese*. *Ormuz* was wrested from them by the *Persians*. The ports of *Mina* and *Arguin* in *Guiney*, with *Fernambuco*, and a great part of *Brazil*, were seized by the *Dutch*, who also took the important fortrefs of *Malacca*, in the *East Indies*, after a siege of six months. These losses served for a pretext to raise money, in order to recover those places ; but it was still diverted, and the *Portuguese* saw themselves in imminent danger of utter ruin, when in all countries in *Europe*, that were before friends, were made their enemies, merely by this union with *Castile* ^e. A circumstance, which, in point of honour, the *Spanish* ministers ought to have considered.

The royal revenue diverted gradually, till Portugal becomes only a farm to Castile.

THE revenue of the crown, which was by the concessions of king *Philip* to be spent in *Portugal*, yet was applied to the wants of *Spain*. Pensions were sold to persons there, and then appointed to be paid out of the revenue of *Portugal*, so that six millions of old revenue scarce brought eighty thousand crowns into the king's exchequer. The tax of salt, first imposed by king *Sebastian*, remitted by *Henry*, revived by *Philip*, and raised to more than the value of the commodity, with the annates from graces, bringing in four hundred thousand crowns a year, and the profit of all confiscations of merchandize, were appropriated to the service of *Castile*. The money levied on the clergy of *Portugal*, and the tax on oil, were applied to the same purpose ^f. The excise on flesh and wine, to a fourth part of its value, was assigned to the build-

^a LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal.

^c GONSALEZ DE CESPIDES, LE CLEDE.

^d FARIA

^e SOUSA, LE CLERC, LE CLEDE, Corps Universel Diplomatique.

^f LE CLEDE, Histoire generale

de Espagne, LE CLERC, Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, Conquista de las islas Malucas, por el licenciado BARTOLOME LEON DE ARGENSOLA, Histoire de l'isle de Ceylan, par J. RIBEYRO.

^g LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal, Histoire generale de Espagne.

a ing of the palaces of *Buen Retiro*, and *Galinero*, near *Madrid*. A duty laid by the common council of the city of *Lisbon*, to build a conduit for the use of the inhabitants, was (after being some time managed by the city officers and applied to that purpose) seized by *Philip* the second; and afterwards by *Philip* the third: this practice was extended to all the cities of the kingdom. Every parish was charged with furnishing ball to the soldiers; and the *Castilian* projectors exercised their wits so well, in inventing new subsidies, that out of these alone, from *anno domini* 1626 to 1633, thirty-two millions three hundred and thirty thousand crowns were brought into the king's coffers, and a much greater sum afterwards, from that last year to 1640. Upon the whole, the *Portuguese* writers compute, that from 1584 to 1626, the *Spanish* government cost *Portugal* above one hundred millions of gold, without any advantage
b to the grandees or people; and what was drained from them afterwards was very little less than that sum, which makes two hundred millions, and was more than sufficient to exhaust any country, and which really beggared *Portugal* ^w.

THE clergy, exclusive of those grievances which they shared in common with the rest of their countrymen, had some peculiar to themselves. The first *Philip* had stipulated not to demand from the Pope any bulls to enable him to tax benefices; the last *Philip*, however, imposed and levied the old impositions, without breach of faith in his opinion, or rather in his minister's opinion, because it was done without bull and without law. The priests resented this invasion of their privileges, and complained of the pensions granted out of their livings, and the delays of filling sees and ecclesiastical dignities, that the king might have the profits of the vacancies. All ecclesiastical dignities, and all commanderies of orders, were restrained to natives: yet the *Castilians* enjoyed all the great, and none but the small were left to the *Portuguese*. This affected not only the clergy, but the nobility and gentry, who were likewise uneasy to find they could get no military charges, but what were the leavings of the *Castilians*, being generally given to courtiers and their relations: so that none by distinguishing services could now hope for any recompence; and that emulation, which is the source of brave actions, being destroyed, *Portugal*, so famous in former days for prodigies of valour, lost at once all its reputation. Many of the best families were, for want of employments, reduced to poverty; whilst others, who were not yet sunk so low, had loans proposed to draw their wealth out of their hands, and were ill treated if they declined lending. No fiefs, jurisdictions, or escheats to the crown, ought to have been bestowed on any except *Portuguese*; yet great numbers of families were banished purely to introduce *Castilians*, who had also titles granted them, and the richest heiresses of *Portugal* were given to poor gentlemen of *Castile*, that they might find those riches in other countries, which they wanted in their own ^z.

THE detestation of the *Spanish* government was become universal, from the comparison made by different ranks of people between their respective grievances; for common misery taught men of all degrees to mingle their complaints. The nobility and gentry were grieved to see their long services so ill repaid, while *Germans*, *Italians*, and *Flemings*, were courted, preferred, and honoured with the *Golden Fleece*, which never fell to the share of a *Portuguese*. They saw, with the utmost sorrow, the order of knighthood with them become contemptible; and even that of *Christ*, cherished and enriched by successive kings, now disgraced by those who wore it; and they bore with impatience the sending their children into *Castile* for education, where they were considered as hostages, rather than men of quality. The clergy felt very sensibly the several methods that had been practised to fleece them; they were mortified at seeing the great benefices in the hands of the princes of the blood, who never judged it expedient to visit *Portugal*: thus, for instance, the cardinal infant Don *Ferdinand* held at once the priory of *Crato*, worth twenty-five thousand crowns, and the abbey of *Alcobaça*, in commendam, which was worth forty thousand crowns a year more; and *Leopold*, the son of the archduke of *Tyrol*, was named bishop of *Viseo*, at three years old, notwithstanding Don *Alexander*, brother of the duke of *Bragança*, was refused the archbishopric of *Evora*, under pretence that he was not a doctor of divinity ^y; and, what surpassed all other evils, they found no way to rise in preferment so expeditious as that of granting pensions to courtiers. The officers and soldiers employed in the *East Indies* were very indifferently paid, compelled on all occasions to act in subserviency to the *Castilian* interest; and the common people, besides being oppressed by taxes, and scarce left the benefit of the laws, were daily forced into the king's service, and, contrary to the most solemn engagements, sent into the most distant parts of his catholic majesty's dominions, with a very scanty subsistence, and no hopes of being ever preferred ^z. In this situation the signs of discontent were frequent and loud: an insurrection

^w LE CLEDE.

^x Historia delle rivoluzioni del regno di Portogallo per le quali la corona e stata trasferita dal Ré di Castiglia al duca di Bragança Giovanni IV. composta da GIO. BATT. BIRAGO AVOGADRO, LE CLEDE.

^y GONSALO DE CESPEDES Y MENESES Histoire generale de Portugal.

^z Histoire de la Revolution de Portugal ou du retablissement du Roi Jean IV. sur le trone en 1640, par RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT. LE CLEDE.

had been raised in the kingdom of *Algarve*, which might have been attended with very untoward consequences, if the vice-queen *Mary* had not vigorously interposed, and by her care and prudence quieted the minds of the people: notwithstanding which the new tax of five per cent. upon lands and merchandize, was, in obedience to the orders of the court, imposed^a.

The situation of Don Juan, duke of Bragança, and his family, at this juncture.

A NATION, when once discontented, naturally seeks a chief; for an established government quickly suppresses popular tumults when they are not conducted by some able head, and to some determined end. They no sooner began to make this enquiry, than the duke of *Bragança* offered himself to their view, and to their mind^b. This prince was in the flower of his age, grandson to *John* duke of *Bragança*, who had been competitor to *Philip*, and himself of the same name. His father, *Don Theodosius*, had been a warm friend to his country, and opposed the first insults of the *Castilians* with great dignity and spirit, which had endeared him exceedingly to the people. He had by his duchess, the daughter of the duke of *Frias*, this duke, his brother *Don Duarte*, and *Don Alexander*, designed for the church, and who died a young man^c. As for *Don Juan* duke of *Bragança*, he had espoused *Donna Louisa de Guzman*, the sister of the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and it is necessary to set his character in a true light. In the eye of human policy he seemed to be of all men living the most unfit for the great part he acted. He was of a gentle and quiet temper; rather indolent than active; loved hospitality and magnificence; delighted in country sports, was the kindest husband, the most affectionate father, the most generous master, the friendliest neighbour, and the most amiable and companionable man breathing. Providence intending him for the instrument by whom the oppressed *Portuguese* were to be restored to their independency and freedom, gave these virtues a turn proper to produce consequences which the most penetrating human policy would never have suspected. His behaviour reconciled the nobility to his grandeur, as they never saw it exerted but in doing good: it defended him from the jealousies and suspicions of the *Spaniards*, who thought a man of his temper could never give them any trouble, unless he was forced to it; which made them tender and indulgent in their proceedings. It attached to him all his vassals, who looked upon him as their common parent; gained the affections of the populace where-ever he came, and spread a universal desire of being happy under the government of a prince of so much mildness and moderation. He knew his own rights, and he did not want ambition: he saw the misery of his country, and he saw it with compassion: he comprehended perfectly the views of the *Spanish* ministers, and he looked upon them with proper resentment. But he could do all this without discomposing his temper, without altering his conduct, and without discovering the least desire of being greater than he was. In the end, his patience, which some thought pusillanimity, appeared to be consummate prudence; his indolence the most refined policy; and his backwardness in stirring the only effectual method of procuring that unanimity in resolution which so wonderfully and unexpectedly placed him on the throne. His duchess was of a different frame of mind; her temper was lively, vehement, and sincere; her courage manly, and her fortitude heroic. She had the credit of exciting, or at least of confirming her husband in his final resolution; but in reality the duke had taken it before he asked her advice, and that calmness with which he proceeded, received a useful as well as acceptable colouring from the vivacity of his consort^d.

Spanish ministers act as if determined to drive the nation to despair.

A. D. 1637.

In some particular places extraordinary severities had forced the people to explain themselves, though to their own hurt. Thus at *Evora* there happened a great sedition, in which the name of the duke of *Bragança* was mentioned, and a deputation sent to acquaint him, that the lives and fortunes of the inhabitants of that city were at his devotion. The best part of the province of *Alentejo* was in motion upon this news; but the duke rejecting the proposal, and stopping the insurrection, availed himself of the credit which this gave him with the court of *Madrid*, to preserve the citizens of *Evora* from destruction^e. But now that rage which had hitherto been confined, became general; the conduct and scheme of the *Spaniards* driving the whole nation from discontent into despair. A strict survey had been taken of the whole kingdom, as if they had meant to divide it; and from hence it appeared that there were in *Portugal* about two hundred and ten thousand fighting men. In consequence of this came orders for raising six thousand foot, and a great corps of horse, to march against the rebels in *Catalonia*; most of the eminent gentlemen in the several provinces were required to raise their vassals, and to march with them in person^f. The best part of those who complied were seized, with several of the principal nobility, as hostages, and some of them put to ransom; which frightened those who remained at home excessively, and disposed them to run

^a GIO BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO, LUIZ DE MENESES, CAJETANO PASSARELLO. Histoire generale de Portugal.

^b LE CLEDE, GONSALO DE CESPEDES Y MENESES, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

^c GIO BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO, LUIZ DE MENESES.

^d LE CLEDE, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

^e GONSALO DE CESPEDES Y MENESES, CAJETANO PASSARELLO, LE CLEDE,

a all hazards, though threatened to be declared traitors, and their estates confiscated. The next good effect of this political survey was the project of no fewer than twenty new taxes and impositions, to be levied on a people crushed by those under which they laboured already. Some letters of the secretary *Vasconcellos*, whose character has been already given, let the *Portuguese* into the depth of his and his master's designs, and took from them all possibility of hope, in case experience had failed of doing it before. Under such circumstances as these a revolt was certainly to be feared, and indeed it was what the *Spaniards* expected: the conde duke had taken precautions for suppressing it, and had resolved to make it a pretence for depriving them of that shadow of independency which was still remaining ^g.

b THE duke of *Bragança* had for the master of his household and director of his finances, *Juan Pinto Ribeiro*, a doctor of the civil law; a man of a bold spirit, extensive genius, and who at once deserved and possessed his master's confidence. He was at *Lisbon*, and with very great address promoted and encouraged that spirit which he saw rising in all ranks and degrees of people. When in company with the nobility, he deplored the dejected and distressed state in which they were held by the *Castilians*. Amongst the priests he admired the learning and abilities conspicuous in men of their order; and testified his concern, that instead of recommending, this should hinder their preferment. With men in a mercantile way the decay of trade was his constant topic: he pointed out the sources of it, and took care to insinuate, that, from the nature of them, things must grow daily worse and worse. His discourses gained him credit with those who had the good of their country sincerely at heart: amongst whom the most considerable was Don *Rodrigo da Cunha*, archbishop of *Lisbon*, a man of great quality and abilities, who was particularly piqued at the *Spaniards*, and at the vice-queen for raising Don *Sebastian de Mattos de Norogno* to the primacy of *Braga*, and bestowing on him all their confidence. The archbishop of *Lisbon* communicated his thoughts to Don *Miguel de Almeida*, a nobleman of *Roman* courage, who was so dissatisfied with the *Spanish* government, that he never went to court, Don *Antonio de Almada*, and his son Don *Lewis*, the grand huntsman *Mello*, and Don *George* his brother, Don *Lewis de Cunha*, the archbishop's nephew, *Pedro de Mendoza*, Don *Rodrigo de Saa*, great chamberlain, and some other officers of the crown, who, though they retained their pompous titles, had not either appointments or perquisites ^h.

d IN their first consultations it very naturally occurred, that the first step to be taken was to make choice of a proper person on whose head they might place the crown. Some were for the duke of *Bragança*, others for the marquis de *Villa-real*, and others for the duke of *Aveiro*, all princes of the same house. The archbishop heard all that could be said, and then told them his own sentiments clearly; which were, that in declaring against the *Spanish* government they could not either hope for justice, or escape the guilt of rebellion, otherwise than by owning the duke of *Bragança*, who was the true heir of the crown: in which they readily acquiesced. He then shewed them, that as this was no factious, they had reason to flatter themselves it would prove no fruitless attempt; but being intended for their benefit, would be abetted by the whole nation: that the *Spanish* force in the kingdom was not great, and the strength and credit of that crown no longer what it was: that the *Dutch* had long ago recovered their liberties: that the *Catalans* had lately followed their example; and that the *Portuguese* might do the same with great ease, if either the love of liberty, or the sense of injuries, could revive the ancient courage of their nation, and enable them to shake off that reproach thrown upon them by the infidels, that those who stiled themselves the conquerors of the *Indies* were nevertheless slaves at home ⁱ. They applauded this discourse, and promised in their several stations to do all in their power for accomplishing so glorious an enterprize, and for restoring that constitution, which, while they held it, they were a great, and which now they had lost, they were scarce a people. The archbishop recommended to them steadiness and secrecy; and at the same time desired, that the obstacles which it would be necessary for them to surmount, should be seriously and circumstantially considered.

f IT was observed, that the *Spaniards*, and those of their party, were in full possession of the government in all its branches; that the magistrates, judges, officers civil and military, and in short, all who had either power or influence, were on their side. To this it was answered, that in appearance it was so; but that very probably it might be otherwise in reality, and if not, the many were every where superior to the few, and the few were nowhere formidable when they were men of bad characters, and universally detested, which was the case of every man devoted to the *Spanish* interest. It was remarked, that the *Spaniards* had garrisons in three places in the *Algarves*; that they had a citadel, and se-

^g VITTORIO SIRI, GONSALO DE CESPEDES Y MENESES, LE CLEDE.

^h GIO BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO, LUIZ DE MENESES, CAJETANO PASSARELLO.

ⁱ RENE D'AUBERT DE VER-

veral forts in and about *Lisbon*; and that they had a body of troops in the *Spanish Estremadura*. It was said in return to this, that if all those forces had been together, or so disposed that they might have been suddenly collected, they would have been much more formidable; that as they were now divided, they might be easily kept for ever separate; that though a siege was not, yet a blockade was easily formed; and that if a garrison could not eat they must surrender, though no artillery was brought against them; that of the troops in the field, a third part at least was *Portuguese*; and that it would be no difficult matter to assemble an army strong enough to invite them to come over, and then the business would be done without fighting. It was objected, that after all, *Portugal* was naturally but a part of *Spain*, surrounded on it by three sides, on all which it might be attacked, without any regular forces of its own, and without allies. It was replied to this, that the situation was the same in former times; that the *Castilians* had heretofore claimed *Portugal*, without being able to conquer it; that though the force of *Portugal* was diminished, the strength of *Spain* was likewise declined; that at all events, the *Portuguese* were superior to the *Catalans*, and might therefore venture to do what they had done. Lastly, it was alleged, that the present season was not to be lost; that *Portugal* was destined to destruction by the *Castilians*, as appeared by the letters to *Vasconcellos* from *Madrid*, and therefore they ran no greater risk, for no greater evil could happen than destruction, which they might as well meet as expect; that their enemies were never so much embarrassed as at this juncture; and that as *Spain* had rendered almost all *Europe* her enemies, *Portugal* upon her revolt would have almost all *Europe* either for open or secret friends. The result of all was, that proceeding was less hazardous and more glorious than desisting; and that the recovery of their liberty would depend chiefly upon themselves.

Dr. Pinto's
prudence as to
his master.

WHEN doctor *Pinto* came to be consulted, he embarked himself roundly, but disclaimed all knowledge of his master's sentiments. He was very clear as to his right to the crown, and he was no less clear as to his love for his country; but he observed that the duke was without ambition: and that he would risk nothing for the sake of his title, being satisfied with the great property he had, and with the opportunities it gave him of doing good; but added, that if the welfare and interest of the nation demanded his service, he was confident there was not a peasant in *Portugal* would risk his cottage sooner than his master would his estates. In fine, that he would do nothing to make himself a king, but would expose himself to any thing for the welfare of the kingdom; and that from what he had said they might account for his past conduct, and to take their measures in the most effectual manner to induce him to alter it. His notions were well received, and it was unanimously determined, when once their affairs were ripe, to force the crown upon the duke of *Bragança*.*

His crown
wise conduct
throughout.

WE have, in the history of *Castile*, shewn on what maxims the conde duke *de Olivarez* acted, and what various methods he practised, that he might amuse the duke of *Bragança*, and engage him to come to court, which, if he had done, we have that minister's own authority in his apology to prove, he would never have set foot more in *Portugal*, so that his suspicions in this respect were not in the least unjust. But as great a politician as *Olivarez* was, his artifices not only proved ineffectual, but were really serviceable to the duke. Thus, when he was declared general of the forces, directed to visit the fortresses, it gave him an opportunity he could not otherwise have had, of making a progress through the kingdom, obliged even his rivals and enemies to pay him great respect, and gave even the hispaniolized *Portuguese* an habit of obeying him. It is true, that such of the *Spanish* governors as could be trusted had orders to seize him; but the duke came so well accompanied, that it would have been much easier for him to have surprized any of their places with those he had about him, than for them to have arrested him. Where human prudence might have failed, Providence visibly interposed for his preservation: the *Spanish* fleet under admiral *Osorio* was ordered upon the coast, in hopes he would have dined on board it, upon an invitation; but a storm dispersed and shattered that fleet, which might otherwise have given him a great deal of trouble. When he came to *Almada*, over-against *Lisbon*, *Pinto* procured an audience for *Antonio Almada*, *Michael Almeida*, and *Pedro Mendoza*: he heard their propositions with a pleasant countenance; and though he did not absolutely engage himself, yet his expressions of gratitude were so strong, and his testimonies of kindness so warm and so obliging, that they returned well satisfied, and charmed with the thoughts of having so good a prince. He had received instructions from court to wait upon the vice-queen at *Lisbon*, and to treat her with the most profound respect: the design of which was to shew him to the people in the light of a subject, and thereby to weaken those impressions they might otherwise have received. The duke went accordingly; but attended with such a concourse of nobility, and was complimented with such multitudes on his arrival, that the marquis *de Puebla*, who in reality was governor to the vice-queen, could not help saying;

* RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, CAJETANO PASSARELLO, LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal.

a " This visit does not proceed from respect to you ; but is intended to shew you what " respect is due to him : " and indeed it left him and his friends no great reason to suspect that the declaration he intended to make would meet with much opposition there. For the expence of this general visit, and for the necessary fortifications, he had forty thousand crowns paid him out of the treasury, and soon after twenty thousand more to facilitate his journey to *Madrid* ; which were very convenient supplies at that juncture, and prevented his taking such measures to raise money as might have afforded suspicions¹.

When the plan of the associated lords was so far advanced that little more remained than to fix the time and manner of its execution, they dispatched *Mendoça* to the duke, ^{He resolves to accept the crown.} to obtain his definitive resolution. At this he hesitated a little, and desired some time to consider. *Mendoça* requested that he would not protract time, and that he would forbear asking the advice of his secretary *Antonio Paez Viegas*, a person of great sagacity, but remarkably cautious. The duke readily promised the former ; but not the latter. After mature reflection, he thought it expedient to send for *Viegas*, and to lay before him the whole state of the matter. Instead of giving his opinion, the secretary asked him, whether if the lords, in imitation of the states of the United Provinces, had resolved to set up a republic, he would not have sacrificed his own rights to the welfare of his country ? " Yes, replied the duke, " and my fortunes, and my life, if necessary, to her safety. " " Why then, said the secretary, should you hesitate at receiving a crown which it is her interest to offer, and to which you have a just title ? " Having said this, he knelt and kissed his hand. The duke then communicated it to the duchess, who, after a little reflection, said, " My lord, a violent death certainly waits you at *Madrid*, and it may be at *Lisbon* ; but you will die there a miserable prisoner, and here covered with glory and a king. This is the worst that can happen : we ought rather to confide in the love of the people, your just claim, and the divine protection. " The secretary, without speaking, knelt and kissed her hand likewise. The duke sent for *Mendoça*, introduced him to the duchess, and then told him he might assure those who sent him, that they might dispose of him as they thought fit ; and that upon the day fixed he would cause himself to be proclaimed throughout all his own estates, and wherever he had any influence^m.

d ALL these transactions were in the five last months of the year, and the first time mentioned for taking up arms was the month of *March* ensuing ; but when they came to examine things more strictly, they found it impossible to put off the attempt so long. *Mendoça* made another turn to consult the duke, who afterwards sent for *Pinto* from *Lisbon*, whom he enjoined to acquaint the lords, to keep punctual to *Saturday* the first of *December*, which was the day they last appointed, and to bend all their endeavours to the seizing of *Lisbon* ; for they had some thoughts of attacking *Evora*, which he disapproved. As the time drew nearer they were obliged to take some considerable citizens into their party, and a monk, one father *Nicholas de Maja*, who brought the magistrates to concur with them ; so that by this time the design was in the hands of at least five hundred persons of all ranks, sexes, and ages, which made the deferring it more dangerous than the execution. Yet even after this there fell out accidents that were very near compelling them to defer it, and it certainly had been done if the duke of *Bragança* had not constantly insisted that his excuses were all exhausted ; and that, if he did not set out for *Madrid*, he had nothing to hope if he remained still a subject in *Portugal*. Doctor *Pinto* held all the associates closely united, and with the utmost hazard, and most indefatigable industry, laboured to adjust every thing, so as to have it ready by the time, and in particular engaged the traders, who were embarked, to dismiss numbers of their journeymen and servants, under pretence they could no longer pay or employ them, that discontented, and out of bread, they might be the readier to take arms. Father *Nicholas* also was very useful in promoting, though cautiously, and in very ambiguous terms, that spirit it was so necessary to raiseⁿ.

f At length *Saturday* the first of *December* came, when the confederates met early at the houses of *Almeida*, and the other great men, where they were to arm themselves. In all their countenances appeared such confidence as gave hope of victory : all being armed, they repaired to the palace by several ways, and most of them in litters, the better to conceal their number and arms. They were divided into four bodies, and expected the hour of eight, A.D. 1640, which was the time appointed. As soon as the clock struck eight *Pinto* gave the signal by firing a pistol, and then all parties fell to their respective tasks. Don *Michael de Almeida* fell upon the *German* guard, who being surprised, for the most part unarmed, were soon subdued. The grand huntsman, his brother, and Don *Stephen de Cunha*, charged the *Spanish* company before the palace at the place called *The Fort*. Most of the townsmen who knew

¹ RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, LUIZ DE MENESES. ^m GIO BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO. ⁿ Histoire de la Revolution de Portugal, par RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, CAJETANO PASSARELLO, LUIZ DE MENESES, LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal.

of the design were in this action, and boldly fell sword in hand upon the court guard. None amongst them signalized himself more than a priest, who carrying a crucifix in one hand, and a sword in the other, amidst his loud exhortations ceased not to act beyond the most alert. None could stand before him; so that after some small resistance, the *Spanish* officer and his soldiers were forced to surrender, and in order to procure quarter, to cry out, "God save the duke of *Bragança*!" *Pinto*, having made his way into the palace, headed those that were to attack *Vasconcellos* in his apartment. At the foot of the stairs they met *Francis Scarez de Albergaria*, judge of the civil causes, who seeing this tumult, would have interposed his authority to appease them; but hearing all cry "God save the duke of *Bragança*!" he thinking it the duty of his office cried "God save the king of *Spain* and *Portugal*!" This cost him his life; for one of the gentlemen in arms shot him, to prevent two cries. *Antonio Correa*, first clerk to the secretary, running out upon the noise, was stabbed by Don *Antonio de Meneses*; yet he turned up his eyes full of revenge, and said, "What! dare you strike me?" All the answer *Meneses* returned, was to stab him till he fell: yet he survived all these wounds to die some time after by the hand of the hangman. Being quit of this obstacle, the confederates pressed forward towards the secretary's chamber. *James Garcia Paleia*, a captain of foot, was then with him, who seeing so many armed men, and supposing they sought the life of *Vasconcellos*, though he owed no obligation to that minister; yet out of mere generosity endeavoured to keep the door with his sword, till the secretary could make his escape; but being wounded in his right arm, and overpowered by the multitude, he leaped out at a window, and had the good fortune to escape. They immediately broke into the chamber, and not finding the secretary, though they searched all corners, they threatened an old woman with present death if she did not discover him; and she, to save her life, pointed to the place where he was, being a close cupboard taken out of the thickness of the wall, where they found him covered with papers. Fear prevented his uttering one word, and Don *Rodrigo de Saa* gave him the first wound with a pistol; after which several of the confederates having struck him, they cast the body out at the window, crying, "The tyrant is dead: let liberty live, and Don *John* of *Portugal*!"

The vice queen seized, and the Spanish government entirely dissolved.

THE multitude, who had flocked to the palace, gave great shouts of joy at seeing the body cast down. *Pinto* losing no time, hastened to join those who were to seize the vice queen, and found they were already successful. Those who were to enter that princess's apartment being come to the door, and the enraged multitude crying out, they would set fire to it if not opened, the vice-queen, with her ladies, and the archbishop of *Braga*, appeared in her chamber, believing her presence would appease the nobility, and oblige the commons to retire. At their entrance, advancing some steps towards the confederates, "I confess, gentlemen," said she, "that the secretary has justly incurred the hatred of the people, and your indignation, by his austerity and insolent manner of proceeding. His death is a sufficient revenge. I believe that what has hitherto passed may be attributed to the hatred conceived against the secretary; but if you proceed in this manner, you cannot avoid being reputed rebels, and you will deprive me of the means of excusing you to the king." Don *Antonio de Meneses* answered, that so many persons of worth were not met to punish a wretch who ought to have died by the hands of the hangman: that they came to do right to the duke of *Bragança*, to whom the crown appertained. She would have replied; but *Almeida* fearing his companions might cool, said, *Portugal* had no king but the duke of *Bragança*; and then all cried out, "God save Don *John* king of *Portugal*!" The vice-queen seeing them past reclaiming, thought to find more respect in the city; but as she offered to go down, Don *Carlos de Noronha* civilly intreated her to retire to her chamber, and not expose herself to the fury of the incensed people. She, in a rage, finding herself detained, cried out, "Why, what can the people do to me?" To which *Noronha* answered, "Nothing, madam, but throw your highness out at the window." The archbishop of *Braga*, inflamed at this, snatched a sword from a soldier, and offered to run at *Noronha*; but Don *Michael de Almeida* laid hold of him, and told him the danger of provoking those who, but for him, had decreed his death. This made him curb his passion, in hopes of a more favourable opportunity of revenging himself. The rest of the confederates seized all the *Spaniards* that were in the palace or city. The marquis de *la Puebla*, steward to the vice-queen, Don *Diego Cardenas*, major general, Don *Hernando de Castro*, intendant of the marine, the marquis de *Bainetto*, an *Italian*, master of the horse to the vice-queen, and several sea-officers, were on this occasion made prisoners, which was done with as great ease, as if by order of the king of *Spain*. No man stirred to defend them, and they were in no condition to

° GIO BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, Histoire generale de Portugal. P LUIZ DE MENESES Discurso gratulatorio sobre o Dia da felice restituicao & acclamacao de Rey de Portugal D. Joam IV. por FR. FRANC. BRANDAO, MONGE DE ALCOBACA, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

a do it, being most of them taken in their beds. This done, and all danger removed, *Antonio de Saldanha* led the people to the courts of judicature, where he made an harangue to them upon the present happiness of *Portugal*, in being delivered from tyranny, and the crown restored to their natural prince. His discourse was received with general applause, and all proceedings for the future ordered to run in the name of Don *John* king of *Portugal*^a. Thus the foreign government was compleatly dissipated, and their natural prince restored.

In the mean while Don *Gaston Coutinho* released out of prison all who had been committed through the severity of the *Spanish* ministers; and they who were thus delivered, formed themselves into a body no less formidable than that of the first confederates. Amidst this general joy, *Pinto*, and other principal men, were not, however, free from care. The *Spaniards* were still possessed of the citadel, and, whilst it held out, the king of *Spain* had always an entrance at his command: they conceiving therefore they had nothing unless they were matters of that place, went to the vice-queen, demanding of her an order for the governor to deliver it up. She rejected this with scorn; but *Almada* swearing desperately, if she persisted, he would instantly murder all the *Spaniards* that were taken, for fear of sacrificing so many persons of quality, she signed the order, believing the governor knew his duty too well to obey a command he could not but be convinced was extorted from her. It fell out quite otherwise than she expected; for the *Spanish* governor, Don *Lewis del Campo*, a man of no resolution, seeing all in arms before the citadel, vowing they would put the garrison to the sword unless they surrendered, was glad to depart with so good a pretence as the vice-queen's order to hide his cowardice. The citadel being surrendered, and the confederates now secure on all sides, they dispatched *Mendoça* and the great huntsman to carry the happy news to the duke of *Bragança*, and assure him there wanted nothing to complete the people's felicity but the presence of their king, yet this was not equally desired by all; the nobility looked upon his exaltation with an envious eye; the gentry, who had no hand in this affair, stood doubtful, as if they knew not whether he would justify those proceedings. The creatures of *Spain* were in a consternation, and only took care to save themselves. The duke's friends knowing his intention without disclosing it, prosecuted their business: they met at the palace to settle affairs, and unanimously chose the archbishop of *Lisbon* president of the council, and lieutenant of the kingdom. He refused at first, believing there was more need of a general than a person of his character; but soon complied, upon condition the archbishop of *Braga* should be joined in commission with him. This subtle prelate's design was to make the other as guilty in respect to the *Spaniards* as himself if he accepted; or if he refused, to render him as odious to the new king as he was to the people. The primate of *Braga* perceived the snare; but, being wholly devoted to the *Spaniards*, positively refused to have any share in the government. Thus the whole power fell into the hands of the archbishop of *Lisbon*, Don *Michael de Almeida*, *Pedro de Mendoça*, and Don *Antonio de Almada*, who were appointed his counsellors (B).

THE

^a GIO BATT BIRAGO AVOCADRO.^{*} LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal, LUIZ DE MENESES.

(B) This change of government was so sudden, and those who conducted it shewed so much prudence as well as spirit, that in the afternoon of the *Saturday* on which it happened, the shops were opened, and every thing quiet. This had different effects upon different minds; for when they came that night to sing the *Te Deum*, the chapter of *Lisbon* could not be prevailed upon to assist at it, supposing it impossible that a revolution could be produced with so little bustle; and the archbishop of *Lisbon* saw, with regret, that this coolness of theirs was like to operate upon others. He ordered, therefore, *Te Deum* to be performed the next day with greater solemnity, which was *Sunday*, assembled as many of the nobility as he could at his own palace, and made use of his authority to compel the chapter to be present; upon which, they made no difficulty at all, supposing that this mandate of his would justify them in case of any new change (3). After *Te Deum* was sung, this prelate went in procession, with a crucifix carried before him, through the streets; and when he came to the house where St. *Anthony of Padua* was born, he made a stand before a crucifix placed in a nich there, and kneeling on a low bulk against the side of the house,

began a loud prayer, that if what they did was pleasing to God, the image would afford them some token of consent. Upon this, certain persons placed there before, cried out, that the image gave a sign; and others, posted in the rear for the like purpose, roared out, a miracle! a miracle! At the close of the procession, the archbishop shewed that the right arm of his own crucifix was detached from the cross, and was extended in a menacing posture. Whether this happened through art or accident is uncertain; but however it happened, it brought out all *Lisbon*. Such as had still expectations from the *Spaniards*, such as were afraid of risking their persons and estates, and even such as were indolently neutral, came abroad upon this occasion, and relieved those who were already hoarse with the cry of "Long live *John* the fourth, the father and deliverer of his country (4)." The very archbishop of *Braga* was forced to join in this cry; and a variety of passions blended their effects into the appearance of that universal loyalty with which such signal and stupendous changes are commonly attended. All that part of the city which lies upon the *Tagus* was covered with people, who stood there in expectation of seeing their new

(3) O Doutor Joao' Baptista Birago Historia della dis-unione del Regno di Portogallo della Corona di Castiglia.
 (4) M. Fremont d'Abblancourt Portugal restituado.

king;

Don John IV.
makes his
entry.

THE president dispatched expresses the same evening to all the provinces to excite the people to give thanks to heaven for the recovery of their liberty; and commanding all magistrates to cause the duke to be proclaimed king, and to secure the *Spaniards*. He in the next place acquainted the vice-queen, that she must withdraw, to make room for the king and his family, and caused an apartment to be furnished for her in the royal antient palace of *Xabregas*, which is in the suburbs. The vice-queen left the palace with a countenance full of indignation, and without speaking a single word. Only a few of her own servants and the archbishop of *Braga*, with the hazard of his life, attended her. The duke of *Bragança* was all this time in suspense, not knowing how affairs succeeded at *Lisbon*, till *Melo* and *Mendoça* arrived at *Villaviciosa*. By the joy of their countenances, and their casting themselves at his feet, he understood, before they spoke, he was king of *Portugal*. He conducted them to the duchess to relate what had happened, and they gave her the title of majesty. The same day Don John was proclaimed king in all the towns that depended on him: *Alonso de Melo* did the same at *Elvas*. The new king set forward for *Lisbon* with the very same equipage he had provided to go to the court of *Spain*; he was attended by the marquis de *Ferreira*, his kinsman, the count de *Vimiosa*, and many other persons of quality. The queen was left at *Villaviciosa* to confirm that province in its obedience by her presence. All the roads through which he passed were thronged with people, who ran see him, pouring blessings on him, and curses on the *Spaniards*. All the nobility, officers of the crown, and principal magistrates went out to receive him at a great distance from *Lisbon*, where he made his entry amidst the joyful acclamations of the multitude on the sixth of *December*.

* RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

† LUIZ DE MENESES, GIO BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, FRANC. BRANDAO, LE CLEDE, BATT NANI.

king; and the archbishop of *Lisbon* sent expresses to hasten him, that his subjects might not be disappointed. They met him half-way to *Lisbon*, in a hunting equipage, attended by a few of his friends, and hawking carelessly, as if a crown was the least in his thoughts. As soon as he knew the state of things, he pushed directly on to *Lisbon*, passed the river *Tago*, though nine miles broad, in what we stile a pair of oars, landed, and almost without notice, made his way to the theatre that was prepared for his reception (5). There, shewing himself to the archbishop and other great officers of the crown, the people were ravished with amazement; and, to keep up their spirits, the interpretation of certain old prophecies were spread abroad, and those, for the authenticity of which the *Spaniards* themselves had vouched, were now turned against them; so that the people looked upon king *John* as a monarch sent them

by heaven (6). If therefore the *Spaniard*, who saw the rejoicing of this night, really meant what he said, when he declared that *John* was truly a fortunate prince, to acquire a kingdom by a bonfire, and that his master was very unlucky to be driven out of so many fine provinces by an illumination (7), he was not much wiser than the *Indian*, who thought he had defined the mechanism of a clock, by saying, there were twelve figures between two circles, and a hand passing from one to the other pointed out the hour, which is the truth indeed, but very far from being the whole truth; for, as we have abundantly shewn, this enterprize ran great hazards, and was not accomplished without many difficulties. On the first reading this history it may excite strange notions, but none will stir without reading it again, and whoever does that, will not stir at all.

(5) Vertot, M. Fremont d'Ablancourt.
Portugal restaurado.

(7) Vertot.

(6) Dr. Colebatch's Memoirs, O Doutor Joao Baptista Birago

S E C T. VIII.

The reigns of John the fourth, and his son Alonso the sixth.

Coronation of
John IV. and
assembly of the
states, in which
the revenue
was settled.

THE new king perceiving with what alacrity his title was received, and how general a satisfaction the people expressed on the throwing off the *Castilian* yoke, and resuming their antient constitution, resolved without further delay to proceed to his coronation, and then to call an assembly of the states; the only acts that were requisite to authenticate his authority, and to render his person sacred. The ceremony of the coronation was performed on the fifteenth of *December*, with all possible magnificence. The duke of *Aveiro*, the marquis of *Villa-real*, the duke de *Caminha*, his son the count de *Monfanto*, and all the nobility of the kingdom assisted at the ceremony. The archbishop of *Lisbon*, at the head of his clergy, and attended by several other bishops, received the king at the gate of the cathedral, and there all the three estates took the oath of fidelity to him. A few days after the queen came to *Lisbon*, having been received at a distance by the whole court, and the king himself, who upon other occasions, as well as this, testified in the most public manner how much he

* Restauracao de Portugal Prodigiosa, por Don GREGORIO DE ALMEIDA, LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal, LUIZ DE MENESES, BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, FRANC. BRANDAO, Historia della Repubblica Veneta di BATT NANI, LE CLERC Histoire des Provinces Unies, P. DANIEL Histoire de France, MEZERAY, Histoire Metallique des Pays Bays, par Monsieur GERARD VANLOON.

esteemed

^a esteemed the great talents, and how sensible he was of the many services rendered him by his consort ^b. The assembly of the states met on the 28th of *January*, recognized the king's title, and acknowledged his son *Don Theodosius* in quality of prince of *Portugal*. On the other hand the king acquainted them, that for his civil list he would content himself with his patrimonial estate, and apply the public revenue for the public service. He at the same time consented, that all the new taxes and impositions laid upon the people by the *Spaniards* should be extinguished; so that the nation was visibly greater gainers by this revolution than the king, who obtained nothing but his right, while they were freed from the ordinary expences of government, as well as the extraordinary levies to satisfy the avarice of the *Castilians*. We need not wonder therefore that most of the fortresses on the coast of *Africa*, the *Azores* ^b islands, (a single place excepted) the settlements in *Brazil*, and in the *East Indies*, acknowledged this monarch as soon as they had notice of the revolution, or that all the powers in *Europe*, who were not immediately under the influence of the house of *Austria*, readily owned him, and received his ambassadors ^c.

As the situation of his own affairs hindered the king of *Spain* from attacking *Portugal* immediately with any considerable force, he had recourse to soft measures, and wrote a very pathetic letter to the new king, but without effect ^d. This was followed by some military incursions, by which the *Portuguese* suffered little, or obtained a reasonable satisfaction for their losses in the same way ^e. But in *Portugal* itself there wanted not those, who, disdaining public happiness, incompatible with their private interest, sought to subvert the new establishment before it was well fixed, and plotted against a monarch to whose title they had so lately sworn, to whose conduct they had nothing to object, and to whose councils they were daily admitted. The original author and principal conductor of this plot was the archbishop of *Braga*, who owed his preferment indeed to the *Spaniards*, and had a great interest with the vice-queen; but had been often insulted by *Vasconcellos*, and might easily have been well with the present government. This man, laying all things together, perceived, that how acceptable soever the king might be to the nation, he was envied by the princes of his own blood; and that many of the nobility, conscious that their estates were purloined from the crown, were secretly disaffected. He begun therefore with the marquis of *Villa-real*, the king's nearest relation, and one to whom he paid the highest respect: he promised him the vice-royalty of *Portugal*, and therefore allured him and his son the duke of *Caminha*, to take part in the scheme: his own nephew, the count *de Armamar*, blindly followed his will; *Don Augustine Manuel*, a person of a very noble family, and great parts, embarked from ambitious motives; the grand inquisitor out of real attachment to the court of *Spain*, and about a hundred other persons of rank, some out of ambition, and others from particular piques; the *Jews* also, or new Christians, upon the promise of toleration, came in, as did some likewise who were actually in the king's service. The design was well laid, and all its branches properly directed. The *Jews* were to fire the city of *Lisbon* in several places; the conspirators within the palace were to admit their associates from without, who were to dispatch the king, and to secure the rest of the royal family, while the archbishop of *Braga*, and the grand inquisitor, preceded by their crosses, and followed by their clergy and dependants, were to parade the streets, and endeavour to keep the people quiet, till the houses were burnt, and the *Spanish* forces at their gates, ready to chastise them for their late defection, and to put another for ever out of their power ^f. Such is the piety of some ecclesiastics!

^a *Authors* differ extremely in their accounts of the manner in which this project was discovered: some say, and this very probably was the first account, that a *Portuguese* spy fell accidentally into company on the frontiers with one of his own trade employed by the prince, whom he stabbed, and then taking from him his letters, brought them to *Lisbon*, in consequence of which the whole came out. The second, which is more generally received, gives the discovery to the marquis of *Ayamonte*, who commanded on the *Spanish* frontiers, who was related to the queen of *Portugal*, and who was embarked in an intrigue with the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, to make him king of *Andalusia*. This marquis receiving letters by the canal of one *Baça*, a rich merchant, secretly a *Jew*, but whose packets came now under the seal of the inquisition, with instructions to forward them to *Olivarez*: he suspecting their contents, broke them open, and finding in them the whole plan of the conspiracy, sent them to king *John*. The third, and the most probable is, that the archbishop of *Braga*, understanding that the count of *Vimiosa*, who was a prince of the blood, had been removed from his command on the frontiers, tampered with him, and having received some encouragement, communicated to him the whole design, with which he acquainted the king. But in what-

^b RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, BATT AVOGADRO.
^d Histoire generale de Espagne.

^c LE CLEDE.

^e LE CLEDE, GREGORI DE ALMEIDA.
^f LUIZ DE MENESES, LE CLEDE.

ever manner the discovery was made, it was conducted with great address; for the king took no notice of any thing till the very day preceding the night in which it was to have been executed. This was the ninth of *August*, when the troops in the adjacent villages, under colour of a review, entered *Lisbon* by break of day. The king delivered billets, sealed up, in the morning to many persons in whom he could confide, with instructions to open them at noon, and then to execute their contents with the utmost punctuality. At that very instant the marquis *de Villa-real*, and the archbishop of *Braga* being summoned to council, were arrested in the king's anti-chamber, the duke *de Caminha* was seized in the great square, and in the space of an hour forty-seven of the principal conspirators were apprehended in virtue of the king's billets; and at the time the business was divulged to the people, all against whom the court intended to proceed were in actual custody^a. By these precautions the public security was thoroughly provided for, and also proper evidence furnished to satisfy public inquiry.

Manner of their punishment; providential supply of the king's treasury, and foreign alliances.

THE king summoned a council, to consider what should be done with those who were embarked in this treason. He was himself inclined to mercy, more especially as Don *Lewis de Meneses*, marquis of *Villa-real*, was so nearly allied to him; and this, notwithstanding the ingratitude of the action, was heightened by his being first privy-counsellor appointed by the king after his accession. But the council were clearly and unanimously of another mind; in consequence of which the conspirators were remitted to the ordinary courts of justice. The king did not think fit to disclose the evidence that was in his own possession; and therefore *Baeza* was put to the rack, who confessed the whole. The marquis of *Villa-real* and his son, the archbishop of *Braga*, and the inquisitor, confessed without being exposed to the torture. The two former, together with the count *de Armamar*, and *Augustine Manuel*, were beheaded on the twenty-ninth of *August*. *Pedro Baeza*, the secretary of the archbishop of *Braga*, and four others, were hanged. The archbishop himself, and the inquisitor, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment; in which the former died, but the latter, after some time was set at liberty^b. All their estates were confiscated, and furnished a very large and seasonable fund for the war. The archbishop of *Lisbon*, who thought nothing ought to be denied him, interposed in favour of one of his friends, and asked the queen in pretty strong terms for his life. "I cannot grant your lordship that favour," answered her majesty; "but I will grant you a much greater, I will forget you ever desired it^c." When these executions were over, the king declared the rest of the prisoners innocent, and caused them to be discharged; so that he had nothing to fear from their despair. It was not in this instance only, but in many others, that Providence visibly favoured this wonderful revolution. A ship from the *East Indies*, with effects to the value of near half a million on board, knowing nothing of what had happened, came into the port of *Lisbon*, and was seized; the like happened to ten more in the islands of *Azores*; so that what the *Spaniards* chiefly relied on, the distress of the new government for want of a settled revenue, was prevented by these almost miraculous supplies^d. On the other hand, the crown of *France* concluded a treaty with *Portugal*, and sent them succours^e. The states-general of the *United Provinces* entered into a negotiation, which ended in a truce for ten years. The northern powers also gave them all the assistance they could desire; and though the bishop of *Lamego*, who was sent ambassador to *Rome*, was unfortunately betrayed into the hands of the *Spaniards*, who were inclined to have treated him with the utmost severity, yet the inclination that *Olivarez* had to deliver his cousin the marquis *de Puebla*, induced him to consent to an exchange^f. He proceeded in his journey; and though it be true, that for fear of the *Spaniards* the Pope would not suffer him to enter *Rome* in the day, yet he allowed his being introduced by night in the *French* ambassador's coach; and though he would not own his public character, yet he caused the same respect to be paid to him as if it had been owned. Don *John* acted a very different part with regard to the vice-queen, who was also a princess of the blood in *Spain*; for after she had remained ten months a prisoner, he set her at liberty without exchange or ransom^g; which had indeed a very good effect, though it did not happen immediately since, as we have shewn elsewhere, this princess had no inconsiderable share in bringing about the fall of the king's implacable enemy, the conde duke *de Olivarez*.

A singular instance of royal goodness, and return of popular gratitude.

THE affairs of the kingdom making it requisite, he called an assembly of the states, in which he demanded a supply, not for the maintenance of his court, but for the support of the war, which raged more or less in all parts of his dominions. The states voted him two millions, and left it to him to raise the money in what manner he pleased, sending him blanks

^a RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO. ^b LE CLEDE, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, GREGORIO DE ALMEIDA, BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO. ^c LE CLEDE. ^d RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, GREGORIO DE ALMEIDA, BATT BIRAGO AVOGADRO, LE CLEDE, LUIZ DE MENESES. ^e P. DANIEL, MEZERAY, Corps Universel Diplomatique du droit des Gens, tom. vi. p. 214. ^f ANECDOTES du Ministère du Comte Duc d'Olivarez, LE CLERC Histoire generale de Espagne, LE CLEDE. ^g RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, LUIZ DE MENESES, LE CLEDE, P. DANIEL.

a which he might fill up with such rates for raising that sum as he judged most expedient. It was a confidence never placed in any king of *Portugal* before, and it appeared to be very well placed now; for the king thanked them for their votes, returned them their blanks, adding, that it was for the *Spaniards* to impose and levy taxes; that for his part he would leave all to the good-will of his subjects; in consequence of which he raised four millions instead of two °. The conde de *Castelmelhor*, who was in *America*, and in the *Spanish* service when the revolution happened, and very ill used, endeavoured at his return to seize the best part of the fleet in the port of *Carthagena*, in both which he had certainly succeeded, if he had not been betrayed by a *Portuguese*, whom he had trusted in the highest degree. Upon this, he was condemned to death; but appealing to the court of *Madrid*, gained time. The king Don *John* sent a couple of emissaries to *Carthagena*, so well furnished with money, and a vessel to hover on the coast, that, with the assistance of a captain of a *Dutch* frigate, after making his escape out of the citadel, he got safe into *Portugal*, where the king covered not only him, but all who had any hand in his deliverance, with such favours, as did not a little contribute to his service; and some years after made him governor of *Brazil* p.

A. D. 1642.

THE war continued all this time with an expence rather of treasure than of blood, the affairs of *Spain* q being in great perplexity; and much time, and the bringing over of foreign officers, being requisite to render the *Portuguese* troops fit for action, in the way of regular service; and till this could be done, the king very wisely declined expeditions of great consequence. In the mean time a very unlucky affair happened at home. The archbishop of *Lisbon*, during his short administration, had promoted *Francisco Lucena*, who had been clerk to *Vasconcellos*, to the post of secretary of state, in which he was continued by the king. He was indisputably a man of great abilities; but he was old and peevish, and had a severity in his temper which raised him a great many enemies, whom he treated with a contempt that sharpened their resentment, and induced them to publish many stories to his prejudice. When the revolt of *Portugal* happened, he had a son at *Madrid*, and had intrusted him with some blank papers, to which he had only signed his name, leaving to him to fill them up with letters of recommendation, as he should see occasion. Upon advice of the revoltion, *Olivarez* caused the son to be arrested, and his papers to be examined, to see if he had been acquainted with the conspiracy. Nothing of that kind was discovered, only these blank papers were found. *Olivarez* kept them in his hands, till, finding the mischief *Lucena* did to the *Spanish* affairs, he consulted the marquis of *Montalvan*, and his brother, father *Jeronymo Mascaregnas*, both *Portuguese*, whether he should endeavour to make *Lucena* a friend by an act of generosity, or destroy him as an irreconcilable and dangerous enemy. The priest recommended the former, the marquis advised the latter method, which being most agreeable to *Olivarez's* nature, he approved. He had a *Portuguese* gentleman in his pay at *Lisbon*, who served him for a spy, and gave him good intelligence of the measures and resolutions of the king's council, which he discovered by his money or sagacity. This man was suspected by *Lucena*, and from the secretary's looks, and some marks of his displeasure, began to dread the worst, and to think of flying into *Spain* for refuge. *Olivarez*, to provide for his friend's safety, and effect his enemy's ruin, sent him the blank papers signed by *Lucena*, ordering him whenever he sent his advices to him in the usual private method, to send also at the same time, in a more public way, those very advices in the blanks with *Lucena's* name. These last were intercepted; and the king, strangely surprized, observed carefully the air, manner, and conduct of *Lucena*, but found no grounds for suspicion. Not knowing of himself what to think, he consulted some about him on the subject, who, envious of *Lucena's* credit and power, advised his arrest and punishment. As soon as *Lucena* was seized, *Olivarez's* spy sent others of the blanks with further secret advices, being chiefly copies of letters and instructions to ambassadors abroad, which he had got from the clerks that copied them, and took care at the same time to have forged letters in *Olivarez's* name, wrote as it were in answer to former advices, and relating to secrets formerly discovered to be sent from *Castile*; and these were likewise intercepted. *Lucena* was surprized at the charge, and at seeing his name put to letters he had never wrote or dictated. The thing admitted of no defence but a denial of the fact, which he did with great indignation, and without any sign of fear. He owned it was like his hand; but at the same time asserted he had never wrote or given orders for any such letters, or had ever held any correspondence with *Olivarez*; and insisted that there was some fraud in this matter, which the judges ought with impartiality to examine, and by a due comparison of circumstances discover. His hurry of business had made him forget the blanks he had given his son, and he really thought his name had been counterfeited. Judges, though otherwise regular and just in their

Conde duke de
Olivarez pro-
cures the ruin
of secretary
Lucena by
forgery.

1643

° LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal, GREGORIO DE ALMEIDA, LUIZ DE MENESES. p Historia delle guerre di Portogallo succeduta per l'occasione della seperazione di quel Regno dalla Corona Cattolica descritta da ALESS BRANDANO, LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Espagne, LUIZ DE MENESES. q Histoire generale-de Espagne, Anecdotes du Ministère du Comte Duc d'Olivarez.

proceedings, seldom mind what criminals allege for themselves; and seeing what seemed to be proofs on one side, and encountered only by denial without evidence on the other, condemned him, and he was presently after too hastily executed, protesting his innocence to the very moment of his execution, which happened a fortnight or three weeks before *Olivarez's* disgrace. The truth was soon known by that minister's triumph on the occasion, and by the declaration of the marquis of *Montalvan's* sons; but there was no calling *Lucena* to life. Thus the king of *Portugal* lost the service of the most capable, industrious, and affectionate minister he had in his service!

The first battle fought, and victory gained by the Portuguese, by the count de Alegrette.

A. D. 1644. THE forces of *Portugal*, in the province of *Estremadura*, were commanded by Don *Matthias Albuquerque*, and consisted of six thousand foot, and eleven hundred horse, with which he made an irruption into the *Spanish* province of the same name; but was quickly met by the *Spanish* army, which consisted of six thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse; upon which a battle ensued, and the *Spaniards* having the advantage in the beginning, pursued it with such impetuosity, that *Albuquerque* perceiving their foot uncovered, attacked them with such fury that they were quickly routed, with the loss of between two and three thousand men. An action great in itself, but of prodigious consequence at this juncture; and therefore the king rewarded his general with a pension of four thousand crowns, and the title of *Alegrette*. The *Spaniards*, to repair this, had recourse to their old expedient, and found ways and means to raise strong suspicions of treachery in regard to Don *George de Mascarenhas*, count of *Monte-Albano*, one of the privy-council, and who had other considerable employments; whom the king caused to be arrested and sent prisoner to the castle of *Bellem*, but without any circumstances of resentment or disgrace. Upon a strict enquiry the truth appeared, and the king, by a letter to the states, declared him perfectly innocent, and restored him to his honours and employments. About this time died the archbishop of *Braga*, who, from the time of his condemnation, had behaved with great decency and humility: when he found himself near his end, he sent to desire the king's pardon, and directed that his body should be buried on the outside of some parish-church, without monument or inscription, oblivion being, in his opinion, the best that could befall a traitor. Thus all things went to the king's satisfaction, except in the *Indies*, where, under various pretences, the *Dutch* kept the war alive, and continued to push their advantages, notwithstanding all the expostulations of the *Portuguese* in *Asia* and in *Europe*.

A barbarous conspiracy against the king's life accidentally discovered.

1645.

1646.

THE next year did not produce any thing extraordinary, if we except the attempt made by the *Spanish* ambassador to assassinate the agent sent by the clergy of *Portugal* to *Rome*; which Pope *Innocent* so far resented as to order the *Spaniard* to leave *Rome* immediately; and was so gracious as to offer to name bishops in *Portugal*, and to cause them to be consecrated by his own authority; which the king with great spirit rejected, and declared, that he would own no bishop who did not own him, and who were not named by him. In *France* the queen dowager proposed to the count de *Videguira*, that king *Philip* should give his master the kingdom of *Sicily*, in satisfaction of his pretensions. The count answered, that such a proposition might amuse children; but the king of *Portugal* would continue king of *Portugal* till God should be pleased to take him to a better kingdom. The war began now to languish on both sides, chiefly for want of money, at least in appearance; but in reality both sides were weary of seeing their forces destroyed, and their countries ruined to no purpose; and what added to the trouble of king *John*, there was, generally speaking, such misunderstandings amongst his chief officers, that he ran far greater risks from their quarrels than from the forces of the *Spaniards*: the latter had once more recourse to their old intrigues of both sorts, in hopes that one would support the other; that is, they managed a false and a true plot at the same time. The former consisted in spreading new calumnies of the count de *Monte-Albano*, who was thereupon arrested a second time; and the view was to hinder any attention from being paid to informations relative to the second. They had corrupted one *Dominic Leyte*, a native of *Lisbon*, a man of mean birth, and of the most corrupt morals, who undertook to shoot the king as he passed in solemn procession through the street, on the feast of *Corpus Christi*. In order to this, he hired several houses in the *Turner's street*, and made loop-holes, where muskets were placed; so that if one missed another might be instantly fired. This *Dominic* brought with him from *Madrid* a countryman of his, one *Manuel Rocco*, whom he appointed to wait for him at a certain place with horses, making him believe that he was jealous of his wife, and that he meant to sacrifice her in the midst of her gallants. The interposition of providence prevented the execution of this black design; for though every thing fell out as he expected, yet at the sight of the king the heart of the assassin failed him; notwithstanding which, he went to his companion, and taking horse with him, returned to *Madrid*. There fresh supplies, and higher promises, engaged him to renew

† LE CLEDE.
MENESES.

• LUIZ DE MENESES.
• LE CLEDE, P. DANIEL, MEZERAY.

• BATT NANI, LE CLEDE.

• LUIZ DE

a the attempt ; which, as they went back to *Portugal*, he communicated to *Rocco*, who commended his contrivance, admired his courage, and applauded the undertaking : but, entering *Lisbon* an hour before him, discovered all he knew to the government ; upon which *Dominic Leyte* was arrested, convicted, and executed, acknowledging his crime, and professing his penitence ^x.

THE king thought it now time to form the household of his son Don *Theodosius*, a prince of admirable endowments, who, to his father's affability and generosity, joined his mother's penetration and vivacity. He was not more beloved by his parents than by their subjects, who stiled him the delight of *Portugal* ; and he knew so well how to sustain this high reputation, that by degrees a powerful party was formed in *Spain* in his favour, from the very fame of his good qualities. This domestic happiness served, in some measure to console the king for the loss of his brother the infant Don *Duarte*, who after a long confinement, in which he was cruelly as well as unjustly treated, and which he sustained with all possible courage and magnanimity, expired in the citadel of *Milan*, the *Spaniards* say of grief, the *Portuguese* of poison, but as the physicians reported, of a pestilential disease. The king, his brother, had practised every method that could be devised for obtaining his liberty, and expended vast sums of money for that purpose, but without effect : for the *Spaniards* knowing that the prince was an excellent officer, that he was passionately fond of his brother, and that his presence would put an end to the disputes amongst the *Portuguese* generals, were determined to keep him fast ^y (A). The count *de Videguira*, whom the king had raised to the title of marquis of *Niza*, had proposed a treaty offensive and defensive with the crown of *France*, in which he was traversed by the queen dowager ; but he managed his negotiation so ably, that at length cardinal *Mazarine* offered him of his own accord six thousand foot and two thousand horse, in consideration of a large subsidy to be paid by *Portugal* ; which the marquis rejected in his turn, and in such a manner, that the refusal did the crown of *Portugal* more honour, and perhaps as much service as those succours would have done ^z. The minister the king sent to *Holland*, Don *Francisco de Sousa Coutigno*, managed his affairs

Death of the infant Don Duarte ; alliance with France, and disputes in Holland.

^x LUIZ DE MENESES, LE CLEDE.

^y FRANC. VELASCO DE GOUVEA Perfidia de Alemania y de Castilla en la prision entrega acusacion y processo del Infante de Portugal Don Duarte, LE CLEDE.

^z LUIZ DE MENESES, P. DANIEL.

(A) The usage which the infant Don *Duarte* received in *Germany* was not only barbarous and unjust, but inexcusably cruel, and that in the highest degree. He had served with the greatest reputation in the armies of the emperor *Ferdinand* the third, where by merit he had obtained the rank of lieutenant-general. He had no concern whatever in the revolution of *Portugal* ; notwithstanding which, Don *Francisco de Mello*, a *Portuguese* by birth, but amongst the number of those who had raised his private fortune on the ruin of his country, being his catholic majesty's ambassador, solicited strongly that he might be arrested and sent prisoner to some strong fortress (1). The emperor was naturally averse to this, and his brother, the archduke *Leopold*, declaimed against it vehemently ; but the emperor's confessor, who was a *Spaniard*, soon brought him round, and he gave orders for securing his person, which was done at *Ratisbon*, with various circumstances of indecency and needless severity. The diet protested, and all *Europe* exclaimed against it ; notwithstanding which, he was hurried from place to place, and at length delivered to the *Spaniards*. At parting, he said to the imperial commissary, " Tell your master from me, that he is a tyrant : that it shocks me more to have served him than to be thus sold by him into the hands of my enemies ; and tell him farther, that I pray God to revenge my innocent blood upon his posterity, not assuredly more privileged from the common calamities of life for being of the house of *Austria*, than I who am descended of the blood royal of *Portugal* (2)." At length he was imprisoned, or rather immured, in the castle of *Milan*, and there persecuted without relaxation. After he had been there a long time, and had been obliged to change his confessor as often as they thought fit, the lieute-

nant of that fortress scandalously deposed, that in a fit of passion he had heard him say he had committed on crime, and that he suffered for his king, his brother, and his country : upon this, and on the testimony of some *Spanish* soldiers, who had heard him drink his brother's health, three *Spanish* commissioners declared him guilty of high treason. He appealed, however, from this sentence, as given by incompetent judges ; but in a short space he either went or was sent to prosecute his complaint at the highest tribunal, dying after eight years close confinement, in the forty-fourth year of his age (3). The king his brother had sent one father *Francis Taquet*, a *Jacobin* monk, to *Venice*, with bills to the amount of half a million of crowns, to procure his liberty. He tried first to procure the interposition of the senate ; but finding them cold, he entertained some intelligence in the castle of *Milan* : but finding all his designs traversed by the marquis *du Fuentes*, the *Spanish* ambassador, he hired a couple of bravos to dispatch him ; which design he communicated to the president *de Grimonville*, the *French* ambassador, who, though the crowns were then at war, apprized as became him the *Spaniard* of his danger (4). The true reason why the *Spaniards* were so inexorable in regard to this prince, was their fear of his military capacity ; and some, as we shall see hereafter, allege that the queen of *Portugal* was not very desirous of seeing him at liberty, having been informed some of the *Portuguese* nobility were inclined to have preferred him to his brother (5). But these are arrows shot in the dark, unaccompanied with proofs, and therefore unworthy of credit. We know how ready the *Portuguese* were to entertain suspicions of their queen dowagers, more especially when they were also *Castilians*.

(1) *Portugal restaurado*, M. Fremont d'Ablancourt.

(2) *Franc. Velasco de Gouvea Portugal restaurado*.

(3) O Doutor Joao Baptista, Birago, *Franc. Velasco de Gouvea*, *Le Cicle Histoire de Portugal*, *Memoirs d'Ablancourt*, Dr. Colebatch's *Memoirs*.

(4) *Memoires de Portugal*.

(5) Dr. Colebatch's *Memoirs of Portugal*.

there with extraordinary dexterity, and prevented them from sending a strong fleet in time to *Fernambuco*, by undertaking in his master's name that it should be restored to them; at the same time he wrote to king *John*, "Save your honour, sir, by disavowing me, sacrifice my head, but do not sacrifice that place." After this, finding some attempts made to corrupt his secretary to discover the instructions he received from *Portugal*, he ordered him to take as much money as he could, and the king having confided to him some blanks with his name subscribed, he filled them up with such instructions as he thought most fit for the *Dutch* statesmen to see. In process of time, this being discovered, a message was sent him that they would confer with him no more, nor acknowledge him in quality of ambassador; to which he answered with great firmness, that the first was in their power, and what he could not help; but that his character depended solely upon the king his master^a. However, as he could be no longer of use there, he was soon after withdrawn, and replaced by *Sousa de Macedo*, then the king's ambassador in *England*.^b

The king declines an offensive war, protects the princes Rupert and Maurice, and differs with his son.

1650.

In the progress of the campaigns that were made this year, *Don Juan de Acosta*, *Andrew Albuquerque*, and *Sancho Manuel*, distinguished themselves extremely; yet the king thought the triumphs of these prædatory expeditions a poor recompence for the great expence, the licentiousness that prevailed among the troops, and the interruption of agriculture^c. The two princes palatine, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, having retired into the river of *Lisbon*, with a small squadron of *English* ships, they were pursued by *Blake*, who very peremptorily demanded them. It was by no means the interest of *Portugal* to quarrel with the new republic; and some of the king's council both thought and said as much. *Don John* acknowledged the force of their reasons; but rejected their propositions, ordered his own ships to join the squadron of the princes, and to give the *English* battle, which the weather put out of their power, and *Blake* had besides the good luck to have fifteen sail of the *Brazil* fleet fall in with his, by whom they were all taken^c. However, this drawing him from the coast, gave the two princes an opportunity of putting to sea. The troops of *Portugal* and *Spain* being this year very inactive, prince *Theodosius* withdrew from court in the beginning of *November*, by the advice of some young people about him, and soon after appeared at *Elvas*. The king was extremely offended, but dissembled it; sent some great lords to attend him, and his secretary, with an order to return to *Lisbon*: which, as he obeyed with reluctance, and chiefly through want of money, the king received him coldly; and in reality this breach was never made up^d. *Don Francisco de Sousa Coutigno* was now at the court of *France*; where, though he was able to make but little progress in his negotiation, yet he gained a perfect knowledge of the court, and prevented his master from having any reliance upon it: while *Don Antonio Sousa de Macedo* practised the same arts he had done in regard to the states, who complained that they changed the men but not the ministers^e.

1651.

Great and general dissatisfaction with the king's measures, though perfectly just and prudent.

In order to prevent his son from visiting any of the provinces, he gave him the pompous title of generalissimo of all his forces, but he was no longer summoned to council; and the people of *Portugal* in general believed that the king was jealous of him, and, as is commonly the case, they admired the spirit and genius of the youth, and censured the king's conduct, which they did not understand^f. It was indeed extremely remote from their way of thinking; but *Don John* was nevertheless steady: he suffered them to find fault with his measures; but nothing could ever bring him to alter or to explain them. He found the charges of an offensive war too heavy for the kingdom: he perceived that his cavalry were inferior to the *Castilians*, and that it required some time to remedy this defect: he might have had money from the states upon the least intimation; but never was any monarch more greedy than he was modest in this particular: he found a pretence for selling some of his own land, and with the money purchased horses: he perceived that justice was very much decayed; and that the magistrates of towns made no scruple of diverting the revenue arising from them into their own pockets: he redressed these grievances effectually: he heard that many of the governors on the frontiers were arbitrary and avaricious: he sent for several of them out of different provinces, and cashiered them at once, rejecting all applications and submissions. Some time after he sent for and told them, "It was for your faults I broke you; and as I remember your past services, you are restored." But the great secret of his government was his correspondence in *Spain*. He saw how hard they were pushed by the *French* and *Catalans*: he knew the king's obstinate temper, and the maxims on which he governed, and therefore would take no advantage of him in his distress, that he might not rouse him to a resolution of shaking off his distresses, by making peace with his numerous enemies, and turning his whole force upon *Portugal*. His views, therefore, were to divert this as long as possible, and to be provided against it when it could be no longer diverted; a scheme of policy prudent in itself, but not to be divulged either to a warm youth, or to all who had a seat in his^g

^a LE CLEDE.
Oliver Cromwell, lord-protector.
DE MENESES.

^b LUIZ DE MENESES.

^c LUIZ DE MENESES.

^e CLARENDON'S History of the Rebellion, Life of
^f P. DANIEL, LE CLEDE.

^g LUIZ

a council. But the prince, not comprehending this, and mortified with his father's behaviour, A. D. 1652. fell into a lingering disease, which filled the whole kingdom with sorrow ^e.

In the spring of the ensuing year the prince's health grew so bad, that he was by degrees obliged to keep his bed. Public prayers were made for his recovery, but in vain; for on the fifteenth of May he expired, when he was but just entered into the twentieth year of his age. The king lost also his elder daughter, the infant Donna Joanna; but these misfortunes, and his own infirmities, he bore with great fortitude ^b. The states being assembled, gave him a tenth of every man's estate; promised him a fourth in case the Spaniards besieged any town of note: and resolved that the king might take what he pleased if they invaded his dominions with an army. The king thanked them, but told them he hoped he should take nothing, and he was as good as his word ⁱ. All this time the war of excursion was going on, with various success on both sides: but the Portuguese troops were forming, part of the militia entering every year into the field, and another part into the garrisons, where they were mixed with invalids, that the vigour of one might be directed by the skill and diligence of the other. The German, French, and Dutch officers formed the cavalry; so that they became daily better than they had been, less afraid of artillery, and infinitely more capable of changing their disposition, or rallying, as occasion required, to the great surprize of the Spaniards, who had beheld them before with a sort of contempt, which piqued a nation naturally brave, and very susceptible of offence. 1653.

Amongst other persons whom the king employed as spies in Spain, there was one father Antonio de Andrada, who reported at his return that Don Sebastian de Meneses, and his brother Don Diego, an ecclesiastic, had a treasonable correspondence with his catholic majesty's ministers; upon which they were both seized. As Don Sebastian was a man of great learning and probity, his misfortune occasioned a general murmur, more especially as Andrada had been his domestic, or at least his creature; but the king thought there was no harm in being safe ^k. He had been obliged to send an ambassador into England, who returned this year, but very disconsolate, though he had succeeded in his commission; for Cromwell caused his brother Don Pantaleon Saa to be executed ^l on Tower-Hill, for a riot and murder in the New Exchange, which he looked upon as a breach of the law of nations, as if that had been superior to the divine law, which requires that murder should be expiated by the blood of the offender. The Dutch were this year driven out of Brazil ^m, and the Portuguese out of the island of Ceylon ⁿ, which was chiefly owing to the contempt of the king's authority in the East Indies, which he bore with his accustomed calmness; but would certainly have punished it if he had lived. The king being informed that his cavalry was now grown numerous, recalled the orders that he had given for suspending hostilities; and the incursions that followed were so much in favour of his subjects, that the people began to discern the rectitude of the king's politics, and acknowledged, that what they took to be indolence was highly advantageous to the state. Their praises affected him as little as their censures: he was content with the applause of his own heart, and continued to pursue the public good with great constancy, and without the least ostentation; but his health daily declining, filled the whole nation with apprehensions, more especially when they saw the queen introduced into the council, which they attributed to its true motive, his majesty's feeling himself draw towards his end. 1654.

At the opening of the spring, the king sent his orders to the generals and governors on the frontiers to alter their conduct, and to make incursions into the Spanish territories; which, however, was but indifferently obeyed; for though the mob at Lisbon were extremely fond of the military exploits that furnished them with news, yet the inhabitants near the frontiers, who began to taste the sweets of peace, and were become infinitely easier in their circumstances than at the beginning of this reign, were far from being disposed to run the risks of renewing hostilities. This change of orders was not owing to any inconstancy in the king's temper, or to his giving way to popular clamour. It was, on the contrary, the effects of the same refined policy which had been so long conspicuous in his conduct. The court of France fed him with hopes of considerable supplies, as well as of continuing the war; but at the same time expostulated very warmly his inactivity against the common enemy. It was therefore to silence these complaints that the king issued such orders; and it was from his own humanity, and sincere tenderness for his subjects, that though he repeated them, he manifested no displeasure at the dilatoriness with which they were carried into execution ^o. At this juncture died Pope Innocent the tenth; upon whom all the intreaties of the Portuguese and French clergy could make no impression, or procure the least relaxation of that severity he had expressed in favour of the house of Austria. His successor, Alexander the seventh, affected to appear a

^e ALES BRANDANO, LE CLEDE.

^b LUIZ DE MENESES.

ⁱ LE CLEDE.

^k LUIZ DE

MENESES. ^l Life of Oliver Cromwell, lord-protector, Lord CLARENDON's History of the Rebellion.

^m BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 362.

ⁿ Voyages aux Indes Orientes, tom. vii.

p. 29. Voyage de Schauten, Voiez la Description, Hist. du Gouvernement, p. 124 and 133. LE CLERC Histoire des Provinces Unies. ^o LUIZ DE MENESES.

pontiff of a very different character : he declared cardinal *Ursins* protector of the *Portuguese* nation, and gave the king hopes, not to say assurances, of seeing himself reconciled to the see of Rome before his death^p. In *England* things went intirely to the king's satisfaction, not only as the peace continued to be exactly observed^q between the two nations, but as the war with the *Dutch* proved a very seasonable diversion in favour of his subjects, and secured to them the important settlement of *Brazil*, which with so much hazard and difficulty they had recovered.

The generous
and christian
death of John
IV. surnamed
the Fortunate.

THE same orders were issued at the beginning of the next year, for the same reasons, and had pretty near the same effect. Don *Francisco de Sousa Coutigno* left *Paris* to repair to *Rome*, where he was acknowledged as ambassador from the crown of *Portugal*, treated with great civility and respect, but could not obtain an audience from the Pope, and found himself embarrassed by all the artful delays which constitute the very essence of *Italian* politics. *Antonio Raposo* had better success at the *Hague*. The conquest of *Ceylon* had put the states into better temper, and disposed them to forget the expulsion of their subjects from *Brazil*. This minister was not a man of great family or fortune ; and the archduke *Leopold*, who then governed the *Low Countries*, conceived he might be tempted by great offers to betray the secrets of his master. *Raposo* did not discover any distaste on the first overtures, which encouraged the archduke to write him a letter full of magnificent promises, which the *Portuguese* minister immediately transmitted to his master, as a convincing proof of his own integrity, and of the mean unprincipled arts of his enemies^r. This monarch's health, which had been failing for several years, though he concealed it all he could, and continued to hunt as often as the weather would permit, sunk all at once in the autumn. His stomach, which had an unnatural craving, lost all power of digesting : his physicians were at a loss about the nature of his distemper ; but they very soon perceived, from the great decay of his strength, that his departure was at hand. He received this news with the same steady calmness which had ever distinguished his character. He applied himself with great piety to make his peace with his Creator. He embraced his children with much tenderness ; gave the queen ample instructions as to her conduct in the regency ; admonished his ministers and generals to be faithful to their country, and to his family ; sent for some of the nobility of the first rank, whom he had imprisoned for quarrels amongst themselves, and caused them to be reconciled in his presence. In fine, he breathed his last, with all the constancy of a christian hero, on the sixth of *November*, in the fifty-third year of his age, having borne the title of duke of *Barcelos* twenty-six, of *Bragança* ten, and worn the crown of *Portugal* sixteen years, abating a month. He was justly stiled *the Fortunate* ; and might with equal propriety have been named the *Beneficent*, or the *Good*^s (B). His corpse, by his own directions, was interred in the church of *St. Vincent*.

As

^p LE CLEDE.
^r LE CLEDE.

^q CLARENDON'S History of the Rebellion, Life of Oliver Cromwell, lord-protector.
^s LUIZ DE MENESES, LE CLEDE, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

(B) This prince was born at *Villa-viciosa*, on *March* the thirteenth, 1605. In 1630 he succeeded his father in the title of *Bragança*. About three years after he espoused Donna *Louisa de Guzman*, the eldest daughter of Don *Juan Manuel Perez de Guzman*, duke of *Medina Sidonia*, by whom he had Don *Theodosius*, born *February* the eighth, 1634 ; Donna *Maria*, born *September* the eighteenth, 1636 ; and Donna *Catalina*, born *September* the twenty-fifth, 1638. His two surviving sons were born after his accession to the throne⁽⁶⁾. In his person he was middle-sized, and not extremely well shaped ; his hair was light, his complexion ruddy, his eyes sparkling, and upon the whole there was something very pleasing and captivating in his countenance, and in his deportment. He was courteous, and conversed freely with the gentlemen of his court ; but was very grave and reserved towards the grandees. He did not distinguish himself by a fiery and active courage ; but gave, upon many occasions, proofs of solid intrepidity. He was certainly a very refined politician ; and this to such a degree, that, till the very decline of his life, most of his subjects thought him no politician at all. He never promoted Dr. *Pinto*, who managed the whole affair of what the *Portuguese* call his acclamation, but he rewarded him to his satisfaction : he never made him either minister or privy-counsellor, but he did nothing without his advice : he was never taken for a favourite at court, and yet he had his master's

confidence from first to last. It is difficult to say whether the prudence of the one, or the modesty of the other, was most to be admired⁽⁷⁾. He was so totally void of ambition, or at least of a criminal ambition, that he never formed any designs against *Spain* ; but rejecting all projects of conquest, declared his plan to be keeping his own. This, which appeared at first sight neither conformable to the rules of the cabinet, nor to his circumstances, appeared in its consequences a wise and well adapted measure. It abated the edge of the *Spanish* resentment, and left him at leisure to settle his domestic affairs. Once, when things went a little amiss in the province of *Alentejo*, and the inhabitants of *Lisbon* appeared dejected, the king suddenly passed the *Tagus* in a small boat ; and when those about him asked his majesty's intentions, he answered calmly, " Those that love me will follow me ;" and on his arrival in the army it quickly became so numerous, that the enemy found it prudent to retreat⁽⁸⁾. He had so good correspondence at *Madrid*, that he was early apprized of all their designs ; of which, after blaming his indolence loudly, and rising almost in rebellion, his subjects were fully convinced, by seeing all the preparations that so much alarmed them turned another way. His firmness was mistaken for obstinacy, and there was so much secrecy in his designs, that few of them were known till after his decease. He was blamed for his harsh usage to his son Don *Theodosius* ; and he was suspected to be

(6) *Memoires de Portugal*.
Fremont d'Ablancourt.

(7) *Portugal restaurado*, Vertot *Histoire de la Revolution de Portugal*, M.
(8) Dr. *Cotbatch's Memoirs*. M. *Fremont d'Ablancourt*.

As the death of this monarch spread a deep and general consternation throughout all *Portugal*, so it might be in some measure said to fix the attention of all *Europe*. It is not easy to conceive a kingdom left in more perilous circumstances than this was. The king *Don Alonso Enriquez*, a child little more than thirteen years of age, reputed of no very sound constitution either in body or mind; the regency in a woman, and that woman a *Castilian*; the nation involved in a war, and this respecting the title to the crown; the nobility, some of them secretly disaffected to the reigning family, and almost all of them embarked in feuds and contentions with each other; so that the queen scarce knew who to trust, or how she should be obeyed. The *Spaniards* expressed a very indecent kind of joy at this event, as if the decease of the king must have been attended with the dissolution of government; but they had made no preparations, as they might have done, to take any immediate advantage of the surprize it occasioned; and the firmness, vivacity, and great abilities of the queen, very soon changed the face of affairs in that respect. The nobility were many of them inclined to have treated her as the queen dowager *Katherine* had been treated on the accession of *Don Sebastian*; but it was not in their power. She appointed *Don Francisco de Faro*, count of *Odemira*, of the house of *Bragança*, governor of the king, and one of her principal ministers of state; and she made choice of *Don Antonio Lewis de Meneses*, count of *Castenheda*, to be his coadjutor. The former was a person advanced in years, possessed of a great estate, revered by the nobility, in great credit with the people, and entirely devoted to her interests; and those of the royal family: the latter was also a man in years, but not at all infirm, singular in point of talents, being equally capable of presiding in the cabinet, or of commanding in the field. These ministers sometimes differed with each other, but without prejudice to the queen's affairs; for as they both meant well, and as their differences arose purely from their sincerity, they united heartily whenever others attempted to undermine the queen's authority. The two secretaries, *Pedro Veira*, and *Gaspar de Faria*, were honest and able men.

Precautions taken by the queen dowager at the entrance of her regency.

A. D. 1657.

The war vigorous, and the battle of Elvas gained by the marquis de Mar a va.

THE first step of importance taken by her after she was established in the regency, was sending orders to the count *de San-Lorenzo*, who commanded on the frontiers, to act offensively; and though he was not fortunate in his attempt, yet the measure being right in itself was attended with good effects. However, the duke *de St. Germain*, an *Italian* in the service of *Spain*, and a very good officer, entered *Portugal*, besieged and took *Oliveira*, and the little castle of *Moron*, for which the governor of the former was first imprisoned, and then banished for life; and the general, who was certainly a man of a confused head, and who wanted

LE CLEDE.

jealous of his martial genius. This suspicion was well founded, and yet it was unjust; the king did not care he should distinguish himself against the *Spaniards*, and the reason was, that he had a secret treaty with some of the *Spanish* nobility for reuniting *Portugal* to the *Castiles*, by placing *Don Theodosius* upon the throne, and transferring the seat of empire to *Lisbon*, which had been once the design of *Philip* the second, and would have been attended with consequences that we have not room to mention (9). In respect to his own desires, he was so moderate, that almost the only saying recorded of him is this, "That if a man had cloaths, it was no great matter of what they were made; and that no dish was bad of which a man could make a good dinner." His piety was of the same stamp with his politics: he had a high respect for the church; but then this led him to expect that his churchmen should have some religion. He had a high veneration for the inquisition, and accepted of the confiscations they gave him; but then the goods of private men becoming his property, he thought it became him as a good king to grant them back to their families. This satisfied every body but the inquisition; and there are some strange stories told of their resentment; but in this, as in other things, he was firm; he judged for himself; and out of what he thought right he could not either be frightened or persuaded (1). His distemper was a general decay, which terminated in a suppression of urine. His exhortations on his death-bed, more especially to the judge and magistrates of *Lisbon*, had a great effect; and many attributed to them two things: first, the steady affection they expressed for his family till they disagreed amongst themselves; and next, the authority which they assumed

in respect even to the highest affairs, in consequence, as they asserted, of the trust and confidence reposed in them by their king in his last moments. We may form some idea of his disposition towards, and dependence upon, this common council of *Lisbon*, from a familiar instance. It was thought towards the middle of his reign that he spent a little too much of his time in hunting; the judge, therefore, threw himself in his way as he was going out of the city; and, after a profound reverence, took his horse by the bridle, and conducted it back to the palace, which the king was very far from resenting. Upon the attachment of these people he relied in his life-time; and to their fidelity he consigned his queen and children (2). The conde *Vimioso* being killed in a fray, and some persons of the first quality being embarked in it, he made them sensible of his displeasure, but would not leave them under it at his decease. These were the conde *de Castelmelhor*, the conde *de St. Lorenzo*, *Don Miguel de Portugal*, the conde *de St. Juan*, and *Hernando d'Almada* (3). As soon as king *John* was dead, it is positively asserted that the inquisition acquainted the queen regent, that by restoring the effects of persons condemned by their tribunal, he had incurred the sentence of excommunication; from which, however, they charitably offered to absolve him; and accordingly in the presence of the queen, her sons *Don Antonio* and *Don Pedro*, with other persons of high rank, they came, and with many solemn or rather ridiculous ceremonies, absolved the body of their deceased king, not a little pleased, no doubt, to triumph over the remains of him dead, whom, though very unwillingly, they had been constrained to obey while living (4).

(9) *Dr. Colebatch's Memoirs.*
Memoirs. (3) *D'Ablancourt.*
 M^o FIRST. VOL. VIII.

(1) *Le Clede, M. Fremont d'Ablancourt.*
 (4) *Hist. des Inquisitiones.*

(2) *Dr. Colebatch's*
 experience,

experience, though he had been in great favour with the queen, and had a considerable party at court, was removed^a. He was replaced by *Juan Mendez de Vasconcellos*, a popular man, and in great favour with the troops. He undertook to act offensively the next campaign, and to besiege *Badajoz*, which he did; but he was obliged to raise it upon the approach of Don *Lewis de Haro*, with the whole forces of *Spain*, for which he was arrested, and in some danger of being punished: but the boldness and simplicity of his defence saved him. He said, "That he undertook the siege in obedience to the queen's orders, and for the honour of the nation, and that he had raised it without orders for the preservation of the army: " That he knew the hazard he run when he did it; but that it gave him pleasure to think that at the hazard, or even the loss, of his reputation and life, the troops of *Portugal* had been saved, which, under a more fortunate general, had now raised the siege of *Elvas*, and forced the enemy to retire with shame, who had entered in triumph." The council of war declared him innocent, and worthy of the queen's favour^w. Don *Sancho Manuel* had commanded in *Elvas*, and defended it with equal spirit and conduct; but it was the count *de Castanbeda* who raised that siege, and forced the army of *Spain* in their lines; in which he shewed himself an officer of a consummate judgment, as well as by hazarding nothing more when he had performed the service, upon which the very being of the state depended. This memorable action gained him deservedly great reputation; but it raised also, though unjustly, much envy and many enemies.

A.D. 1658.

Count de Soura acts with great conduct and spirit at the court of France.

THE two next years there passed nothing in the field that deserves a place; but the reason of this was very extraordinary. *Spain* was intent upon the war in *Flanders*, and the peace she was negotiating with *France*; and in *Portugal* the country was fairly exhausted; they were unable to recruit the army that had gained the late victory. In this situation the queen sent Don *Juan Lewis de Costa*, count of *Soura*, into *France*, with the title of ambassador; a man of much courage and integrity, and whom she had not used so well as he deserved. He acted with great spirit, spoke his mind in very plain terms to cardinal *Mazarine*, procured the count *de Schomberg*, and the earl of *Inchiquin*, to be sent into *Portugal*, and published a manifesto, that had like to have revived the troubles in *France*. The cardinal sent to desire he would suppress it. The count answered, "That he had indeed printed a large impression, of which there remained no more than eight in his hands, and if it would oblige his eminence, he would burn those." The cardinal complained of this to the queen regent, who wrote him for answer, "That she was glad to learn in so authentic a manner that the count *de Soura* had done his duty^x." He followed the cardinal to the *Pyrenees*, where he engaged the duke of *Lorraine*, the duke of *Guise*, and the duke *de Harcourt*, in the interests of *Portugal*; but *Mazarine*, to please the *Spaniards*, compelled them to desist. He next communicated some propositions from the *Spanish* minister to the count, who rejected them with disdain. *Mazarine* told him they might meet with a better reception at *Lisbon*: in which, however, he was mistaken; for these terms being no other than that things should be restored to the state in which they were at the revolution, and that the dukes of *Bragança* should be hereditary viceroys, under the guaranty of *France*, the count *de Castanbeda* asked the cardinal's agent if he had any thing more to say; and upon his replying in the negative, "We are sorry, sir, added the count, that you should make so long a journey to say nothing." The peace of the *Pyrenees* produced some effects that were favourable, and some that were not only disagreeable, but dangerous to *Portugal*. We may reckon among the first, the setting at liberty a great number of good officers, who willingly accepted the count *de Soura*'s offers, and to the number of some hundreds repaired on board *English* and *Dutch* ships to *Lisbon*. Amongst the latter we may account the desertion of the duke *de Aveyro*; who, retiring out of *Portugal* into *France*, passed from thence into *Spain*; as well as Don *Ferdinand de Tellez*, the *Portuguese* minister at the *Hague*, who acted the like dishonourable part, for which he was degraded, declared infamous, and executed in effigy at *Lisbon*^z.

1659.

1660.

Count de Schomberg, and earl of Inchiquin, go with many officers to Portugal.

THE *Spanish* minister at *Paris* exerted all his influence to prevent the departure of the officers who were to accompany count *Schomberg*; and to procure a flat denial of an audience of leave to the count *de Soura*. He failed in both; the viscount *de Turenne* interposed in respect to the former, and the king and the cardinal would not hear of the latter: on the contrary, they paid the count *de Soura* extraordinary honours, and still more extraordinary respect. Both the king and the cardinal made him large presents; and the latter told him, "That how much soever he had crossed his measures as a minister, he had ever had the highest esteem for his merit." The famous cardinal *de Retz* coming about that time to *Paris*, *Mazarine* asked him if he had seen the ambassador of *Portugal*; and upon his telling him he had not, "Go then, returned he, and make him a visit; you great men ought to be

^a LUIZ DE MENESES, ALESS BRANDANO.

LE CLEDE.

^x RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

Espagne, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, P. DANIEL.

^w Histoire generale de Espagne, LUIZ DE MENESES,

^y LE CLEDE.

^z Histoire generale de

“acquainted with each other.” Don *Francisco de Melo* in *England*, and the count *de Miranda* in *Holland*, were alike successful in their negotiations; and though the actions of this campaign were not very considerable, yet, such as they were, they were every where in favour of the *Portuguese*. It was, however, apprehended, that the war would be carried on for the future at another rate, since the command of the *Castilian* army was given to Don *John of Austria*, who, besides being the king’s son, was in reality a person of great merit, as well as an officer who had seen more service than most of the *Portuguese* generals^b.

THE queen regent finished in a manner her administration, with the marriage of her only daughter the princess *Katherine*, once intended for *Lewis* the fourteenth, with *Charles* the second, king of *Great-Britain*^c; one of the most fortunate events that ever happened for *Portugal*, since it immediately procured them the protection of the *English* fleets, reinforcements of some thousands of horse and foot, besides, adding much reputation to their affairs throughout *Europe*, which was the reason that the *Spanish* court had opposed it with so much heat, or rather passion. The command of the *Portuguese* army was given to the marquis *de Marialva*, who was at this time sole minister, by the death of the count *de Marialva*; but his conduct was by no means equal to what it had formerly been, the battle of *Elvas* having given him a contempt for the *Spaniards*, which induced him to act rashly, notwithstanding his age and experience^d. Don *John* took advantage of this, seized several places, insulted the *Portuguese* in their lines, out of which the marquis would have marched, in order to give the *Spaniards* battle, if count *Schomberg* had not shewn the folly of this, and if some other general officers had not vigorously opposed it. If we could entirely trust a *French* historian^e, we must look upon all the *Portuguese* generals as cyphers, who were only honoured with titles, while the command rested simply and only with *Schomberg*: but in this no doubt he was misinformed, since that able officer found it a great deal easier to triumph over the *Castilian* courage, than over the envy of the *Portuguese*. The next campaign the command was given to the king, or rather to his minister the count *de Castelmelhor*, to Don *Sancho Manuel*, now created count *de Villafior*, with whom *Schomberg* lived in a good correspondence. Don *John*, however, having a numerous army, carried all before him, and at length besieged the city of *Evora*, which occasioned a very dangerous insurrection at *Lisbon*, and orders to be sent to *Villafior* to relieve the place at all events; but these orders came too late, the place being surrendered. However, it produced a battle, in which, chiefly through the skill of count *Schomberg*, and the valour of the *English* troops, the *Spanish* army was entirely defeated, with the loss of between seven and eight thousand men, most of their artillery and baggage, which was one of the most important victories ever gained by the *Portuguese*. As the measures of the court were far from being settled at this time, the marquis *de Villafior*, after all he had done, was removed from his command, and the marquis *de Marialva* placed once more at the head of the army. He acted offensively, besieged and took *Valencia de Alcantara*, and gaining other advantages against count *Marsin*, who commanded the armies of *Spain*, recovered that reputation which had been before upon the decline. He commanded the next year again, when the *Spaniards*, under the command of the marquis *de Carracena*, entered *Portugal* with a greater army than they had ever had before in the course of the war. *Carracena* besieged *Villa-viciosa*, the favourite seat of the house of *Bragança*, and one of the most beautiful places in the kingdom. The marquis *de Marialva* advanced to its relief: upon which a battle ensued, in which the *Portuguese* gained a complete victory^f, which was the sixth and last in the course of twenty-eight years war; and the visible effects of the protection of Providence, since it was chiefly owing to unforeseen accidents, to the great abilities of *Schomberg*, and other strangers, and to the determined courage of the foreign troops. This victory of *Montes-claros* fixed the fate of the kingdom, though not of the king of *Portugal*; for at this time the intrigues of the court ran so high, that the most intelligent people saw the king would, sooner or later, be certainly deposed. But in order to set these affairs in a distinct and proper light, it is necessary to enter into a full detail of them, without the intermixture of any other subject, which was the reason of our going briefly through the whole history of the war, before we entered upon these domestic intrigues, which come therefore to be next examined.

THE king Don *Alonso Enriquez*, having been struck with a palsy while an infant, was afterwards, on account of his weak state of health, treated with great indulgence; so that as he grew up, his want of parts, and the defects in his education, were very perceptible. Some say, and possibly it may be true, that the queen his mother had a much stronger affection for the infant Don *Pedro*, and endeavoured to feel the pulse of some great men about preferring him to

The progress
and conclusion
of the war by
the glorious
victory of
Montes-
claros

A. D. 1665.

Character of
Don Alonso
VI. and his
fierce and in-
tractable tem-
per.

^a LE CLEDE.

^b Histoire generale de Espagne.

^c RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, KENNET'S

Historical Register, HEATH'S Chronicle, ECHARD'S History of England.

^d LE CLEDE.

^e RENE

D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

^f LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Espagne, BASNAGE, M. FREMONT D'ABLANCOURT Memoires contenant l'Histoire de Portugal depuis le traité des Pirences de 1659 jusqu'à an 1668, ALESS BRANDANO.

his elder brother, at the time their father died; but the privy-council of *Portugal* were not at all inclined to make a breach in that succession for the support of which they were in arms; and besides, they could not comprehend how any could pronounce, with certainty, either as to the impuissance or incapacity of a child^a. The queen readily yielded to these reasons, and took the best measures she could to render him worthy of that crown that his birth intitled him to wear. The count *de Odemira* found it a very difficult task to manage this young prince, who had no inclination to letters, and who was prone only to those delights that he saw employed the minds of children of his own age, without considering the difference between their rank and his. The count *de Odemira* struggled with this a little while, and even ventured to take some pretty strong steps, but he found it was to no purpose. Don *Alonso*, though not very sharp in other things, was quick enough in perceiving that he was a king; and this was fatal to him. Such as had an opportunity of approaching his person, complied with every thing he desired, and commended every thing he did. Such as had no dependence upon the court declaimed against this with the utmost vehemence; and because he was guilty of some childish, and, it may be, ill-natured actions, they ascribed to him all the foolish and cruel accidents that fell out about *Lisbon*, which are generally speaking not a few. In some things they certainly did him wrong; for they gave out that he was still paralytic on one side, though there appeared no marks of it, except the contraction of his right hand, and that consequently he was feeble and inactive: whereas, the errors of which he was really guilty, and which were magnified likewise, prove the direct contrary, since fighting of dogs, scowering the streets, and encountering three men alone, running at a bull, and other things of this sort, were no indications either of want of strength or of courage.

Antonio and Juan Conti, the sons of a Genoese pedlar, become his chief favourites.

AMONGST the companions, or rather amongst the directors of the king's follies and debauches, there were two sons of a *Genoese* pedlar, *Antonio* and *Juan Conti*, called from the place of his birth *de Vintimiglia*. These, but especially *Antonio*, had an entire ascendancy over the king's affections, gained by subtle flattery, and fawning complaisance^b. The count *de Odemira* once banished them, so that for a time he only saw them privately; but as he grew up he threw off all restraint, sent for them back to court, and made *Antonio* a knight of the order of *Christ*, which offended the nobility highly, who considered this as a prostitution of the order. Yet by degrees they began to court this unworthy favourite, and even the queen-mother stooped to make use of his interest; but *Antonio*, to whom cunning and artifice was natural, saw through this, and resolved to stand upon his own feet. It was with this view that he engaged the king to discard the old, and bring the young nobility into employments; and this he did, because he found it no difficult matter to gain and keep an influence over them, by the very same methods that made him so much master of the king. This created great jealousies and heart-burnings; and as the infant Don *Pedro* was of a milder and graver disposition, sufficiently addicted to study, and very capable of receiving and taking advice, many applied themselves to him, which raised a dislike in his brother, who wanted not penetration enough to discern how much higher he stood in the queen's good graces, and how readily he received and practised the lessons she gave him, to render himself esteemed by the nobility, and at the same time popular. In respect to the *Conti*'s, the infant was reserved and civil; but neither suffered their intimacy, nor ever made any use of their influence; which, as it grew daily stronger, and wrought more and more powerfully, so it gained them a number of dependants; and *Antonio*, who did not want ambition, set himself up for a kind of minister, affected to give law, and to treat those who did not pay him the respect he thought due to him, with a degree of haughtiness that his enemies termed insolence. In this he was supported by the young noblemen he had introduced to power; and in a very short space of time he raised a faction strong enough to give umbrage to those, who, but a few years before, would have despised him, not only as their inferior, but as a person altogether below their notice^c.

The king grows impatient to exercise the reins of government without restraint.

THE court was divided, some siding with the king, others with the queen, and a considerable party adhering to neither. *Conti* made it his chief aim to persuade the king to take upon himself the government, urging that some former kings took upon them the administration sooner than he. The king was more swayed by his counsels, because his mother falling sick, in that interval all application was made to him, which inflamed him with a desire of absolute command. The queen recovering and resuming the government, found the king more intractable than before, and perceived he was bent upon wresting the power from her by force, if she should refuse to resign. This was intolerable to her ambitious spirit, who abhorred the thoughts of falling from that height in which she had sat for so many years; nor could she be without some concern for the kingdom, if left at the disposal of a hasty and injudicious youth, beset with dangerous and inexperienced favourites and counsellors. Being

^a RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.
FREMONT D'ABLANCOURT.

^b Account of the Court of Portugal.

^c LE CLEDE, M.

a perplexed with these thoughts, she resolved to set up her younger son Don *Pedro* against the king, that in hopes of attaining the crown through her means, he might be wholly at her devotion, and *Alonso*, fearing to lose his crown, might be kept in awe. To prepare the infant, who of himself was willing enough for this design, she persuaded him he ought to be declared prince and heir to the crown, insinuating that his brother was impotent, and consequently the regal dignity must devolve to him. For the better executing this plan, she addressed herself to all the nobility, intending to call the cortes, or assembly of the states, to confirm her resolution; but finding greater difficulty than she expected, most of the lords being averse to setting up as it were two kings, to rend the kingdom and destroy themselves, and thinking it unjust to consider *Alonso* as impotent, before any proofs were made of his ability, she desisted from this method of proceeding, but not from the design. Her next contrivance was to adorn and dress the infant in the most costly and splendid apparel; to give frequent opportunities of shewing himself to the people; to form him a separate household, composed of such as were disaffected to his brother; and to procure him the best palace in *Lisbon*, built by *Christopher de Moura*, marquis of *Castel Rodrigo*. The infant thus engaged in opposition to his brother, and secured to herself, her next artifice was to counterfeit a desire of quitting the regency, and retiring into a monastery. She drew up with this view a very plausible and specious writing, intimating her pretended design; and so framed this memorial, that the great men and principal ministers, to whom she sent it, soon saw into the concealed intention, which was, that she desired to be constrained to continue in the exercise of the regency, and to be induced to condescend to this, by the removal of *Conti* and the rest of his party from about the king^k.

THOSE to whom this extraordinary writing was communicated being her creatures, and fearing, if she abandoned the government, they should be deprived by the king of the pre-ferments they enjoyed, resolved not to forsake her. In answer to her memorial, therefore, they gave her to understand, that, however inclined to lay down the administration, it was not expedient to do it, till she had removed from the person of the king those that seduced and led him into ill, or at least idle courses. Nothing could be more pleasing to the queen than this answer, which fulfilled all her wishes without obliging her to express them. But that all might appear to be transacted by the advice of the council, knowing they were resolved to execute her will, she would have nothing done but what was discussed by them, and given under their hands. The council met accordingly, and though some of the gravest among them opposed the design, as too visible an affront to the king, yet it was carried that *Conti* and his adherents should be seized, and sent into banishment. In pursuance of this resolution, the queen having secured the king in her lodgings, under pretence of business, the duke of *Cadaval* with his party entered the king's apartment, where *Conti* was. He suspecting some danger locked himself in; but the duke, without any respect to the place, or to the remonstrances of the count *de Castelmelhor*, who would have diverted him from that action, offered to break open the door: upon which *Conti*, seeing no hopes of escaping, and the count not able to relieve him, or acquaint the king, surrendered himself on promise of life. At the same time some others of *Conti*'s party were secured in the palace, and in the town, all which were immediately put on board a ship that lay ready to sail in the river, and sent away to *Brazil*^l. The queen being informed that what she had in effect commanded was put in execution, led the king into the great hall, whither she had previously summoned all the nobility, ministers of state, and magistrates of the city, the better to appease and imprint an awe upon the king. In order to this, a remonstrance was made to him in the name of the kingdom, full of grievous complaints against his own conduct, and still higher against his favourites; and at the close they acquainted him, that, to prevent any farther ill consequences, they had been obliged to send him into banishment: this done, they kissed his hand, and departed.

THIS high wrought scheme of policy which the queen had contrived to perpetuate her regency, was the very cause of her falling from it. The count of *Castelmelhor*, a man above exception for his birth and parts, succeeded in the king's favour in the place of *Conti*, and began to encourage him in the resolution of taking upon him the government. Besides this, which had as strong an influence, a young lady belonging to the queen, for whom the king had an affection, made him the more earnest, discovering to him all his mother's private discourses. The king, big with this design, prolonged the time of the count's waiting, that he might have his advice and assistance. He then retired according to custom to *Alcantara*, a palace near *Lisbon*, carrying with him his brother and a great retinue. He returned the same day to *Lisbon*, and visited the queen, to whom he behaved so kindly, that all resentment seemed to be past; but on a sudden, without acquainting her, he returned to *Alcantara*, accompanied only by the count *de Castelmelhor*, and the count *de Atouguia*; from thence he

^k Catastrophe de Portugal na deposicao del Rey D. Alfonso VI. & Subrogao do Principe D. Pedro escrita para justificação dos Portuguezes, por LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA. ^l BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

dispatched letters into all parts of the kingdom, to the officers of the army and governors of towns, acquainting them, that being now at full age, he had taken upon him the government of his dominions. Then he ordered all the nobility and ministers of state, that were at *Lisbon*, to repair to him at *Alcantara*. The queen, astonished at this news, assembled the council of state, where it was resolved, that *Emanuel Pacheco* should be placed upon the road, to stop all those that should offer to repair to the king; that the queen should write a letter to him in the softest terms, desiring him either to delay for some time his taking the government upon him, or at least to admit her to bear a part with him; and that in case persuasion failed, she should use force to constrain him. Accordingly *Pacheco* turned back those that were going to *Alcantara*: the guards, and all the queen's adherents, were ordered to be in readiness to support her; and a letter was sent to the king from her, full of gentle and persuasive expressions; but before the letter could possibly be dispatched, the people of *Lisbon*, perceiving the court armed against the king, began to run into arms also for his defence, fearing some violence might be offered him. This zeal of the multitude quickly and effectually humbled the queen, who, seeing no hope of prevailing by open force, had recourse to intreaty, and therefore sent a submissive letter by the bishop of *Targa*. In this letter, among other things, the queen pressed the holding the cortes, or assembly of the states, that she might there resign the government; but the king and count perceiving this was a contrivance to gain time, thought it best to send her an answer by the bishop, importing, that the king, considering the great burden that attended the government, was willing to ease the queen his mother, who had long laboured under it, of that toil, and to take it intirely upon himself. The queen, perceiving there was no hope, either by force or address, of retaining the government, resolved to quit it with an air of satisfaction. She desired, therefore, the king would return to *Lisbon*; and that the ceremony might be performed in the palace. The king delayed this: but at length, finding himself secure, and the queen's interest declining, since the people of *Lisbon* had declared for him, repaired to the palace; where, in the presence of the nobility, ministers of state, and magistrates of the city, the queen delivered up the seals into his hands, which is the usual ceremony in *Portugal* when a king takes upon him the government^m.

New intrigues at court by the fresh favourites which the king encouraged about him.

THE queen mother after this began to talk of retiring from the world, but in such a manner that no body believed she had any such intention; for sometimes she proposed building a new monastery, but could never find out a convenient situation; then of erecting an apartment for herself near some of the old ones, but none of them cared to admit her; and this, it was believed, was only done to protract time, and to continue in the palace till some emergency should oblige her son to call her once more to the governmentⁿ. But now all the duty, reverence, and submission was made to the king. The nobility attended him, the clergy paid their court, and there wanted not crowds of sycophants to fawn on him. His principal ministers were the counts of *Castelmelhor* and *Atouguia*, and Don *Sebastian Caesar de Meneses*. The partizans of the old government knowing this, gave out confidently, that being himself void of sense, he only spoke such words as they put into his mouth. Count *Castelmelhor*, endeavouring to establish himself absolutely in the king's favour, eased him as much as possible of public affairs, indulging his inclination to horses, arms, and even to women, but without any public scandal. At this juncture the count delivered out of prison *Henry de Miranda*, who had been confined by the queen-mother; and being brought to court, he quickly became one of the king's greatest favourites, and yet there never happened the least jealousy between the count *Castelmelhor* and him: but it was otherwise with the count of *Atouguia* and *Caesar de Meneses*; but not thinking himself yet thoroughly established, he would not attempt so soon to remove them. At length, having gained the sole ascendant over the king, and having all things at his disposal, he lodged himself in the apartment that had belonged to prince *Theodosius*, the king's eldest brother. The only object of ambition remaining was the having some employment that might always keep him about the king's person; and there being none vacant, he thought of one that had been suppressed, stiled in *Portuguese* *Escrivao Prividade*; that is, the private secretary. This he begged of the king, who readily granted it; and though the secretary of state disputed it, as being become a branch of his office, yet he caused him immediately to be settled in the possession of it. By this charge he also obtained the right to a seat in the council of state: but as prosperity commonly blinds favourites, so the prudence of the count having raised him so high, seemed to leave him, and he began to bestow preferments without measure upon all his friends and adherents; and at the same time omitted not to crush and to destroy his enemies, that the power of one party, and the fate of the other, might be the sure basis of his greatness^o. In the next place, he advised the king to

^m LE CLEDE, Account of the Court of Portugal.
ⁿ NAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, Memoires d'ABLANCOURT.
 of Portugal, LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA.

^o LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA, BAS-
 LE CLEDE, Account of the Court

a shew some resentment for the several affronts done to his person, during the queen's regency, and particularly in forcing *Conti* out of his apartment, and other like insolences, which if not punished, might draw him into contempt. In pursuance of this advice, the duke of *Cadaval*, *Garcia* and *Emanuel de Melo*, the counts of *Soret*, *Pombeiro*, and *Pedro Vieira*, secretary of state, who had often reproved the king, and some others, were sent into banishment, that some respect might be recovered to the crown.

THIS proceeding against so many persons of note, gave occasion to their partisans to revile the king and his government; and now the queen dowager, seeing herself excluded from public affairs, laboured all she could to strengthen the party of the infant, and to hold frequent consultations with him; wherein it was always repeated that the king was stupid and unfit to rule. Count *Castelmelhor*, who was not ignorant of their intrigues, contrived all the methods he could to separate them, but in vain: for the infant, building upon the notion of his brother's incapacity, thought it better to be a king than be next to a king. The count, seeing he could not prevail upon him to desist from his cabals, persuaded the king in the first place to change all his brother's servants, putting in their room such as he could confide in, that for the future he might have the less opportunity of carrying on his designs. The next thing was to compel the dowager to retire from court, as she pretended to desire, tho' by her proceedings it plainly appeared nothing was more distasteful to her than the thoughts of leading a private life. Yet upon seeing the king so inclinable to have her remove, she had recourse to her former dissimulation, and asked leave to withdraw to some private house, because the apartment she had begun to build was not yet finished. The king's answer was, that it became not her grandeur to quit the palace for a private house; but that she might cause more diligence to be used in finishing her structure, which till then had gone on very slowly. Yet not long after, the king being informed that his mother made use of all the arts imaginable to advance his brother *Don Pedro* to the throne, he sent an absolute order for her to depart the palace. Upon this, on the seventeenth of *March*, she withdrew to the new apartment she had built at a small distance from *Lisbon*, being attended thither by the king, the infant, and all the nobility. The queen mother thus removed, the infant seemed now wholly devoted to the king, except in one thing, which he knew to be offensive to him, and that was in frequently visiting his mother. and holding private discourses with her, nor was she wanting, often in public, to warn him of the danger of this tender affection and duty towards her; but whether she really meant it as a caution to him, or rather did it artificially to make the king more odious, and procure themselves the greater commiseration, is not easily determined ^p.

THE king *Don Alonso*, to whom his mother's presence had been a curb, being delivered from that restraint, ran into all the vices of youth. Count *Castelmelhor*, fearing a disorderly life might hasten his fall, in whose ruin he must himself be involved, studied various means to reclaim him, or when that could not be done, to conceal his extravagancies; but it is a work of great difficulty to correct the vicious inclinations of youth, especially where the person to be reformed looks on himself as above controul. In short, his vices were too visible to be excused; for the king giving a loose to his passions, the whole burthen of the government devolved in a manner upon the counts of *Castelmelhor*, *Atouguia*, and *Cæsar de Menezes*: the former had long meditated to overturn the other two; but as long as the queen continued at court, he durst not attempt it, for fear that, having lost the king, they should incline to go over and strengthen her party. But when she was expelled, he quickly circumvented the count *de Atouguia*, caused him first to be removed, and then banished. But *Menezes*, warned by his example, in order to support himself, persuaded the king to recal *Antonio Conti* from *Brazil*, hoping that he, being restored to his former post, would in gratitude stand by the person to whom he owed this favour. The count being apprized of this, so immediately wrought upon his easy master, that *Menezes* was banished before *Conti* arrived to support him. On the return of *Antonio* from *Brazil*, the ship that brought him was received into the port of *Lisbon* with the sound of trumpets, firing of cannon, and all other demonstrations of joy, as if it had been for the reception of some sovereign prince. Yet all this was but fantastic joy; for count *Castelmelhor*, having persuaded the king that as it was a vindication of his authority to recal him from banishment, so to entertain him at court would provoke the nobility, to whom his name was odious: for these reasons, without suffering him to land, he was sent into the country, with express command not to come near the court ^q. To shew, however, this exile was not the effect of jealousy, but of his care for the safety of the king, he failed not to care for him at a distance, sending him frequent presents; and a considerable employment falling, he conferred it upon him though absent, and bestowed a rich benefice upon *John Conti* his brother.

^p Account of the court of Portugal, BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, M. FREMONT D'ABLANCOURT.

^q LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

Antonio
Conti endeavours to circumvent him, and is caught by the count in his own contrivance.

CONTI, not satisfied with this, used all his endeavours to obtain an interview with the king; and such industry was used to compass this design, that at length he had a private meeting with *Alonso* at *Alcantara*, the count being then absent from court. At this conference the king's affection was so revived that he offered to carry him immediately to *Lisbon*; but *Conti*, fearing his sudden return might prove dangerous, desired it might be postponed, and intreated the king to recal those noblemen who had been exiled for adhering to his mother. This interview, and the proposal which attended it, being known to the count, he discovered that *Conti's* design was to make a party to ruin him: to prevent his enemy, and turn that destruction upon himself, he employed several spies, and at length found out that *Conti* had conspired with those noblemen to restore the queen to the regency, leaving the king nothing but the empty title, without power or authority. Having got witnesses to prove the plot, he acquainted the king, who appointed judges to examine the matter. Upon a full hearing several were convicted, but not one suffered death, only *Don Theodosius de Melo*, brother to the duke of *Cadaval*, was banished five leagues from *Lisbon*, *Sebastian Cesar de Menezes* into *Algarve*, and *Conti* to *Oporto*. The depositions in these proceedings involved the queen mother; a secretary was sent to examine her, but she refusing to answer, the king let that fall. Count *Castelmelhor*, elated with this success, removed from the apartment he was in before to another nearer the king, where it being observed that more court was made to him than to the king himself, his name was rendered odious, and he began soon after to decline.

The queen mother dies, little regretted by the king, but much so by Don Pedro.

Don Simon Vasconcellos, brother to count *Castelmelhor*, after serving in the army several years with great reputation, coming about this time to court, gained such an ascendant over the infant, that it was observed as very remarkable to see the royal brothers, so differing otherwise in inclinations, and yet so addicted to these two brothers that they seemed incapable of acting without them. The infant falling sick, *Vasconcellos* attended him with such diligence, that he not only rose higher in his favour, but incurred the ill-will of all his other servants; who upon this quitted the infant, but in a very few days they were recalled by the king, except the count *de Ereceira*. The king also made *Vasconcellos* not only gentleman of the bed-chamber to his brother, but also master of his household. This displeasing the whole family, they all quitted their employments, and others were put into their places, for the most part creatures of count *Castelmelhor*, and therefore not acceptable to the infant; who, thinking himself beset with so many spies, resolved to alter his course of life, in order at once to become less suspicious to his brother, and at the same time more popular. Nothing could be more fit for his views than devotion; he therefore seemed wholly addicted to prayers, visiting churches, reading pious books, and conversing with religious persons. Thus taken up he seldom visited the king; and some judged this change of life to proceed from *Augustin de Ceuta's* dropping dead at his and the king's feet; but those who pretended to see farther, thought it only a device to gain the good-will of the populace. Whilst these things were in agitation, arrived at *Lisbon* the marquis *de Sande* from *France*, where he had concluded a match for the king, with the princess of *Nemours*; and by the infant's orders had made overtures on his behalf to the duke of *Bouillon's* daughter, which also had taken effect, though the articles were not signed. This marriage was proposed in order to secure the succession of the crown, in case the king, as had been surmised, should be incapable of getting children. But the infant having changed his mind, upon what account is uncertain, could by no persuasions be prevailed upon to consent to this marriage, although the king himself pressed it. This match thus broke, the marquis *da Sande* enquired whether the reports that went of the king's impotency were true; and was assured by the count *de Castelmelhor* that the king had several illegitimate children, which was sufficient evidence to refute that imputation. All things being then disposed for the reception of the queen, the marquis returned to *France*, in order to conduct her to *Lisbon*. On the twenty-fifth of *February* the queen mother falling sick, and perceiving her end approach, sent to both her sons, who were then hunting at *Salvaterra*, to take their last farewell; but they did not return till the third day, when, having kissed her hand and received her blessing, they departed, and within an hour after she expired. She was a princess of wonderful resolution, a great soul, and singular wisdom, which appeared in the administration of the government in peace and war. It was she, as some say, that determined her husband to assume the crown; she helped, beyond all doubt, to keep it on his head; and she, by her industry and care, secured it to his posterity. Her skill in government was above the capacity of a woman; and she was so sensible of the danger of discord between brothers, that she is believed to have obstructed *Don Duarte* from making his escape when confined, lest returning home he should envy the greatness of the king his brother. But what appeared most rare in her was, that, being a *Spaniard*, a name odious to the *Portuguese*, yet she so carried herself, that she gained the love and esteem of the whole nation.

* LE CLEDE, Account of the Court of Portugal.

MONT D'ABLANCOURT, Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de Portugal.

DE VERTOT, Account of the Court of Portugal, LE CLEDE, BASNAGE, LE CLERC.

* BASNAGE Ansnale de Provinces Unies, M. FRE-

* RENE D'AUBERT

THE queen dowager being dead, the king believed himself more safe: and the infant, deprived of her support, thought himself more exposed. Count *Castelmelhor*, who till then stood in some awe of that young prince, acted now with more freedom. The infant, growing more discontented, the king became the more jealous of his reservedness, and averse to those he saw in his favour. Some of the infant's servants quitted him, and others were removed, so that his retinue was much below his dignity. He bore with this till the news of the queen's being set forward obliged him to press the king, that he might make a suitable figure at her arrival. But this was disputed and delayed till the second of *August*, when the fleet which brought the queen entered the river of *Lisbon*; of which the news being brought to the king, he received it without the least demonstration of joy, which was looked upon as an ill omen of that marriage. The infant being highly incensed against count *Castelmelhor*, as the only man that had obstructed his having those servants he desired, forbore not openly to threaten him when occasion should offer, which *Vasconcellos*, the count's brother, who was present, relenting, quitted his service. So now there remained but two servants of any rank about him, which led him to send to the king to desire he would give him leave to retire from court. Nothing could have more incensed the king than this message; insomuch that count *Castelmelhor*, fearing the flame of discord should rise too high, used all his interest to obtain for the infant those servants he desired, yet could never prevail. The infant, perceiving the king was not to be overcome by the intreaties of the count, withdrew to *Quelas*, a league and a half from the city, accompanied only by *Roderic de Meneses*. Fame, upon this, divulged a report that all things were preparing for a civil war. At *Lisbon* Don *Pedro*'s faction was more numerous than *Alonso*'s: the virtues of the former were extolled, and the vices of the latter exaggerated; but after all, the affection of the one, and the aversion of the other, to count *Castelmelhor*, weighed more than any thing with the people, who bore him an implacable hatred. The nobility interposed to pacify the brothers, though without effect; and when all other means failed, the queen prevailed that he should not depart the court, and should leave that affair to her management, which he could not refuse, being, as it was believed, not indifferent to her from the first sight. At length, by the queen's mediation, the prince chose new servants, and the king allowed * of them. Yet the grudges betwixt them were of a higher nature than to be so easily forgot; but Don *Pedro* discovered them with deep dissimulation: *Alonso* had little of that art, and threatened much more than he would perform.

IN order to render himself in some degree independent by acquiring a post, the functions of which might be supported by legal authority, he desired the king would create him constable of *Portugal*. The minister, much alarmed at this, and suspecting that the conde *de las Torres*, and the conde *de St. Juan*, two officers of great distinction and merit, were those who put this project in the infant's head, advised the king not only to give him a flat denial, but to order them immediately to their posts. Don *Pedro* dissembled, and the officers obeyed; but this interval of quiet did not last long. A *Frenchman*, servant to the queen, was murdered, and the assassin taking shelter in a church, could not be brought to justice. The queen was much provoked at this, and the infant Don *Pedro* seemed more so. Both of them inveighed bitterly against the minister; but at length *Antonio Sousa de Macedo*, who was secretary of state, became the victim, and the council ordered that he should leave the court. In such times of intrigues as these, plots, true or false, are very necessary instruments: the minister acquainted the king his master, that the infant had framed a project to seize his person, as the grand obstructor of his designs, to transport him out of the kingdom, and in case of resistance to put him to death; which his majesty ordered should be enquired into. Upon this, the infant retired to his house at *Quelas*, but at the same time declared, that it was not on account of this pretended design against the minister, but because he had himself discovered the count had been endeavouring to suborn some of his servants to poison him: upon which the storm rose so high, that after offering, though to no purpose, to beg the infant's pardon upon his knees, the count *de Castelmelhor* was compelled to quit the court, and to retire into a monastery. The king, equally offended and suspicious, persisted in the pursuit of his minister's measures, doubled his guards, and caused some new raised companies to be rendered complete for the security of his person, and of those who still adhered to him; which alarmed the city of *Lisbon*, and increased the general discontent.

ON the other hand the infant resolved to root out all the minister's party about the king; for though the count himself was removed, his creatures remained at court, and nothing of moment was transacted without his advice. Before the infant could put his design in practice,

* M. FREMONT D'ABLANCOURT, LE CLEDE, BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.

LE CLEDE, Account of the Court of Portugal, LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA. RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, M. FREMONT D'ABLANCOURT, BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies.

and tries in
vain to bring
his old friends
back.

he was said to be advertised by the queen of words the king daily let fall against him, and perhaps of more than ever had been spoken. This obliged him to hasten the execution of his projects. The principal men at that time remaining near the king of the count's faction were *Henry Enriquez de Miranda*, *Manuel Antunez*, and *Antonio Sousa de Macedo*, secretary of state. Of these the chief was *Miranda*, whom therefore *Don Pedro* first attacked, and to that end sent some pretended friends privately to give him notice to depart the court before he involved himself in greater danger. He was so frightened at this, that, considering the expulsion of the count, and other alarming accidents, he attempted to kill himself; but being prevented fled, fearing to be torn to pieces by the rabble. Count *Castelmelhor* instantly advised the king to be more circumspect in his words and actions: for that it was easier by fair means to defeat the measures of his brother, than to crush him by open force. His advice being approved by the king, he summoned his brother to appear in council, where some important matters were to be debated: but no kind of letters were of any force to move him, till the queen sent for him, when he appeared with a great train of followers, and conducted himself prudently. The king, received him less coldly than before; but being no master of the art, could not so well hide his just displeasure as the other. The king, who was not used to that continual weight of business, resolved to rest it upon *Antonio Sousa de Macedo*, one of the count's creatures, who, for some words spoken to the queen, had been ordered into banishment, but lay still concealed at court. In order to raise him to the honour of prime minister, the king begged of the queen that she would forgive him, and consent to his return; but notwithstanding his repeated and submissive intreaties, she remained implacable. *Alonso*, to conquer her obstinacy, put into her hands the order of council for his banishment, wherein it was expressed, rather to satisfy her resentment than for his fault, they had for some days thought fit to send him into exile. This so enraged her, that after venting her fury, without any regard to the king's presence, she flung into another room, from whence she sent a billet to him, demanding to have *Sousa* severely punished. The king, in hopes her passion would subside, concealed this billet; but he soon found his mistake, for their animosity daily increasing, the court was almost empty, few caring to hear the king's complaints, and she in secret studying revenge. *Antonio de Sousa*, in the mean time, appeared more openly in the palace, being well attended, to prevent danger. Upon this a report prevailed, that he threatened the city, in case of his banishment, he would repair to the army, with which he would return to punish their rebellion, as it deserved, with fire and sword. Many such rumours were confidently framed, and given out on purpose to incense the people against the king, and turn their eyes on *Don Pedro*, as their deliverer from tyranny and oppression.

Refuses to sum-
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intention to de-
pose him, but
is compelled to
it.

WHEN things were thus disposed, the infant resolved by open force to expel *Antonio de Sousa* from court, and in order thereto went from his house to the palace, accompanied by a great number of the nobility, and the whole city following in a most tumultuous manner. When he arrived at the palace, he staid till the counsellors of state, summoned the day before, were come, and then, followed by them, entered the king's bed chamber before he was awake; who no sooner opened his eyes than he was told by the infant, that his crown and person were in extreme danger, the multitude being in arms, demanding *Antonio de Sousa* should receive condign punishment for the affront he had given the queen. To these words he added more threats in the name of the people; but the king in a rage interrupted him, calling aloud for his sword. The infant, according to his cool and equal temper, offered him his; which the king would not accept. The noise of the multitude filling the palace, brought the queen to the king's apartment, where she found him in a violent passion; and enquiring, as if she had not known what the matter was; he told her, that *Antonio de Sousa*, in despite of his authority had been murdered; and that now they came to force him to pardon the murderers. But she, who knew better, replied, that *Sousa* was living; which the king would not believe, till the duke of *Cadaval* brought him into his presence. At the sight of the secretary he was appeased, and then the queen, infant, and the rest of their followers left him. When they were gone the king said, he forgave those who had so indecently urged the expulsion of *Antonio de Sousa*: to which the count *de Sabugal* answered, "They stood in no need of pardon, but deserved praise;" and this he repeated, till the king told him, "He would bestow his pardon and his praise where, in his own opinion, each was requisite." *Antonio de Sousa* continued still in the palace, which the infant observing, consulted with his friends what was next to be done. One warmer than the rest said, "The next thing was to assume the crown, whilst the people's affections stood for him;" but he took him up very short, being unwilling to have the secrets of his heart pryed into, as fearing an action done in so tumultuous

† LE CLEDE, Memoirs d'ABLANCOURT.
CACERES E FARIA.

‡ RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, LEANDRO DOREA
BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, LE CLEDE.

‡ Relation des

Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de Portugal.

a a manner could not be long esteemed legal. It was resolved therefore, that *Antonio de Sousa*, and *Emanuel Antunes*, should be threatened with death, unless they quitted the palace. They perceiving no power left in the king or their friends to protect them, retreated by night, without acquainting the king, to prevent becoming victims ^c. The king ordered search to be made for them the next day, but in vain, for his orders were now neglected. In this condition, forsaken by his friends, and oppressed by his enemies, he knew not which way to turn himself, or of whom to ask advice. His council took part with the infant; his queen favoured him; the people followed him; and the nobility adhered to him. Things being in this extreme confusion, even the most moderate began to think no way was left to restore tranquility but assembling the parliament, or states. The magistrates of *Lisbon*, and the common-council, b were the first who petitioned the king; but he, being sensible the only design was to dethrone him, put them off from day to day, without any positive answer. Upon this they ventured to write to all the principal towns of the kingdom, exhorting them, by petitioning in the same manner, to extort the king's consent ^d. A few days after, the council of state, the queen and the infant being present, unanimously made application to him to the same effect: but he, convinced it was a design against his person, became more obstinate in refusing, so that nothing was done that day. But the next, the council meeting again, and sending him a remonstrance full of invectives against his conduct, and urging the necessity of assembling the three estates; and not only the magistrates and multitude of *Lisbon*, but generally of the whole country, pressing upon him with threats, he was at last constrained to comply with their demand; for c it was equally dangerous to refuse, or to call the cortes: however, yielding to necessity, he sent out writs of summons for the first of *January* ^e. The king, finding himself in imminent danger, resolved to retire into the province of *Alentejo*, causing horses to be provided, and boats to be got ready on the river for that purpose; but his brother, who wanted no intelligence, discovered, and prevented the design. At length not knowing what other step to take, and having scarce any to consult with, he ordered the writs, or letters of convocation to be drawn, and, when they were drawn, refused to sign them. His pretence was, that the time of meeting was fixed in them to the first of *January*, whereas his intention was, that the states should not assemble till the first of *February*; believing it his interest to gain time. In the end he was constrained to comply, and to subscribe in the manner that was demanded of d him ^f.

It seems that hitherto the queen's presence was necessary at court; but this great step once gained, she either grew weary of the uneasy life she led, apprehended some greater mischief than she had hitherto met with, or held an elopement necessary to the accomplishment of her designs. But whatever the motive might be, the fact is certain, that on the twenty-first of *November* she quitted the palace, and retiring to a convent, wrote from thence a letter to the king; in which she represented, that she had left her family and her country, and had converted her estates into money, with a view of rendering herself acceptable to his majesty; that the usage she had received was insupportable; that he knew she had no reason to consider herself as his wife; that she desired to return on board the *French* squadron in the river; and e to this she desired his consent ^g. The king was exceedingly enraged upon receiving this letter, and went immediately, followed by a great train of attendants, to the convent of *St. Clara*, where he demanded entrance, and, when it was refused, threatened to have the doors broke open; but the infant coming, with many of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, prevailed upon the king to return to the palace. The next day there was a great consultation held at the convent; and the queen applied herself by letter to the chapter of the cathedral church of *Lisbon*, desiring that they would enquire into the evidence of the impuissance of the king, and for the honour of the nation render her justice ^h. In the mean time the infant *Don Pedro*, and the council, considering the state of public affairs, the great danger the kingdom was in, and the little hopes there were of seeing these evils redressed by *Don Alonso*, f resolved, that he should be desired, for the sake of the public safety, his own, and that of his family, to resign in favour of the infant *Don Pedro* his brother. This resolution was executed the next day, the marquis *de Cascaes* going, at the head of the council, to the palace in the morning to propose it. The king was in bed, and fast asleep: the marquis ordered him to be awakened and knocked himself violently at the door for that purpose; and when he had obtained admission, is said to have upbraided him in very coarse terms with his laziness, and want of attention to public affairs at so critical a conjuncture; adding, that since he must be sensible he wanted abilities to govern a kingdom, the wisest thing he could do was to resign it to the infant his brother. The king roundly and absolutely refused

^c LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA, RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT.
of Portugal, LE CLEDE, Memoirs d'ABLANCOURT.

Portugal, LE CLEDE, Memoirs d'ALANCOURT.
DOREA CACERES E FARIA.

^e LE CLEDE.

^f BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i.
p. 818, 819, 820. RENE D'AUBERT DE VERTOT, Memoirs d'ABLANCOURT.

^d Account of the Court

^e Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de

^f Account of the Court of Portugal, LEANDRO

^g BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i.

to consent ; but not long after the infant came to the palace, caused him to be put under confinement in his apartment, where one of his favourites making him believe that he would be immediately restored to his liberty, persuaded him to sign a short act of renunciation in favour of his brother Don *Pedro*, and his lawful issue, reserving one hundred thousand crowns out of the revenue of the crown, together with the house of *Bragança* and its dependencies¹. At the same time a paper was offered him, containing an acknowledgement that his marriage was null for want of consummation ; which he said he could not sign till he had the advice of some divines, and which, when he had some time after consulted them, he did sign^k.

Don Pedro, notwithstanding this resignation, is proclaimed regent only, and not king.

As the prince had now carried his point, the council and nobility who concurred with him, and indeed it does not appear that there were any who opposed it, thought it expedient to proclaim him immediately in the palace, with all the solemnity that could authenticate such an act. In the resignation of Don *Alonso*, it is said, that he renounces of his own proper will, and in virtue of his royal and absolute power, his kingdoms, in the same manner they were possessed by him, in favour of his brother ; but notwithstanding this, it was held improper for the infant to assume immediately the regal title ; he was therefore proclaimed regent governor of the kingdom of *Portugal*^l, of the arms and justice thereof, which seems to have been the stile of the duke of *Coimbra* while he governed the kingdom during the minority of *Alonso* the fifth. As soon as this proclamation was made, the people expressed their joy by the loudest acclamations ; and it is said that in the midst of their transports not a few cried, “ Long live “ the king Don *Pedro* ! ” which is probable enough ; but as to what some have affirmed, that the infant himself sought that title, it is by no means proved ; nor can there be any reason assigned, why, if this was truly his intention, he did not take the title of king in virtue of Don *Alonso*’s resignation. In respect to what others have asserted, that the queen had this more at heart, as having already in view her marriage with the infant, and being unwilling to return to the palace with a title inferior to that with which she left it, it is, tho’ much more plausible, yet not altogether free from objection. As for the infant, as a *French* historian^m and politician has well observed, he might easily see it to be his interest rather to assume the title of regent than of king ; because it was more suitable to the constitution, more consistent with the honour of a monarchy, and infinitely more compatible with the pretences on which this very extraordinary proceeding was founded. It took nothing from his power ; he had the full administration ; and though the stile of his brother was used, yet it was used by him, and not by his brother. Without the title of king he was enabled to do all that a king could do ; and with the title of a king *Alonso* remained a prisoner, and could do nothing. Besides, it was more consistent with his character, with that modesty and moderation he had shewn in all his actions : now if this was his real disposition, his conduct was perfectly just and natural ; but if this modesty and moderation was affected, then this very affectation tied him to act as he did ; for if he had immediately taken the title of king, it would have been a very impolitic discovery of his ambition ; and would have rendered it manifest to the whole world, that he had hitherto only acted a part : again, as to the queen, though the vanity of her sex, and the vivacity of her country, might prompt her strongly to aim at preserving this title ; yet the same prudence that induced her to lay it aside, the moment she entered the convent, might prevail upon her to wave it during the life of Don *Alonso*, that she might seem to have lost by the exchange, both her title and her fortune. The enemies of this princess affirm her to have been a very artful woman, and at the same time deny her the use of this art in this instance, where it was of the greatest importance to her. The reader will think for himself ; but whatever opinion he forms of this transaction, he will see, that after gratifying their ambition, and their inclinations, the prince Don *Pedro*, and the princess of *Savoy*, had no temptation to deny themselves the small merit of declining to accept a title, and a title, which, if they had accepted, must have been ridiculous, since distressed and deposed as he was, Don *Alonso*, so long as he lived, would still have been considered as a king ; and their quality, instead of being heightened, would in reality have been lessened by a stile to which they could have no just pretensions.

A. D. 1667.

¹ Supplement au Corps Universelle Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. ii. p. i. p. 381.

D’AUBERT DE VERTOT, LE CLEDE, LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA.

of Portugal, BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies.

Portugal, LE CLEDE, Account of the Court of Portugal.

ques, & Litteraires, par AMELOT DE LA HOUSSE, tom. i. p. 531.

^k RENE

^l Account of the Court

^m Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de

ⁿ Memoires, Historiques, Politiques, Criti-

S E C T. IX.

The regency and reign of Don Pedro II. and of Don John V. to the treaty of Utrecht.

- ^a **I**T is certainly most proper to commence the regency of the infant Don *Pedro* from the time of his proclamation, since otherwise there would be no government at all in *Portugal* till the meeting of the states, which, however, was far from being the case, the regent acting all that time, at least as far as he thought proper to act, with the same authority as he afterwards held. At this time Don *Pedro* was in the twentieth year of his age, a young prince, very agreeable in his person, a strong, well-made man, rendered very robust by constant exercise, and of a capacity and character, which, if assisted by a proper education, would have rendered him, even young as he was, one of the most accomplished princes of the age: but this he wanted, though time, experience, and application, gradually supplied all defects. In the conduct of this business he was assisted, or, to speak with the freedom of an historian, he was directed by other heads. At the time his brother Don *Alonso* was seized, that unhappy king scarce perceived it; but as the evening drew on, and every body left him, he found he was a prisoner: upon which he sent to desire his brother to let him have *John*, who managed his dog-kennel, to keep him company. Some say he did this with design: be that as it will, when the message was delivered, the infant Don *Pedro* lost his usual calmness, and burst into a violent passion of tears, and immediately gave orders that some who were agreeable to him should remain in his apartment ^b. In this situation things continued till the meeting of the states. One would have imagined that the new government must have been extremely insecure, and subject to many disturbances both at home and abroad, whereas it happened quite otherwise. The count *de Castelmelhor* no sooner heard the infant proclaimed regent, than he judged it most expedient for him to quit the kingdom, which he did in disguise, retiring first to *Turin*, from thence into *France*, and lastly to *Great Britain*, where he was kindly received, and had a good pension given him ^c. *Henry Enriquez*, who was generally hated, was sent to prison and detained there; but as for *Antonio Sousa de Macedo*, he retired to his own house in the country, and betaking himself to his studies, not only remained undisturbed but received marks of favour and countenance ^d. The count *de Schomberg*, who had now the command of the troops without controul, kept the *Spaniards* in awe, and were themselves so weakened by intestine disputes, and the war with *France*, which was then breaking out, that they were in no condition to stir; on the contrary, they regretted the troubles in *Portugal*, as it seemed highly probable they might retard the peace ^e.
- ^d THE states of the kingdom met in the month of *January*, and without any difficulty took an oath to the infant Don *Pedro*, in quality of prince of *Portugal*; a title which implies as much as heir-apparent, and which, therefore, the king would never give to his brother, or suffer him to assume it. Upon mature consideration of the state of public affairs, of the king's resignation however obtained, and of the state of his understanding and health, they voted that the administration should remain to the prince Don *Pedro* ^f. The deputies of the commons were very earnest to give him the title of king, which the clergy would have approved; but the nobility, in support as they alleged of his royal highness's modest behaviour, declared in favour of the title of regent; but invested him with the royal authority, with which there is reason to believe he was fully satisfied ^g. The states also rectified many abuses that were crept into the government, took proper measures for augmenting the public revenue, and in all other respects complied with the prince's desires, who had by this time the principal nobility, ministers of state, and general officers about him ^h. He recalled old *Pedro Viera* to the post of secretary, who had held it in his father's reign, and in his mother's regency. He recalled many whom the late ministry banished: and adopted in most respects such measures as he thought would render him popular. In this his endeavours met with all the success he could desire. In one thing only he was thought blameable, that he supported and relied upon the power of the commons, which was but too great before his accession to the government ⁱ.

^a Relation de la Cour de Portugal, M. FREMONT D'ABLANCOURT, Memoires contenant l'Histoire de Portugal, Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs of Portugal, chap. i. ^b Relation de la Cour de Portugal, COLEBATCH's Memoirs of Portugal.

^c D'ABLANCOURT Memoires contenant l'Histoire de Portugal, Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

^d Catastrophe de Portugal, por LEANDRO DORCA CACERES E FARIA, Relation de la Cour de Portugal.

^e D'ABLANCOURT Memoires contenant l'Histoire de Portugal, Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL's Letters.

^f Catastrophe de Portugal, por LEANDRO DORCA CACERES E FARIA, Relation de la Cour de Portugal.

^g D'ABLANCOURT Memoires. ^h Relation de la Cour de Portugal.

ⁱ Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL's Letters, Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de Portugal.

The prince regent falls in love with his brother's queen.

THE business of the marriage was next to be concluded; and to trace this mysterious intrigue from the beginning to the end, would require a pretty considerable volume; and it would be no very easy task to settle things clearly, and to explain them satisfactorily, even within that compass. To speak of this matter sincerely, as well as succinctly, the princess of *Aumaule*, as she is called by some, the princess of *Savoy* as she is generally stiled by others, and the consort of the deposed monarch, was the real author of this singular transaction^k. She was the youngest daughter of the duke of *Nemours*, by the daughter of the duke of *Vendosme*, and was herself consequently great grand-daughter to *Henry* the fourth of *France*. She was originally designed for the infant *Don Pedro*, and her eldest sister for the king; but that match not taking effect, the count *de Castelmelhor* determined the king should marry her^l. She had not been long queen before she found cause to repent of becoming so. She saw the infant as ill used as herself, and she affected to express a great concern for this. *Don Pedro* was young and very gallant; he was struck with the beauty, and caught by the arts of a princess somewhat older, and infinitely more capable of political intrigues than himself. Their two confessors acted as their prime ministers in this business; and it was chiefly by their contrivances that all things were conducted to a point, and the king and his favourites were driven from the government step by step, with much clamour, some violence, but no effusion of blood^m. At this time she pushed her divorce warmly before the chapter of *Lisbon*, and spoke of nothing but procuring the restitution of her fortune, and her returning to *France*, as if that had been her real intention: yet, while the cause was depending, a dispensation was procured from the cardinal of *Vendosme*, the uncle of this princess, whom the Pope had appointed his legate at the *French* court, upon an extraordinary occasion, from whence he was supposed to derive the power of granting this instrument, by which his niece was permitted to marry the prince regentⁿ. The scheme was well laid, and managed with great address; but the date was a little unlucky, since that was the thirteenth of *March*, and the sentence of nullity, by the chapter, did not bear date till the twenty-fourth of the same month; but though slow in coming it was remarkably clear and full, which will appear the less wonderful, when the reader is told that *Don Alonso* acknowledged the truth of what the princess suggested under his hand, gave no opposition to their proceedings, or ever attempted an appeal^o.

Don Pedro, with the consent of the states, publicly marries that princess.

THE sentence of nullity having passed, and the states being acquainted with the intention of the princess to return into *France*, sent a solemn deputation to intreat her not to abandon them; but to stay and marry the prince, since they were not either able or willing to restore her fortune. The queen did not return them a direct answer. However, they next applied themselves to the prince, intreating him to espouse the late queen, as the most effectual means to preserve the nation; adding, that they would never approve his choice of any other woman. The prince regent told them, they had his consent, if they could procure the queen's; upon which, they returned in a body to the convent, and prevailed upon her at length to be as complaisant as the prince^p. Accordingly, on the *Wednesday* in *Passion Week* they were married by proxy, and on *Easter Monday* the prince went in state to the convent to fetch his bride, whom he conducted to *Alcantara*, where the marriage was consummated. Upon this occasion there were, as might be expected, very great rejoicings throughout *Lisbon*, and amongst the rest, ringing of bells and firing of guns were of the number. The royal prisoner could not help enquiring what fortunate event excited these marks of public satisfaction. Being told what it was, he appeared, as he very well might, not a little dull; but those who were about him could not help being surprized when he expressed the occasion of it; when, instead of lamenting the indignity offered to himself, he testified great concern for his poor brother, who he said would soon have enough of the *French* woman, and repent, as heartily as he had done, that he had ever any thing to do with her^q. But upon reflexion, however, he thought fit to send them his compliments upon their nuptials to *Alcantara*, with which strange circumstance, we will conclude for the present what we have to say of this singular marriage, which we judged it best to go through without breaking the thread of the narration.

Peace with Spain brought about by the judicious conduct of the English ministers.

THE next point of importance brought upon the carpet was that of a peace with *Spain*, never more needed, never more wished for than at present; yet there was a party who strongly opposed it. This was composed of general officers, who were gainers by it; of some who were secretly piqued against the marquis *de Marialva* and his brother, who had

^k Relation de la cour de Portugal, Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL's Letters, Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs.
^l D'ABLANCOURT Memoirs, Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs. ^m Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL's Letters, Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de Portugal, D'ABLANCOURT Memoirs. ⁿ Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs, D'ABLANCOURT Memoirs. ^o Relation de la Cour de Portugal, Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs.
^p Catastrophe de Portugal, par LEANDRO DOREA CACERES E FARIA, VERTOT Histoire de la Revolution de Portugal, D'ABLANCOURT Memoirs. ^q Relation de la Cour de Portugal, Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

a been for many years the prince's confident; and of the *French* faction in general; for when *Lewis* the fourteenth invaded the *Spanish Low Countries*, under colour of his wife's title, he had entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with *Portugal*, and had sent over the abbe *de St. Romaine*, to reside at *Lisbon* as his ambassador. On the other side were all the true patriots, and that stiled the *English* party, who, upon this occasion (though indeed it has not often happened) outwitted and got the better of the *French*. Sir *Richard Fanshawe*, his *Britannic* majesty's minister at *Madrid*, had some years before entered into a negotiation with that nation, for terminating their differences with *Portugal*; and with much trouble and difficulty settled with them the draught of a treaty, favourable enough for *Portugal*; notwithstanding which, it was rejected by the count *de Castelmelhor*, upon a punctilio, and the *French* party took all imaginable pains to prevent its being revived. But Sir *Robert Southwell*, the *English* minister then at *Lisbon*, contrived to bring it about in a manner which they never so much as suspected. He insinuated to Don *Gaspar de Haro Guzman y Arragon*, marquis *del Carpio*, son to the famous minister Don *Lewis*, and heir both to him and the conde duke *de Olivarez*, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of *Evora*, that the only way to obtain his liberty, was to procure full powers from *Madrid* for negotiating a peace; and the marquis readily closing with this proposal, he found means to convey his letters safely to *Madrid*, and to procure answers, which in a little time brought him as full powers as he could desire. The *French* party, who by this time had intelligence of what they were doing, exerted their utmost force to raise an opposition, but without effect, for Sir *Robert* applied himself to the judge of the people, who at the first word declared that peace was a good thing; and this being echoed by the magistrates and commons of *Lisbon*, the same sentiments spread itself through the states, so that the court was in a little time forced to acquiesce.

The arrival of the earl of *Sandwich*, with the title of his *Britannic* majesty's ambassador, and all the necessary authority and instructions from *Madrid*, gave the last stroke to this great affair, and produced the signing a treaty under the mediation of his *Britannic* majesty; which was as fortunate, and as honourable for the *Portuguese* nation as they could desire. The partizans of *France*, however, made a great noise, insinuating, that this peace was made when the *Portuguese* had most to hope from the continuance of the war: that it deprived them of the advantages they had reason to expect from their close engagements with *France*; and that the terms of their last treaty considered, it drew upon them the imputation of a breach of faith. To these it was answered in a paper, said to be drawn by the marquis *del Carpio*, that the war had lasted twenty-seven years, and that both nations had suffered sufficiently, and declined greatly in their figure and commerce; while some of their neighbours looked on very coolly, and were ready now and then to throw in what they stiled reasons and motives for continuing a war, by which, without all doubt, both nations would continue to suffer and decline. As to the second, it was alleged, that none but military advantages could be drawn from the *French* alliance; and that these, if the great points aimed at by the war, could be obtained by a negotiation, they had much better be without, since they consisted only in the ruinous victories, by which the country was depopled, and the nation impoverished. And to the last it was said, that the treaty of the *Pyrenees* was such a precedent as they had good reason to copy: since in that treaty *France* had abandoned *Portugal*, and had actually sent a minister to *Lisbon* to persuade the queen dowager to abandon herself and her family, and submit to the mercy of *Spain*. The states, entirely satisfied with these reasons, expressed great gratitude to the *British* nation, pressed the conclusion of the treaty without delay; to which the court consented. It was generally believed, that the prince regent himself was as well pleased with the peace as any of his subjects; and some have suspected, that though his consort opposed it with an appearance of vigour, yet this was no more than an appearance, that she might not lose her credit in, or the support that she derived from *France*. Soon after, a *French* fleet arrived in the river of *Lisbon*, on board which count *Schomberg*, and the auxiliary troops embarked, loaded with honours, but, in other respects, neither well satisfied or well treated.

ONE of the first good effects the peace produced was giving such a turn to the affairs at *Rome*, which perhaps they would never otherwise have taken. Cardinal *Rospigliosi*, very lately advanced to the papal throne by the name of *Clement* the ninth, had received an account of the queen's marriage by a dispensation from the cardinal of *Vendosme*, and of all the unusual circumstances that had attended it; and as the world reported, was by no means edified with the conduct of his legate in *France*. The cardinal *de Vendosme* excused himself with great

Earl of Sandwich concludes the peace, in quality of mediator, and Great Britain guaranties it.

The Pope confirms the declaration of nullity, the dispensation, and the second marriage.

* Dr. COLEBATCH'S Memoirs, D'ABLANCOURT Memoires.

Unies, Dr. COLEBATCH'S Memoirs.

Letters. ^a Dr. COLEBATCH'S Memoirs.

Portugal. ^w D'ABLANCOURT Memoires contenant l'Histoire de

Portugal. ^x Relation de la Cour de Portugal. Dr. COLEBATCH'S Memoirs of Portugal.

LANCOURT Memoires, Portugal restaurada, Dr. COLEBATCH'S Memoirs of Portugal.

^y D'ABLANCOURT Memoires, Portugal restaurada, Dr. COLEBATCH'S Memoirs of Portugal.

^z Relation de la Cour de Portugal, D'ABLANCOURT Memoires.

humility; and amongst other things said, that he wrote a fair state of the case to his holiness ^a when the dispensation was first applied for: which was strictly true; but the *French* secretary of state, who was intrusted to send it by his courier, kept it very safe in his office, upon a supposition that the dispensation might go on as well without it ^a. These dark clouds at *Rome* began to disperse upon the news of the peace with *Spain*; and upon the arrival of the marquis *de las Minas*, to render obedience, in his master's name, to the holy see, the sky grew perfectly clear; inſomuch, that the queen's confessor, who came to submit her cause to the Pope, was very kindly received. However, according to the custom of the see of *Rome*, the whole cause was to be begun a-fresh: in consequence of which a bull was directed to the dean of the inquisitors at *Lisbon*, to hear and determine the case of the first marriage; and this being done, though not with so much care and caution as before, a sentence of nullity ^b was again pronounced, which, together with the dispensation, and second marriage, the Pope confirmed by his bull, assuring the prince, that he had done for him all that was in his power ^b. The great affair of bishops was next to be adjusted; and in that there was no longer any difficulty, as *Spain* gave no opposition, and as his holiness was to be a great gainer by the vast sums of money extorted under different pretences from every bishop. The regent, to express his sense of these favours, appointed the count *de Prado* his ambassador; but he did not arrive till cardinal *Altieri* was elected on the death of *Clement* the ninth, and assumed the name of *Clement* the tenth, who was still more indulgent to *Portugal* than his predecessor ^c. Interest directed this conduct, and there was now no danger attended it.

The king is sent prisoner into the island of Tercera, after the rising of the states.

At the rising of the states it was determined, that in the present situation of things it was ^c not consistent either with the safety of the prince regent, or the tranquility of the nation, to set the king at liberty; and as to the manner of his confinement they thought it indecent to offer any thing to the prince regent, considering that they were brothers ^d. But notwithstanding this, the confining him at *Lisbon* was attended with difficulties, and with circumstances disagreeable enough in their nature to both of them. The prince regent at last resolved to put an end to these, by sending his brother to a place with which he might be better pleased, and yet remain in equal safety ^e. A vessel was accordingly provided for him, and a squadron under the command of the count *de Prado*, ordered to escort him. Some persons of distinction were likewise appointed to accompany him; but the place where he was to spend his days was kept a secret ^f. This gave a check to the people's curiosity, upon which they ^d affected to be alarmed. They went so far as to give out, for in those days they talked very freely in *Lisbon*, that the loss of his crown and his wife were afflictions sufficient; and that it was going beyond all bounds to carry a king of *Portugal* to *Guiney*, and consigning him there perhaps to the custody of negroes ^e. The prince regent, who never intended any such thing, was very much piqued at these rumours; but having written a circular letter to foreign courts upon this subject, he suffered copies to be taken; and when the people once knew that he was to be sent no further than *Tercera*, and was to be allowed the whole island for his prison, they were very quiet, and in general seemed to approve the regent's choice (A).

THESE

^a Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs, D'ABLANCOURT Memoires.

^b Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens Supplement, tom. ii. p. i. p. 388. Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs of Portugal.

^c Histoire des Papes, COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

^d D'ABLANCOURT Memoires, Relation de la Cour de Portugal.

^e BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies.

^f D'ABLANCOURT Memoires.

^g Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs of Portugal, D'ABLANCOURT Memoires, Relation de la Cour de Portugal.

(A) The prince regent's letter, mentioned in the text, was dated *May* the 25th, 1669, and conceived in the following terms (1). "Having a strong desire to procure my brother more liberty and greater ease than the assembly of the three estates thought fit to give him, and knowing also how ardently he wishes to be in a place where he may take exercise, and enjoy all the pleasures of the country, without trouble and without constraint; I was at the same time obliged to reflect, that if I sent him into any distant part of the kingdom, he would infallibly give occasion for renewing those complaints that were made in the beginning of his reign; and that his temper considered, his life and authority would be every moment exposed. Being willing to find an expedient, by which, without risking either his person or his dignity, he might enjoy those pleasures in which he naturally delights, I have resolved, to the extreme satisfaction of my brother, that he shall go and pass his time in the island of *Tercera*, as well be-

cause it is in the same climate as that in which we live, as because the physicians have given their opinion that the air may be very beneficial to him in regard to his natural infirmities. Besides all this, the island in itself is a most agreeable place, very proper for hunting, and abounding not only with necessaries, but also with all the conveniences and delicacies of life, leaving to the choice of the lords who accompany, and the domestics who attend him, to fix his residence in the borough of *Praza*, in the city of *Angra*, or in the royal fortress of *St. Philip*, provided the place of which they make choice be likewise agreeable to him, and convenient for his diversions; and that this voyage may be made with all possible honour and security, we have directed the count *de Prado*, our ambassador extraordinary at *Rome*, to escorte him with a squadron, assisted by the count *de Atalaja*, Don *Juan de Sousa*, master of our household, Don *Lewis de Silveira*, Miguel Carlos de *Tavora*, and several other lords, officers, and gentle-

(1) M. Fremont d'Abancourt Memoires contenant l'Histoire de Portugal, p. 376.

men,

^a THESE necessary steps being taken, the prince applied himself with all possible vigour and vigilance to the dispatch of business, and to qualify himself for administering the government with abilities and reputation. The duke *de Cadaval*, who had a great share in establishing his regency, and was also a prince of his blood, had his ear from the beginning, and enjoyed his confidence as long as he lived ^b. He shewed the like steadiness with regard to the rest of his counsellors, and paid great deference to their opinions. At first this might be, and very probably was, highly requisite; but by degrees it became less so. As he studied assiduously, and with a good will, his subjects would have been very well pleased, as they knew that none understood the state of the kingdom better, had he relied more upon his own lights, and trusted in most cases to his own opinion. He found that midnight diversions were far from ceasing with his brother's deposition and confinement: but he thought it very unjust that persons of any rank should commit with impunity offences that had cost his brother his liberty and his crown ^c. He did not take his measures hastily; but suffered for a time these adventures to continue the talk of the court, by which he came to discern the shortest and best methods of correcting them, which he prosecuted with such spirit, that they were effectually cured, and in this he made no distinctions; so that the friars, who were as much addicted to these amusements as the young nobility, were constrained to abandon them, and to pass their evenings in a manner more suitable to their character. He lessened the expences of government as much as possible, disbanded a great part of the troops, put his finances into the best order possible, and gave in his own person, and in the management of his court, an example of that frugality which he thought requisite for his subjects to imitate, that they might in some measure repair the mischiefs and miseries brought upon them by living so long under a foreign yoke, and by that tedious, though necessary war, which had been carried on in order to compleat their deliverance. He renewed the treaties subsisting with most of the powers of *Europe*, particularly with *Great Britain* and *Holland*; but was so circumspect in all he did, as to avoid contracting any engagements that might oblige him to take part in any of the broils which disturbed the tranquility of Christendom; for as he had no ambitious views of his own, he would not be made the dupe of his neighbours projects ^k.

In the course of a long peace one would have imagined, that these wise and moderate measures might have restored the public affairs of *Portugal*, at least in a considerable degree, and yet this did not happen. The fault certainly was not in the king, but in the genius of the nation. There was nothing so necessary as to bring in a fresh recruit of people, some considerable tracts of land, even in so small a country, being become utterly desert: this, however, was impossible, without tempering in some degree that religious zeal, or rather fury, which generally prevailed; and as no step of this kind was, or could be taken, no foreigners came, or at least remained in *Portugal*, except it may be a very few *French*, and even these were scarce considered as catholics ^l. It was as necessary to give the people some ease in their impositions and taxes; but that was equally impracticable. The *Spanish* kings had granted most of these to noble families, from whom it was not expedient, or even safe, for the house of *Bragança* to take them; so that trade was oppressed, and industry discouraged, while the crown was in real necessity. But what bore hardest on the whole nation, and was a grievance equally extensive and insupportable, was the prodigious sums annually raised, and carried out of the kingdom to *Rome*, by the agents and emissaries of the Pope, under pretences which in other *Roman* catholic countries would have been treated with ridicule and contempt ^m. Here, however, they were supported not only by ecclesiastical censures, but by the civil authority, and that for political reasons; which it is to be feared will always have too great weight, and which, by keeping this drain open, rendered all endeavours in

Zeal and public spirit expressed by Don Pedro, in the management of public affairs.

A long peace, and a good administration, which after all only hinder things from growing worse.

^b COLEBATCH'S Memoirs.

ⁱ Memoire Historique del Portogallo, Portugal restaurado, D'ABLANCOURT.

^k Relation de la Cour de Portugal.

^l GEDDES'S Miscellaneous Tracts.

^m Dr.

COLEBATCH'S Memoirs of Portugal.

"men, with the common consent and universal applause of the whole nation, of which we thought fit to give you an account, that being informed of my resolution, and of the sincerity of my procedure, you may communicate it at the court where you reside; and that in the public gazettes, and other relations, this matter may be treated with decency and truth. Given at *Lisbon*, May the 25th, 1669." This letter had a great effect at home as well as abroad, and procured that approbation for this measure, which it is

artfully suggested had been already expressed. There has been, however, some difference in opinions as to this transaction; many believing that an island, in which there were various outlaws, was not the properest residence for a king (2); yet, taking in all circumstances, it will be difficult to find where he could have been placed with greater propriety; or how, when the resolution was taken of sending him there, it could have been better or more plausibly excused (3).

(2) Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de Portugal, Dr. Colebatch's Memoirs of Portugal.

(3) Re-

lation de la Cour de Portugal, Vertot Histoire de la Revolution de Portugal, Histoire generale de Portugal, par le Ciede.

any other way to bring wealth and prosperity into this country altogether ineffectualⁿ. The interest of the *Portuguese* in *India* was continually sinking; and the navigation of the kingdom so much reduced, that the registered seamen did not exceed three hundred.

Differences
with the court
of Spain, and
bringing back
Don Alonso.

THE *French* court, at the time of making war upon the states, which it was foreseen would bring *Spain* and *Germany* into the quarrel, were very desirous of prevailing on the prince regent to facilitate their designs by breaking with *Spain*, and making a formidable diversion; for which many plausible pretences were suggested, and prodigious promises were made. Don *Pedro* was almost left to himself in the debates on this subject; for his queen, and the greater part of his ministry, were in the interest of his most Christian majesty: and which is more extraordinary, national antipathy began to revive; so that however unreasonable or impolitic it might have been, this would have been a popular measure. But Don *Pedro* remained firm, though he gave soft answers, and laboured all that he could to keep measures with so great a king; yet he could not be brought to risk a new war, while his people so sensibly felt that weakness into which they were brought by the last^o. This was fortunate for the *Spaniards*, who made notwithstanding a very ill return; for in the month of *September* following, while the court was at the baths of *Obidos*, a very base and black conspiracy was discovered: the design, or at least the pretence to which was to restore Don *Alonso*; and in order to this the regent, his consort, and the infanta were to be murdered. Don *Francisca de Mendosa*, and Don *Antonio de Cavida*, with some of their accomplices, were executed, and very strong suspicions fell upon the *Spanish* ambassador, which occasioned a great coldness between the two courts^p. It was not long after, that the marquis *de Govea*, the *Portuguese* minister at *Madrid*, was grossly insulted in his own house; of which ill usage having complained to little purpose, he judged it most expedient to retire, which he did, and returned home^q. The regent bore this without suffering any strong marks of resentment to escape; but he began to alter his conduct, to repair the strong places on his frontiers, and to reinforce their garrisons. He took likewise another necessary precaution, and under pretence of some idle stories diffused amongst the people as to the ill usage of his brother in the island of *Tercera*, he sent a squadron to bring him back to *Portugal*; and upon his arrival, directed he should be carried to the castle of *Cintra*, not far from *Lisbon*, where he spent the remainder of his days in close confinement^r.

The dispute
about the new
colony in the
Rio de la
Plata compro-
mised.

AFTER all the indignities that had been offered to the court of *Lisbon*, notwithstanding Don *Pedro de Meneses* had the title given him of duke of *Caminha* at *Madrid*; and notwithstanding that it had been asserted there publicly, and even in print, that the treaty made by the queen regent with the crown of *Portugal* was void; and that it was not in her power, as guardian to her son, to give away a great kingdom to the prejudice not only of that prince, but of his posterity, the prince regent offered his mediation to facilitate the conclusion of a peace at *Nimeguen*: a measure in itself well intended, and flowing from a generosity of mind truly worthy of a great prince. It was accepted in appearance; but in effect declined, or rather refused by *France*; in which the politics of *Lewis* the fourteenth failed him; for discovering upon this occasion something of contempt either of the regent, or of the crown, the affairs of which he administered, it occasioned his sending orders to his ambassador at *Paris* to meddle with that point no more; but to leave the most christian king, when he stood in need of a mediation, to seek it at *Lisbon*^s; but this was not all. It sunk so deep into his breast that he never forgot it; and some say, the remembrance of it cost the crown of *France* as dear as any error in the cabinet during that whole reign. In *Spain* it was also but indifferently received; on which Don *Pedro* expressed himself in so quick terms, that the *Spanish* ministry being afraid that a rupture on this side might change the general face of affairs, and being sufficiently sensible of their own weakness, dropped their haughtiness at once, disavowed having any hand whatever in the conspiracy, gave full satisfaction for the abuse of the *Portuguese* minister, and the strongest assurances to the regent that his catholic majesty had nothing more at heart than to cultivate a sincere friendship, and to maintain a constant good correspondence with the crown of *Portugal*^t. The regent received these marks of kindness very obligingly, and afforded them just the degree of credit they deserved. He acted with the like spirit in regard to the dispute which happened between the subjects of the two crowns in the *Rio de la Plata* (B).

THE

ⁿ GEDDES'S Miscellaneous Tracts, Relation de la Cour de Portugal, Dr. COLEBATCH'S Memoirs of Portugal.
^o Histoire de la Vie & du Regne de Louis XIV. par MARTINIERE.
^p BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, LE CLEDE Histoire generale de Portugal.
^q BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 730.
^r D'ABLANCOURT Memoires, LE CLEDE, Memoires de Portugal.
^s Histoire de la Vie & du Regne de Louis XIV. Memoires de Portugal.
^t Dr. COLEBATCH'S Memoirs of Portugal, LE CLEDE, Memoire Historique del Portogallo.

(B) This dispute, though often laid asleep, continues undecided at this day; there having been, as the reader will see in the course of this history, several treaties made; which, because they were governed by reason of state, and not the reason of things, have never had any proper effect; but instead of extinguishing, have nourished

- ^a THE next point of importance brought upon the carpet of *Lisbon*, was the marriage of the infanta; which, if we take in the whole compass of the negotiation, as well as the issue of it, it will appear as singular as any that happened in the last age in *Europe*. The duchess dowager of *Savoy* was the elder sister of her who had been once queen, and was now consort to the prince regent of *Portugal*, and she judged it would be a very advantageous match for her son *Victor Amadeus*, if she could procure him the infanta, who was the sworn heiress of the crown^u. On the other hand, the consort of the regent, who had always a great influence over her husband, flattered herself with vast advantages from the marriage of her daughter with her nephew. The *French* court went likewise very heartily into this scheme, which was warmly promoted by her creatures at the court of *Lisbon*. An affair of this importance, however, could not be carried on precipitately; more especially, as there was one great obstacle in the way, which was its being directly in the teeth of the constitution. Yet the prince was so much beloved by his subjects in general, and his influence over the states was so strong, that upon an application to them even this seemingly invincible obstacle was got over; insomuch that they gave their consent, that for this time, and without creating any precedent for the future, the infanta might marry a foreign prince without prejudicing her right to the crown^w. This point once carried, the marriage treaty was quickly adjusted, and there remained nothing more than to make the preparations necessary for the celebration of this wedding, with a magnificence suitable to the distinguished rank of the parties, and the genius of the people, who delight in nothing more than in such solemnities^x. A. D. 1678.

^u LE CLEDE *Histoire generale de Portugal, Memoire Historiche del Portogallo.*
Memoires of Portugal, *Memorie Historiche del Portagallo.*
Memorie Historiche del Portogallo.

^w Dr. COLEBATCH'S

^x BASNAGE *Annales des Provinces Unies,*

nourished and kept alive the jealousies and feuds subsisting between the two nations. It is, however, of consequence to set this matter in a true light, inasmuch as it is one of the most intricate points regarding the modern system of politics in *Europe*. The crown of *Portugal* holds the great country of *Brazil*, on the north; and the crown of *Spain* is in possession of *Paraguay*, or at least so much of that vast country as stretches along the south side of the *Rio de la Plata*, on the south. The *Spaniards* say, that their right to both sides of the river is out of question, and in the space of two centuries was never contested. On the other hand, the *Portuguese* justify their proceeding, and affirm, that in the course of this business they did nothing but what by the law of nations they had a right to do (4). In point of facts, Don *Emanuel de Lobo*, governor of *Rio de Janeiro*, sent a small body of *Portuguese* to take possession of a convenient spot of ground behind the island of *St. Gabriel*, almost opposite to the great *Spanish* settlement of *Buenos Ayres*, in the month of *January*, 1680; and to the little hamlet that was built there, he gave the name of *St. Sacrament*. The *Spanish* governor of *Buenos Ayres*, being a man of spirit, and having perhaps no great opinion for the firmness of his own court, resolved to take the step that in his own judgment he thought right, without waiting for any instructions; and accordingly in the month of *August*, in the same year, dispossessed the *Portuguese* of their new settlement, destroyed the place, and made the garrison prisoners of war, and treated them but indifferently. On the arrival of this news in *Europe*, Don *Pedro*, as we have shewn in the text, and in another part of our work, acted very cavalierly, and compelled the court of *Madrid* to repair the brisk conduct of their governor, by a deportment of quite a different kind. In short the court of *Spain* found itself so pushed by the prince regent of *Portugal*'s recalling his ambassador, with a protest, that if within the space of twenty days, reckoning that for one on which the protest was made, the *Spaniards* did not make full reparation for this insult, it should be understood that a war was declared without any other formality, that they were forced to send an ambassador immediately to *Lisbon*, to give such satisfaction as should be insisted upon (5). This minister was fairly

worth an army; it was the famous duke *de Giovinazzo*, who had baffled all the *French* arts in *Italy*, and who did all the *Spanish* ministers could possibly expect from him here; for he so mollified the prince regent, that in the end he prevailed upon him to conclude the provisional treaty, dated at *Lisbon*, May the 7th, 1681, by which, though ample satisfaction was given to the crown of *Portugal*, by stipulating the restitution of the place, the release of the garrison, the power of resettling it, the title to fortifications equivalent to those demolished, and the punishment of the governor of *Buenos Ayres*, yet the decision of the main point was reserved, and the free and undisturbed possession of the *Portuguese* was to continue only till the right should be amicably determined by commissioners, to be appointed by the two crowns (6). This was a point of very great importance; for though at that time the common opinion was rather in favour of the *Spaniards*, yet was there very little to doubt, that if the prince regent had been as peremptory at *Lisbon*, as his minister was at *Madrid*, he must have carried his point, and secured the new colony for ever. The prince Don *Pedro* was himself sensible of this, and could not help saying, "That though he understood very well what the duke *de Giovinazzo* aimed at by his commendations of his royal highness's modesty, moderation, and equity, yet he could not help being affected by them, nor had the power of preferring interest of state to the inclination he had to deserve the high character which this able minister had so artfully given him (7)." To remove this obstacle, and to redress the mistake made in this provisional treaty, we shall find no less than three new treaties made within the compass of this section; and all of them, though clear and strong in appearance, yet ineffectual at the bottom, as leaving everlastingly to the court of *Madrid*, the power of proposing an equivalent for this contested spot, of which the *Spaniards* cannot be more covetous than the *Portuguese* tenacious (8), so that possibly after a hundred years dispute, this affair may be at length determined by force of arms (9). It had, therefore, been for the interest of both crowns, if, in pursuance of this treaty, commissioners had met and determined the point.

(4) Notice & Justification du Titre & bonne foi avec laquelle on a etabli la nouvelle Colonie du Sacrament de St. Vincent, p. 98. (5) Dr. Colebatch's *Memoirs of Portugal, Histoire de Portugal, par M. de le Clede, Memoires de Portugal.* (6) Supplement au Corps Universelle Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. ii. p. i. p. 406. (7) Dr. Colebatch's *Memoirs of Portugal.* (8) *Memoires de Portugal.* (9) See the article of *Portugal* in the Conclusion.

That scheme
unaccountably
defeated when
on the point of
being accom-
plished.

THE preparations were long in making, and well they might. A squadron of twelve men of war was equipped at an inconceivable expence. The ships in general of which it was composed were gilt and painted; but above all, the admiral was gilt from stem to stern; the poop and prow down to the surface of the water, and the sides down to the gun-wale. The great cabin was painted by the best masters in *Lisbon*, and the floor laid in squares of ebony and ivory. The bed was most superb, and the royal standard all of cloth of tissue, with the arms of *Portugal* in the highest raised embroidery: in short, the splendor of this ship was such as seemed to justify the name bestowed upon her, *Monte de Ouro*. The duke of *Cadaval* was declared admiral, with whom went the flower of the young nobility; and *Portugal* being in no condition to furnish them, foreign seamen were hired to man this squadron, at a vast charge. The design was to fetch the duke of *Savoy*, who, as he was to obtain a crown by the marriage, could not think so short a voyage any hardship to procure him such a wife; and part of his equipage was actually arrived at *Lisbon* before the squadron was in readiness^y. At length it sailed, and arrived very safely at *Villa-franca*: but by this time things were much altered in the court of *Savoy*, where some of the wisest of the nobility undertook to demonstrate, that their young prince was cheated, and was on the point of throwing away a certainty for an uncertainty. They meant by this, that *France* would infallibly seize *Savoy* and *Piedmont* in his absence; and that it was not impossible the possessor of the crown of *Portugal* might have issue either by this, or some other princess. Full of these notions, it is said, they put a force upon the duke and upon his mother; while others are persuaded, that they made the duchess dowager see she had been in this affair duped throughout by *France*; and that if the marriage proceeded, instead of remaining regent of a sovereignty, she would speedily become the governess of a *French* province; and that being persuaded of the truth of this, she was herself a party to that contrivance, which, in spite of the treaty she had concluded, kept her son at home^z. However this might be, it is very certain, that, under pretence of sickness, the duke did not appear in public; and the fleet returned to *Portugal*, with great displeasure to the court at so outrageous an affront, and to the universal distaste of the people, at the useless waste of so great a treasure, at a time when their circumstances could so little bear it^a. But by degrees the storm, which at first swelled very high, subsided of itself.

The death of
the deposed
king Don
Alonso, which
is soon after
followed by
that of the
queen.

It is on all hands agreed, that the queen (as she was still called) supported, without any visible appearance of regret, this terrible disappointment; but it is thought it would have been better if her great spirit had permitted her to have given vent to that concern which proved fatal to her in the end, and which might perhaps have been dissipated if it had been more freely expressed. As for the prince regent, the equality of his temper defended him from such dangers; and perhaps it added not a little to his consort's chagrin, that at this very juncture he gave as many instances of his infidelity as ever, though it was some consolation, that, except a single *French* woman of the queen's own family, his mistresses were of the meanest of the people^b. While things were in this situation at court, where parties were very nicely ballanced, the unfortunate Don *Alonso* died suddenly in the castle of *Cintra*, on the twelfth of *September*, when he had born the title of king almost twenty-seven, had lived above forty, and had been a prisoner almost fifteen years. It is reported, that he should say in his last agonies, "I am now going, but it will not be long before the queen shall follow me, to give an account at the most awful tribunal of the wrongs she has done me^c." It is not impossible that this story was framed after the queen's death, since declarations of this kind are seldom made by persons who die of an apoplexy. Be that as it will, after a long and excruciating illness, of more than six months, which she bore with heroic firmness, his and his brother's queen departed this life on the 17th of *December*^d. The king appeared inconsolable upon her death, and the clergy took a great deal of pains to persuade the people that she was a saint; but the king Don *Pedro*, who had reason to know her full as well as they, was content to call her the wisest and most prudent of her sex^e; and some believe he did not give her this character so much on account of the advice she gave him in public, as often as he consulted her, which was commonly in all points of great importance, but for those private hints by which he really governed himself, and which were not always agreeable to her public opinions.

Several mar-
riages proposed
for the infant,
which prove
all abortive.

It was not long after the death of the queen that the *French* ministers began to lose their credit at court, which was commonly attributed to that event; but was at least as much owing to the king's dislike of a faint attempt made by *Lewis* the fourteenth to enter into a treaty of marriage with the infant; which, according to the usual warmth of the nation, the mob of *Lisbon* improved into so furious a passion as exposed him to the danger of seeing

^y Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs, Memoire Historique del Portogallo, LE CLEDE, Portugal, LE CLEDE, COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

^c LE CLEDE, Memoires de Portugal, COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

^e Dr. COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

^a LE CLEDE.

^z Memoires de

^b COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

^d Memoires de Portugal, COLEBATCH's

a that princeſs raviſhed from him by force of arms. The king knew it to be quite otherwiſe, and believing it intended to amuſe and flatter him, declined giving any direct answer; and placed this to the account that had been opened on the rejeſting of his mediation ^f. He was ſtill labouring to reſtore the proſperity of his ſubjects, by every method that he could deviſe; and though it might not answer his purpoſe, yet it was certainly with this view that he raiſed his money twenty *per cent.* which, if it had no other good effect, ſaved the nation ſomething in her annual tribute to *Rome*; of which that court became quickly ſenſible, and the nuncio received orders to expoſtulate with the court of *Lisbon*, but to no purpoſe ^g. The king would willingly have done more, but there was nothing more to be done; for if he moved this way, he had the church directly againſt him, if that, the inquisition oppoſed his
b meaſures; ſome uſeful ſteps to reformation claſhed with the intereſts of the nobility; others were repugnant to the humour of the people; ſo that he ſtill found his cares limited to this old object, of keeping things from growing worſe. A treaty of marriage propoſed between the infant and the hereditary grand prince of *Tuſcany*, was for ſome time upon the carpet; and it is thought would actually have taken place if the grand duke had not poſitively inſiſted, that his own *Italian* dominions ſhould belong to his ſecond ſon prince *John Gaſton*, in caſe the hereditary prince became king of *Portugal*, of which *Don Pedro* would by no means hear; and ſome very able politicians have thought that in this he was wanting to his own and his ſubjects intereſts, ſince if the ſucceſſion took place he gained a king to *Portugal*, and if it did not, his daughter and her poſterity were to enjoy the nobleſt duchy in *Italy*
c without controul ^h.

THE people of *Portugal* ſaw with regret their king a widower in the very flower of his age, and when themſelves were expoſed to diſmal apprehenſions in caſe of his deceaſe without iſſue male. It is believed that ſome of the *Portugueſe* clergy inſinuated their fears to Pope *Innocent* the eleventh; who wrote to the king in ſuch ſtrong terms, that at length he conſented to a ſecond marriage; and ſent his great miniſter the count *de Villar-Major* to demand the princeſs *Mary Sophia*, of *Newburgh*, in which he acquitted himſelf ſo well, and carried the honour of the crown of *Portugal* ſo high, that at his return he was created marquis of *Alegrette* ⁱ. On the ſecond of *July* he eſpouſed that princeſs by proxy at *Heidelberg*, and in the ſucceeding month ſhe arrived ſafely in *Portugal*, on board an *Engliſh* ſquadron, commanded
d by the duke of *Grafton*, to the great joy of the king, and of all his ſubjects. She was a princeſs beautiful in her perſon, affable in her behaviour, pious in the way of the *Portugueſe*, extremely affectionate to the king, and without the leaſt tincture of that governing ſpirit, which had been ſo conſpicuous in the deceaſed queen ^k. The king is pre-
vailed on to
marry.

IT was generally expected, and the event answered the expectation, that this marriage would change the whole face of affairs in *Portugal*, where the queen quickly became pregnant, and the jeſuits thereupon boldly undertook that ſhe ſhould bring forth a ſon: in which they
e gueſſed right; but when they ventured to go farther, and to prophesy what mighty things would be done in the future reign of this young prince, they rendered themſelves altogether ridiculous, ſince he did not ſurvive to be three weeks old. Upon this a ſtranger thing came
f into the head of the populace of that country, and was from thence propagated all over *Europe*; which was, that all the king's iſſue ſhould be ſhort-lived, and the ſucceſſion remain to the infant. This conceit procured that princeſs a very ſtrong party in the council at *Madrid* upon the demile of the queen of *Spain*; but the queen dowager and her party carried it at length for the reigning queen of *Portugal*'s ſiſter, and thereupon count *Mansfeldt* was ſent into *Germany* to negotiate that marriage, and was ordered to take ſhipping at *Lisbon* ^l. He was extremely well received by *Don Pedro*, who ordered a frigate to be prepared for him: of which *Lewis* the fourteenth being informed, he ordered his miniſter to expoſtulate with *Don Pedro*, and to let him know, that as count *Mansfeldt* was a general in the ſervice of his Imperial majeſty, it was not impoſſible his paſſage might be cut ſhort by the *French* men of
war. The depth of this reaſoning was quickly underſtood by the king, who deſiſted from his deſign; but at the ſame time placed this menace to the account before-mentioned. About this time a negotiation was commenced for marrying the infant to the electoral prince, brother to the reigning queen; which treaty, when it was pretty far advanced, was diſcontinued by the *Portugueſe* miniſters, for reaſons that were never made public, and with which the grand-maſter of the *Teutonic* order, who was the queen's ſecond brother, was ſo much offended, that he would not proſecute his journey into *Portugal* from *Madrid*, as he at firſt intended, or ſo much as receive the preſents that the king of *Portugal* ſent him ^m. Some attributed

^f LE CLEDE, Hiſtoire generale de Portugal, COLEBATCH's Memoirs.

^h LE CLEDE, Memories de Portugal.

Historique & Politique l'ann. 1687.

^k LE CLEDE, Mercure Historique & Politique.

Moires de Portugal, Mercure Historique & Politique.

^g Memoires de Portugal, COLE-

ⁱ COLEBATCH's Memoirs, Mercure

^l Me-

^m COLEBATCH's Memoirs, Mercure Historique &

these events, and the king's discovering a new propensity to *France*, notwithstanding he had acknowledged the prince and princess of *Orange* for king and queen of *England*, to the dauphin's becoming a widower, and some propositions being made on his behalf in respect to the infanta, to whom he had been the earliest pretender, or rather the king his father in his behalf, even before that princess was marriageable. It is said, she shewed but very little regard to this proposition when made to her in her last illness, which, instead of a bridal bed, conducted her to her grave on the twenty-second of *October*, in the twenty-first year of her age. The *French* gave new, and greater offence than ever to the king her father, by publishing a groundless and malicious story, that she was removed by poison, to make way for heirs attached to the house of *Austria* ^a.

Endeavours used to engage the king to alter his conduct which are all ineffectual. As the conde de *Castelmelhor* had passed many years abroad, though from time to time he made excursions into *Portugal*, which were connived at, yet hitherto he had never appeared in public, or been received at court. He was entirely in the interest of the allies, had acquired a general insight into affairs, and was rather more capable of filling the post of prime minister than any other nobleman in *Portugal*. At the request of the emperor, it is said, the queen was prevailed upon, contrary to the whole tenor of her conduct, to interpose in his favour: but it was to no purpose; for either the king had so fixed an aversion to this great man, as hindered his desiring ever to see him seated in his cabinet, or was diffident of a subject who was under so many obligations to foreign princes, or which, after all, perhaps may be nearest the truth, those great men who had procured his fall had such an interest in their master, or were so useful to him, that he was unwilling to mortify them by a step of this nature ^b. It is perhaps no inconsiderable argument of the truth of this conjecture, that a great lady very unexpectedly made her appearance in the palace, and from her very entrance had a high influence there, and was applauded for the charms both of her person and mind even by the greatest. This was Donna *Louisa*, the king's natural daughter, who at the very time she was owned, was also legitimated, and had the title given her of royal highness. The *French* ambassador alone declined taking any step of this nature till he had orders from his court; but when they arrived, he laboured to excel in complaisance all who had gone before him ^c. This lady the duke de *Cadaval* demanded for his eldest son; to whom she was married about four years after: the nobility so much envying this honour, that few of them would be present at the diversions that attended it ^d. Another circumstance might probably prevent the count's coming again into credit, and that was the earnestness with which the allies pressed the king to come into the war against *France*; to which he had no inclination, because his subjects reaped great benefit from an open trade, and because no immediate advantages were proposed to balance the expence and the hazards with which it might be attended ^e. At length he gave out commissions, and directed levies to be made through his dominions, which at another time would have alarmed, but was now very welcome news at *Madrid*; where, to the amazement of all the old politicians, some of the young ones talked very confidently of demanding a body of auxiliaries against the rebel *Catalans* ^f. To confirm Don *Pedro* in these sentiments *Katherine* queen dowager of *England*, and his sister, returned into *Portugal*, taking her journey through *Spain*, where all possible honours were paid her. At *Lisbon* she had a palace of her own; where, except upon particular occasions, there was nothing of splendor seen, but rather the silence and frugality of a private life. At length, when the land forces of *Portugal* were in some measure complete, the king sent the marquis de *Aronches* his ambassador to *Vienna*, and the marquis de *Cascaes* with the like character to *Paris*, to make a tender of his good offices, which were now received with much more respect than at the close of the last war. To gratify the bigotry of his subjects, he permitted the inquisition at *Coimbra* to make an *Auto de Fe*, which was performed with great ceremony; and, to shew his own piety, he received kindly, and granted pensions to several *Moors* and negroes of distinction, who retired into *Portugal*, besought his protection, and became converts to the Christian faith ^f.

As the *French* privateers frequently took ships upon the coast of *Portugal*, and carried them into the river of *Lisbon*, the marquis de *Cascaes* had orders to complain of this, and to threaten, in case no redress could be obtained, the making reprisals; which was a language little expected at *Paris* from Don *Pedro*'s minister, and yet in compliance with his interests at that juncture, *Lewis* the fourteenth bore these complaints with temper, and promised satisfaction ^a. On the other hand, the *Spanish* minister was in singular credit at *Lisbon*, paid his court assiduously to the king, and gave an opera in his own palace, on every anniversary of the prince's birthday: the like complaisance was shewn to the court of *Madrid*, and it was no secret that Don

^a COLEBATCH'S Memoirs, Mercure Historique & Politique. de Portugal.
^b Mercure Historique & Politique, COLEBATCH'S Memoirs.
^c COLEBATCH'S Memoirs.
^d Mercure Historique & Politique, LE CLEDE.
^e Meicure Historique & Politique.
^f Memoirs de Portugal, COLEBATCH'S Memoirs.

^a COLEBATCH'S Memoirs, Memoires de Portugal.
^b COLEBATCH'S Memoirs.
^c COLEBATCH'S Memoirs.
^d COLEBATCH'S Memoirs.
^e COLEBATCH'S Memoirs.
^f COLEBATCH'S Memoirs.

- a *Pedro* thought he had as good or better claim to the crown of *Castile* than any other pretender; since he was descended in a direct line from the infanta *Donna Maria*, daughter to their catholic majesties *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*; and if the position could have been made out that was laid down by the *Portuguese* lawyers, that no stranger was capable of the succession in that kingdom, unless by the consent of the states previously obtained, *Don Pedro's* right was better than either the *French* or the *Austrian* candidates^w. It is not improbable that he was encouraged in these sentiments by some of the allies, who saw with great satisfaction the levies he was making in order to give weight to his pretensions. To defray the expences of this armament, and to keep on foot the forces he had raised, the king was obliged to have recourse to the cortes, or assembly of the states, who voted him an additional revenue of six hundred thousand crowns;
- b but after sitting six months to consider of ways and means, they at length broke up, and referred the manner of raising it to his majesty's pleasure, and he laid it upon tobacco^x. The *French* king was so little satisfied with the state of this court, that he sent the president *Rouille*, with the character of his ambassador, to penetrate the designs of *Don Pedro*; and to accommodate himself to the humour of the nation, he made a most splendid entry. The queen of *Portugal* being attacked by a fever, accompanied with an erisipilis, died after a short illness on the fourth of *August*. The king expressed his affection for her by remaining all the time of her sickness in her chamber, taking his repose on a piece of cork laid by her bedside: she had been his wife twelve years and seven months, and left him six children^y. There arrived in the autumn a fleet from *Brazil*, with about a ton and a half of
- c gold on board, which was the first considerable quantity of that precious metal the *Portuguese* had received from a colony so long in their possession, and which it is said they owed to a considerable body of outlaws, who had fixed themselves in a distant and desert part of the country, and who, after finding these rich mines, voluntarily submitted themselves to the crown of *Portugal*, and agreed to pay the king a fifth part of their produce. The *French* minister presently delivered a memorial to assert his master's claim to the river of *Amazons*, and to some of the islands in it, which, however, did not meet with much regard^z (C).

At

^w LE CLEDE, COLEBATCH'S Memoirs, Historique & Politique, COLEBATCH'S Memoirs, p. 123.

^x LE CLEDE, COLEBATCH'S Memoirs.

^y Mercure

^z Mercure Historique & Politique.

(C) The colony of *Brazil* had hitherto produced vast wealth to *Portugal*, from sugar and other rich commodities; though no great quantities of silver, and but very little gold had ever been brought from thence. Some short space of time before this of which we are treating, some very understanding persons had acquainted *Don Pedro*, that from the expulsion of the *Dutch* they had taken very wrong measures for the improvement of this fine country; that in reality the bay of *All-Saints* was of all others the least fit for such improvements; and that all efforts of this sort should be made either in the northern or southern extremities of *Brazil*. This advice was followed, and followed with great success, notwithstanding it was attended with disputes with the *French* on one side, and the *Spaniards* on the other. The latter were particularly disturbed with the new colony at *Santos*, which grew daily in numbers and in wealth, from their intercourse with the neighbouring *Indians*, who furnished them with some gold; and, which was still of higher consequence, furnished them with good grounds to believe that the countries from which they came, abounded in that precious metal (1). When it was once known that so much wealth was to be had in these hitherto uncultivated regions, there began very soon to resort thither abundance of adventurers of all countries and of all characters, when we say of all countries, we mean *Spaniards* as well as *Portuguese*, free Negroes, Mulattoes, and all the different mixtures that are to be met with in *Brazil*, down to the *Caribbos*, who are the offspring of *Brazilian* savages, by Negro women; and by different characters, we mean monks as well as laymen, soldiers, mechanics, broken planters, and in short, all that sort of men who are ready to go any where, or to do any thing to get a living. As these were quite a different race from those of the new colony before-mentioned, it is not to be supposed that they could dwell together, more especially as the former were the quietest and most simple, the latter the most riotous and turbulent people in the world.

These adventurers, therefore, took care to look out for a new settlement, and they found one of the properest places in the world for their reception, at no great distance. This was the thick and vast forest of *Parnabaccaba*, which overspread all the mountains at the back of this captainship, and in which hitherto none but wild beasts took up their dwelling. They soon cleared a part of this wilderness for their habitation, in which they established not only a new town, which they called *San-Paulo*, but a new republic also, in which they lived after the manner they liked best. At first this was over-looked, because the country was judged of no great value, and the adjacent captainships were very well pleased to be rid of those sort of folk who resorted thither. In the space, however, of a very few years they grew too strong to be dealt with; for receiving as they did all sorts of people, they quickly increased from two or three hundred to as many thousand men; and being a bold, hardy, enterprising, and daring crew, the governors knew not how to deal with them. In the first place they took care to fortify the avenues to their territory, which were naturally strong; and they seldom ventured abroad but in bodies of eighty or one hundred men; and in such parties they frequently traversed the whole extent of *Brazil*. These were the people who first discovered and wrought the gold mines, which must be excessively rich, since they were able to obtain vast quantities of metal, without any of those assistances which the *Spaniards* have in their settlements in *Cbili*. As this required, however, a great number of hands, they seized upon all the straggling *Indians* and Negroes they could meet with, and compelled them to undergo such fatigues as they thought proper. This new and extraordinary Commonwealth was denominated, from the place of their denomination, *Paulists*, and they would not suffer any of the *Portuguese* officers to enter their territories; yet they acknowledged the sovereignty of the crown of *Portugal*, and paid regularly what they said was the fifth of the gold they

(1) *Voyages de Cheval, de Beaumont.*

obtained,

In great em-
barraſſment on
the death of his
catholic majeſty
Charles II.

AT *Madrid* a point of ceremony occasioned the *Portuguese* envoy to decline going to court; ^a and tho' the order which had occasioned this difference was revoked, that minister refused to appear there till he had received satisfaction. In the mean time, his catholic majesty died on the first of *November*, the news of which occasioned great concern at the court of *Lisbon*.

A. D. 1700.

The king had indeed an army on foot, and some of his frontier places were garrisoned; but he found no respect paid to his claim, and he was in no condition to enforce it. He knew that whether a prince of the house of *Austria*, or that of *Bourbon*, succeeded *Charles* the second, he would become at the same time heir to *Philip* the second, who had possessed *Portugal*, and he could not help foreseeing the consequences ^a. The prospect did not at all clear on the accession of the duke of *Anjou*: but, on the contrary, *Philip* the fifth, either to please the *Spaniards*, or from some other motive, was said to have assumed the arms of *Portugal*, ^b which at *Lisbon* was immediately understood to be a direct violation of the treaty subsisting between the two crowns; so that with all his prudence, and all his precaution, the king found himself every day more and more embarrassed, more especially when he saw *Philip* take possession of the whole *Spanish* monarchy, without opposition ^b.

Concludes, un-
der these cir-
cumstances, a
treaty with
France and
Spain.

THESE perplexities were not a little increased by the information the king received from *Pacheco*, his envoy to the States General, who informed him of a treaty between *France* and *Spain*, by which the former engaged to enable the latter to conquer *Portugal*, which was to be an equivalent for the *Low Countries* that were in that case to be at the disposition of *France*. Upon this, overtures were made to the allies, and with them a declaration, that in case they were not accepted, his *Portuguese* majesty would find himself under a necessity of ^c closing with the two crowns; and accordingly such a treaty was soon afterwards set on foot ^c.

In the month of *June* an alliance was concluded between *Spain* and *Portugal*, by which king *Philip* renewed the treaty between the two crowns particularly those made by *Don Sebastian* and with the late *Don Alonso* the sixth: promised full satisfaction to the *Portuguese* company, which had been established for supplying the *Spanish* settlements with negroes, which was accordingly given by a separate treaty, concluded about the same time. *Philip* likewise renounced all his pretensions to the island of *St. Gabriel*, and promised that upon any scarcity of provision in *Portugal*, he would permit the sending corn thither from any part of his dominions. On the other side, *Don Pedro* guaranteed the testament of *Charles* the second, declared himself an enemy to such as should make war on *Philip* on the score of that succession, and both ^d kings reciprocally undertook not to give shelter to rebels or criminals that fled from the justice of either state. His most christian majesty became the guaranty of this treaty ^d. The true design of *Don Pedro* in making it, was to establish a neutrality for the present, and to be entitled to as good or better terms in case he was either inclined or obliged to change sides. Upon the first news of the death of *James* the second of *Great-Britain*, the court of *Portugal* went into mourning, which was to avoid a notification in form; and, therefore, when the *French* ambassador pressed him to follow his master's example, in respect to the succession in that kingdom, he refused to hear of it upon any terms. In pursuance of the treaty before mentioned, and upon the approach of the *English* fleet, the king ordered the duke *de Cadaval* to assemble forces for the security of the coasts, while the king himself went to *Salvaterra*, in order to avoid the persecution to which he was exposed from the memorials of the Im- ^e perial and *French* ministers, count *Waldstein* and the president *Rouille* ^e.

1701.

But finds him-
self obliged to
take new mea-
sures, and de-
clares a neu-
trality.

In *America* his majesty of *Portugal* took care to avail himself of the concessions made him by the *French*, who, upon his demolishing two or three little ports of no consequence, admitted his right to both sides of the river of *Amazons*, and quitted their own pretensions to the island of *Marañon*; for by this time, the importance of his friendship was so well understood at *Versailles* and *Madrid*, that whatever he insisted upon was immediately complied with ^f. This in some measure consoled him for the very different usage he had met with in the former part of his reign. Sir *Stafford Fairbone*, with an *English* fleet

^a Memoires de la Torre, tom. ii. p. 133. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, BURNET'S History of his own Times, COLEBATCH'S Memoirs, part ii. p. 52. ^b Mercure Historique & Politique, QUINCY Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. BURNET'S History of his own Times. ^c Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire du xviii Siecle, par Monsieur DE LAMBERTI, tom. i. p. 416. ^d Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. viii. p. i. p. 31. ^e Mercure Historique & Politique, QUINCY Histoire militaire de Louis XIV. Letters Historiques. ^f Mercure Historique & Politique.

obtained, which in the year 1691, amounted to one thousand marks, or eight thousand ounces; which shews that at that time they drew annually from the rivers and mountains in their possession forty thousand ounces of gold. They took care, however, every time they paid the tribute, to declare, they did it freely and of their own accord, out of respect to the crown of *Portugal*, and not from any sort of fear or sense of obli-

gation (2). These people in process of time, notwithstanding, were brought to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the crown of *Portugal*, chiefly thro' their desire to farm and work other rich mines that were discovered without the extent of their territory; but the town of *St. Paul* is, notwithstanding, regarded as the capital of the mines, and a strong garrison is maintained in it for their security (3).

a being upon his coast, the king demanded a maritime force from *France*, capable of affording him security; and the ambassador of that crown having fairly told him that the thing was impossible, Don *Pedro* replied, he must then have recourse to a neutrality, and ordered his minister at *Madrid* to make the like declaration. To which cardinal *Portocarrero* answered, "That nothing better was to be expected from the rebel duke of *Bragança*." This angry speech, and the *Spanish* minister's giving the king a hint at *Lisbon* that he must chuse his side, for that a neutrality would never be admitted, left him much more at liberty, inasmuch that he received the prince of *Hesse-Darmstadt* with much civility, and the admirante of *Ca-* A. D. 1703.
 file with all possible respect, which events were in the nature of signals that he would take the *Spanish* minister's advice, and make choice of his party sooner than those who gave him that hint expected. In the mean time malcontents of all ranks fled from *Spain* into *Portugal*, and carried with them large sums of money, together with jewels and plate to an immense value ⁸. The first of many advantages accruing to the court of *Lisbon* by these disturbances in *Spain*.

As affairs advanced with his new friends, the king found it requisite to send an ambaf- Concludes a
 fador to the court of *Vienna*, and accordingly fixed upon the marquis of *Govea*, who lost treaty with
 no time in setting out for that court. New levies being made, some magazines raised on the the allies.
 frontiers, and the artillery ordered thither that had been removed to the coast, the *Spanish* minister began to take umbrage: and having demanded an audience, talked to the king in a very high stile. To which Don *Pedro* answered calmly, "That his own behaviour was the
 c "cause of these measures, since it plainly betrayed an alteration in his master's sentiments, "against which it was but natural for him to secure himself in the best way he could." By degrees the treaty, that had been long upon the carpet, was at length brought to bear, and was actually concluded and signed on the sixteenth of *May*, by the duke *de Cadaval*, the marquis *de Alegrette*, the count *de Alvor*, Don *Roquo Montero Paim*, and Don *Josepho de Faria*: on the part of his imperial majesty, by the count *de Waldestein*: on the behalf of the queen of *Great-Britain*, by Mr. *Metbuen*: and on the part of the states-general of the United Provinces, by the sieur *Schonenburgh* ^b. By this treaty the emperor declared the archduke *Charles* king of *Spain*, and his majesty of *Portugal* agreed to acknowledge him as such, and to bring into the field of his own troops twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse: his Imperial
 d majesty was to take thirteen thousand *Portuguese* troops into his pay, at the rate of a million pieces of eight a year. Other subsidies were likewise stipulated; and the sending a maritime force sufficient to protect the coasts of *Portugal*, by a separate article, which was to be kept secret. The archduke engaged, in quality of king of *Spain*, to yield to his majesty of *Portugal*, in perpetuity, the towns of *Badajoz*, *Alcantara*, *Albuquerque*, and *Valenza* in *Estremadura*; as also *Bayonne*, *Vigo*, *Tuy*, and *Gardia*, in *Galicia*. By another separate article, he stipulates likewise to renounce all pretensions to the countries in dispute on the *Rio de la Plata* ¹. As Don *Pedro* was not obliged to declare till the new king of *Spain* was actually arrived in *Portugal*, the treaty was not made public: however, the report of it was so strong, that *Lewis* the fourteenth sent a new minister to *Lisbon*; who in an audience he had of Don
 e *Pedro*, told him that his master advised him, not only out of friendship but out of compassion, not to engage in leagues with distant and weak allies, who in his distress might be unwilling, or if not, would be certainly unable to assist him. In answer, his majesty assured him, that he had a true sense of his master's friendship, and hoped he should never stand in need of his compassion. At the same time, to shew how much he was in earnest, he ordered every peasant in his dominions, who had two sons, to register one of them for his service, and forbid the holy office to disturb, on the score of his religion, any officer or soldier in the service of his allies ^k.

ONE great motive to the king's concluding this alliance ceased, almost as soon as it was The war
 made. It had been agreed, that king *Charles* the third should espouse the infanta Donna declared, and
 f *Theresa*; but she died at *Lisbon* on the fourteenth of *February*, just turned of eight years of prosecuted with
 age. Soon after arrived king *Charles* on board a noble fleet of the allies, attended by a very little suc-
 cess.
 great number of transports, with near ten thousand men on board, and was received with all possible demonstrations of affection and esteem by his *Portuguese* majesty. The *French* minister affected to declare in public, that he would leave the kingdom as soon as the archduke arrived: which it is probable he would have done; but Don *Pedro*, to wipe out one article in the long account before-mentioned, sent him orders to quit *Portugal* in twenty-four hours ¹. His majesty quickly published his motives for declaring war; in which

⁸ BURNET'S History of his own Times, *Mercure Historique & Politique*.
 a l'Histoire du xviii Siecle, par Monsieur LAMBERTI, *Mercure Historique & Politique*, BURNET'S History of his own Times.

^k *Mercure Historique & Politique*.
 c *Mercure Historique & Politique*.

^b Corps Universel Diplomatique pour servir.

¹ BURNET'S History of his own Times, *Mercure Historique & Politique*.

are deduced a long train of insults, some of which have been before-mentioned. King *Philip* a published his manifesto also; and, which was more to the purpose, was first in the field with a good army: having the duke of *Berwick* under him, he took eight or ten places, and amongst them *Castel-Branco*, where the soldiers found a great quantity of stores, and the tents of the two kings: at the same time the duke of *Berwick* surprised, and defeated the corps of troops commanded by baron *Fagel* m. To balance these losses the marquis *das Minas*, at the head of a *Portuguese* army entered *Castile*, defeated Don *Pedro Ronquillo*, and took some small places. The autumn campaign was not more favourable than that of the summer: the two kings took the field, having received a reinforcement from *England*; but meeting with some disappointments, returned very soon to *Lisbon*. Don *Pedro* was no sooner there than he wrote to queen *Anne* to recal the duke of *Schomberg*, who by pressing him continually for his father's arrears, was become very disagreeable. The duke was equally weary of his command, having predicted all the misfortunes of the campaign, though he had not authority enough to hinder them. The queen complied with both their desires, and sent him a successor. As for baron *Fagel* he maintained himself in the king's good graces, notwithstanding his misfortune; but then he differed with his prime minister the duke of *Cadaval*, whom he held to be no great friend to the war, and perhaps in that he was not mistaken: he also fell out with the marquis *de Ruigny*, or, as we stile him, lord *Galway*, whom the queen had sent to succeed the duke of *Schomberg*, and not being successful in this dispute, discovered strong marks of discontent. These unlucky jealousies and misunderstandings were fatal to the service; and the *Portuguese* ministers were so intent on making the most of the subsidies and succours that were sent from *England*, that, if the troops had not been relieved by the fleet under the command of Sir *George Rooke*, they might have suffered more through want of provisions, than from the superiority of the enemy; which in the first campaign was sufficiently felt, and would have been more so if the *Spanish* generals had not done all in their power to cross the duke of *Berwick* n. The admirante of *Castile* had also his share of vexation; so that the year ended with complaints on all sides, and the dismantling of *Portalegre*, and several other places in *Portugal*, which the *Spaniards* demolished before their retreat.

A. D. 1704.

The king declares the queen dowager of England regent.

At the very opening of the year the king was attacked with a very dangerous swelling in the throat, attended with such violent symptoms, that he immediately made his will, and appointed the queen dowager of *England* regent o. The general of the jesuits taking this opportunity to command the king's confessor, who was of his order, to quit his employment, the king sent him word, that, if he insisted upon it, himself and the rest of his order should quit the kingdom. He had, not long after, a return of his distemper, which obliged him to leave the reins of government in the hands of his sister; but as soon as he found himself in any condition to use exercise, he applied himself to military affairs, and quickening the motions of his troops, so that he might have them early in the field, and in this he met with all the success he could desire. Baron *Fagel*, who commanded the *Dutch* troops in chief had acquired the confidence of this monarch, and of king *Charles*. It was proposed to open the campaign with the siege of *Badajoz*, which he disliked, because it was a large well fortified place, and he apprehended the army too small to invest it: he added, that the siege would be of a considerable length; which might give the *Spaniards* time to attempt its relief, and he was unwilling to risk a disappointment. Besides, he thought the end of the war ought to regulate the progress of it, and as that was the setting king *Charles* upon the throne, he was for penetrating directly into *Castile*. His sentiments were followed, and the campaign opened by the siege of *Valenza de Alcantara*, which was taken p. *Alburquerque* was next reduced; but when, in pursuance of this project, *Alcantara* should have been attacked, the proposal was rejected; and it was carried in the council of war to retire into quarters of refreshment. Before the army reparated there was another great council held, at which the admirante of *Castile* assisted, in order to determine the operations of the fleet and army of the allies, with whom king *Charles* was to go in person: he was for alarming the coasts of *Spain* during the summer, and return at the season for action to reduce St. *Lucar*, in order to fix the seat of war in *Andalusia*, rather than in *Catalonia*. In this he was supported by the *English* and *Dutch* generals; but in his return from the camp to *Lisbon*, he died of an apoplexy q. Baron *Fagel* came to court in the beginning of *July*, where he found the operations of the confederate fleet, and of the *Portuguese* army in the autumn regulated without his concurrence. The siege of *Badajoz* was resolved on, and he was prevailed upon by the king of *Portugal* to assist at it, though against

m QUINCY Histoire militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires, Historiques, & Chronologiques, Memoires par LAMBERTI. n Mercure Historique & Politique, Memoires par LAMBERTI, Memoires de LA TORRE, BURNET's History of his own Times. o Mercure Historique & Politique. p QUINCY Histoire militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de LA TORRE. q Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, BURNET's History of his own Times, Mercure Historique & Politique.

- a. his opinion. When he came before it, he advised destroying the *Spanish* magazines as far as *Merida*, previous to the siege; but that was postponed: when the army of the two crowns took post near the place, he was for fighting; but that was rejected. In the course of the siege a bomb from the castle blew up one of the principal magazines in the camp. Lord *Galway* and baron *Fagel* repairing to the place to remedy the disorder this accident had occasioned, the former lost his right arm by a cannon shot; after which, through the negligence of the *Portuguese*, some posts were surprised, and the baron was forced to raise the siege. Upon this, and in consequence of leave obtained from the states, he returned to *Holland*, having much the same opinion of the court he left as the earl of *Peterborough*, who is said to have written to the queen, that they had but one friend in the council (meaning the king) and he had not the greatest weight. About this time the queen dowager of *England* resigned the regency in great discontent, on account of the king's cancelling an order of her's to the Pope's nuncio to leave the court; and it is thought this went so near her heart as to be in some measure the occasion of her death, which happened on the last day of the year, in the sixty-eighth of her age. She left all the immense wealth she had saved to the king her brother, to the no small disappointment of the priests.

A. D. 1705.

- By the great attention of the king *Don Pedro*, the troops were in a condition to be in *Madrid* taken very early: the army was commanded by the marquis *das Minas* and lord *Galway*. The former was for besieging *Badajoz*, because it was a place of great consequence to *Portugal*, and which they were to keep by treaty: the latter was for besieging *Alcantara*, for the reasons which had been before given by baron *Fagel*. The matter being left to the king, he sent positive orders to attack *Alcantara*, preferring the interest of the common cause to that of his own. The place was strong, and had a good garrison; yet it was quickly taken. The *Spanish* writers will have it that there was money in the case; but that seems to be improbable, as the governor twice refused the terms that were offered him. Some other places of less consequence submitted upon the approach of the allies, who advanced as far as *Almaraz*, and lord *Galway* was for proceeding directly to *Madrid*, as the forces under the duke of *Berwick* were by no means able to oppose them. The *Portuguese* generals were of another opinion, and they prevailed. The city of *Barcelona* was at this time besieged by king *Philip*, and his competitor in it. The *Portuguese* believed it would be taken, and if it was, their communication with *Portugal*, upon their advancing into *Castile*, might be easily intercepted; and therefore they proposed besieging *Ciudad Rodrigo*, a place of some importance in itself, and of great consequence to them. Lord *Galway* procured the king's orders in favour of his project; but they came too late to prevent a siege: the place surrendered on the twenty-sixth of *May*; and by this time, they had an account that the siege of *Barcelona* was raised, and the concerns of king *Philip* in the utmost confusion. Lord *Galway* pressed them to resume his scheme; but in vain; they said there were great hazards to be run and the heat was insupportable; but upon the arrival of the king's positive orders, it was agreed to. As soon as they began to move, courier after courier was sent to hasten the march of king *Charles* from *Barcelona*, and to give him the more time they moved but slowly; so that it was the twenty-sixth of the month before they arrived there; but then indeed they made themselves masters of *Salamanca* and *Toledo* in the way. However, king *Charles* was so little in haste, on account, as some say, of the want of a magnificent equipage, or as others with more probability assert, from the desire of being invited thither by some grandees of *Castile*, for fear he should seem to be too much obliged to the *English* and *Portuguese*, that at length it became impracticable. King *Philip* having joined the duke of *Berwick*, dislodged the *Portuguese*, who in their retreat experienced some of the hardships they had foreseen. Here the single opportunity was lost of placing king *Charles* upon the throne, since if he had arrived in time at *Madrid*, the seat of war must have been transferred into *Navarre*. As it was managed, the *Portuguese* sustained some loss in their retreat; while in their absence the marquis *de Bay* had made an irruption upon their frontiers and had recovered *Alcantara* by scalade. Lord *Galway* was extremely blamed here, and he in his apology laid a great load upon the marquis *das Minas*: notwithstanding that, all things considered, neither of them was much to blame. At their return into *Portugal* the army went into winter quarters and the king gave out commissions for levying an additional corps of eleven thousand men, as being fully determined to carry on the war with greater vigour than ever. While he was occupied with these thoughts he retired to *Alcantara*, which is the *Versailles* of *Portugal*, and at a very small distance from *Lisbon*, he caught cold by sleeping in the open air after having warmed himself with exercise. This happened on the fourth of *December*, and he thought himself much better the next day; on the sixth, however, he was attacked by a

A. D. 1706.

^a BURNET'S History of his own Times, Memoires par LAMBERTI, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques.

^b Mercure Historique & Politique.

^c History of Europe for the Year 1705, Mercure Historique & Politique.

^d QUINCY Histoire militaire de Louis XIV. BURNET'S History of his own Times, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques.

^e Memoires par LAMBERTI, BURNET'S History of his own Times, Mercure Historique & Politique.

^f Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Mercure Historique & Politique.

lethargy,

lethargy, and on the ninth about eleven in the morning he breathed his last, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, when he had held the administration thirty-seven, and the kingdom twenty-three years ^r. He died at a very critical point of time both for his subjects and for his allies, and was very justly regretted. He understood the true interest of *Portugal* thoroughly, and pursued it steadily (D).

DON

^r History of Europe for the Year 1706, BURNET's History of his own Times, Mercure Historique & Politique, BOYER's History of the Reign of Queen Anne.

(D) Don *Pedro* the second was born on the 26th of April, 1648, at *Lisbon* (4). In his person he was above the ordinary size in point of stature and bulk, of a very serene, and towards the close of his life, grave aspect, but not accompanied with any thing of severity or haughtiness, for his character was in nothing more conspicuous than in his modesty. He was active, vigorous, loved manly diversions, and excelled in them most of his subjects. In respect to parts, his apprehension was quick, and his judgment solid; very sensible and sedate, which, however, towards the end of his life, degenerated into melancholy. So temperate in his diet, that he eat commonly alone, sitting upon a piece of cork on the floor, attended by one servant, never drinking wine himself, or suffering any to approach him that did. In his religion, zealous, and very sincere, as is evident from his distributing large sums in charity, with all the secrecy he was able. He spoke *Spanish* very well, and his own language incomparably. His coming young into business, and his constant attention to it, supplied the defect in his education, and qualified him so well for the transactions of the cabinet, that foreign ministers found it easier to deal with his ministers than with himself; for though he treated them with great sweetness, as well as perfect civility, yet when he felt he had the better of an argument, he would push it to the utmost, and render this victory complete (5). The duke *de Giovinazzo* was almost the only one too hard for him: but he vanquished like the *Tartars*, by flying; for having confessed the truth of all that the king suggested, he desired that the treaty might not be definitive, but provisional, for the sake of the *Spanish* ministers, and his own, who he said durst not give up the point, though ever so just; and that his majesty's rights, being so very clear, could suffer nothing by being left to such a discussion. His want of learning, however, exposed him to two inconveniences: the first was that in the evenings, and when he could not have recourse to exercise, he amused himself with inferior company, and listened to all the secret history of *Lisbon*. The other was a greater evil; he indulged himself in great liberties with the sex, and his mistresses were, generally speaking, mean persons. These irregularities weakened alike his mind and his body, and brought upon him diseases from which his temperance and exercise would otherwise have defended him (6). Through the course of his reign, the welfare of his subjects was the invariable object of his government: and if the affairs of *Portugal* had been retrieveable, there is no sort of doubt they had been retrieved. In point of justice he was inflexible, without cruelty; he punished for the sake of example, and not for resentment; and which was no easy thing to do, he checked the too great power of the nobility, and put an end to the insolence of the people; he raised the value of money, but he recoined it when half clipped away, and took the loss upon himself; he studied in all transactions with foreign powers to promote the interest of the *Portuguese* commerce; and in his regulations at home he aimed at augmenting the number, and enlarging the immunities of his subjects, in which, if he was not very fortunate, it was by no means his fault;

he entered into the general alliance with great prudence and spirit; he was well acquainted with the genius of *Lewis* the fourteenth; he was nettled at the usage he met with from him, and he made him feel the weight of that power in conjunction, for which in its separate capacity so little consideration had been shewn. It is true he treated with both *Philip* and *Charles* as monarchs of *Spain*; and, perhaps, it may be true that he made the treaties concluded with one of use to him when he negotiated with the other, in which, if he cannot be totally excused, we may at least venture to assert, on his behalf, that he treated other princes as other princes treated him (7). He was a sincere ally to *Charles* the third; and approved the advice given him by the admiral of *Castile*, which was to have transferred the seat of the *Spanish* war into *Andalusia* rather than *Catalonia*, which in the end appeared plainly to be the best advice, though it did not appear so till it was too late (8). In reference to his children, he had by his first wife, the infanta *Isabella Maria Louisa Josepha*, born January the 6th, 1669, and who died unmarried October the 21st, 1690. By his second queen he had Don *Juan*, prince of *Brazil*, who died in the seventh year of his age; Don *Juan*, who succeeded him; the infant Don *Antonio Francisco*, born May the 15th, 1695; Don *Manuel*, born August the 3d, 1697; the infanta Donna *Theresa Josepha*, born February the 8th, 1696, and who died when just turned of eight years old, after being promised in marriage to *Charles* the third of *Spain*; Donna *Frances Xavier*, born January the 30th, 1699, and who died at *Lisbon* July the 15th, 1736, unmarried. He had besides many natural children; but of these only one daughter and two sons were acknowledged. The former, Donna *Louisa*, married in 1695 Don *Lewis Ambrose de Mellos* duke of *Cadaval*; and after his decease in 1702, she espoused Don *Diego de Mello*, duke of *Cadaval*; his half brother, and died herself, without issue by either marriage, December the 23d, 1732. Don *Michael*, born October the 15th, 1669, espoused in 1715 Donna *Louisa Antonietta Casimira de Nassau y Soufa*; and upon the birth of his eldest son, Don *Pedro*, in 1718, she was created dutchess of *Lafoens*. Don *Joseph*, who was the king's other natural son, going with his brother before mentioned to hunt on the other side the *Tayo*, and returning in the afternoon of January the 13th, 1724, the boat was overfet within less than a mile of the shore, by which Don *Michael* unfortunately perished, and Don *Joseph* was with great difficulty saved. He was sixteen years afterwards promoted to the primacy of *Braga*. Don *Pedro*, duke of *Lafoens*, had the title of highness given him, by decree of the supreme tribunal, in 1722, and when he was of age succeeded his father in all the commanderies, and other posts of honour and profit, which he had possessed (9). The death of this great monarch, Don *Pedro*, was occasioned by his catching cold at his palace in the village of *Alcantara*, scarce a mile from *Lisbon*, which he neglected till it degenerated into a kind of lethargy, from which he was a little relieved by bleeding in the foot; but it speedily returned, and proved mortal before those who were about him apprehended him to be in danger (1). It was at a very critical conjuncture for the allies, to whom this

(4) *Memoires de Portugal*, *Mercure Historique & Politique* l'ann. 1707.

(6) *Lettres Historiques*.

Memoires de Lamberti.

(7) *Memoires de Feuquieres*, tom. i. p. 46.

(9) *Memoires de Portugal*, *Mercure Historique & Politique*, *Memoires de Lamberti*.

(1) *Mercure Historique & Politique*.

- a Don Juan the fifth was turned of somewhat more than seventeen when he succeeded his father, and as he delayed his proclamation till the first day of the new year, this gave some countenance to a rumour, that the *French* party were inclined to set up Don *Francisco*, his second brother, and to appoint a certain grandee regent during his minority. After this ceremony was over, the new king gave the strongest assurances to the ministers of the maritime powers, that he would steadily adhere to his father's engagements; and would neglect nothing that appeared to him necessary to carry on the war with vigour^z. These promises were so well executed, that lord *Galway* and the marquis *das Minas* actually penetrated into *Castile*, and even arrived without much opposition on the frontiers of the kingdom of *Valencia*, and this so early as the beginning of *April*. King *Charles* came to the army, and great hopes were entertained of effecting this campaign what had been proposed in the last. Lord *Galway* was for acting offensively, and his sentiment prevailing against that of the king, and those in whom he most confided, that monarch thought fit to retire from the army, taking with him a regiment of dragoons, and, as some say, another of foot^a. The army of the allies consisted of about sixteen thousand men, with which the marquis *das Minas* and lord *Galway* destroyed several of the enemy's magazines, and at last laid siege to *Valena*. The duke of *Berwick* marched with the army of the two crowns to its relief, and being much superior to the allies in cavalry, advanced through the plain of *Almanza* to give them battle. Upon this lord *Galway* prevailed upon the generals of the allies to quit the siege of *Valena*, and march on the twenty-fourth of *April* early in the morning to attack the enemy, tho' it is on all hands agreed, that they had no distinct intelligence of their force. The misfortune of that day is too well known, and has been in another place too largely insisted upon to be repeated here. The blame was thrown by the *English* general upon the *Portuguese*, and upon the count of *Barcelona*. The marquis *das Minas*, who fought very gallantly himself, was wounded, and is said to have had his mistress killed by his side in the habit of an *Amazon*, ascribed the loss of the battle to fighting in a plain, their being borne down by the *Spanish* horse, and the troops having lost their spirit and strength by the fatigue of a long march. It must be allowed, that the *Portuguese* escaped better than their allies, and that the marquis *das Minas* shewed great conduct in his retreat. This misfortune, however, exposed the frontiers not a little; so that the marquis *de Bay*, who commanded king *Philip's* forces, pretended to have levied contributions almost to the gates of *Lisbon*. The *Castilians* also, before the end of the year, recovered *Ciudad Rodrigo*, after a short siege. Notwithstanding all which disadvantages, the *Portuguese* minister at *London* presented a memorial; in which he declared, that his master did not look upon these mischiefs as without remedy: that he remained still firmly attached to the common cause, would contribute to the utmost in its support, as being firmly persuaded, that the independency of his own crown, and the commerce of *Great Britain*, could never be safe while the duke of *Anjou* remained in *Spain*^b. This memorial answered the end proposed, and procured that crown all the assistance that could be given.

John V's accession to the throne of Portugal.

- c THERE had been in the life-time of his father an intention of marrying the prince of *Brazil* to an archduchess, and his majesty had declared more than once his resolution to execute that engagement; which was highly acceptable to the allies. The count *de Villa-Major* was named in the spring to go to the court of *Vienna* to demand this princess. He took the *Hague* in his way, in order to solicit the payment of the subsidies due to his master; of which he obtained a very round sum, but which hardly defrayed the expence he was at in equipping a train of one hundred and fifty persons that were to attend him to *Vienna*. His appearance at that court struck every body with amazement: he was treated with all possible respect: the archduchess *Mary Anne*, second daughter of the emperor *Leopold*, was granted to his master, and the marriage soon after celebrated, in which the emperor himself was proxy^c. Lord *Galway* returning from *Catalonia* into *Portugal*, found there two commissions from the

The young king marries an archduchess, who is carried to Portugal by an English fleet.

^z BURNET'S History of his own Times, Mercure Historique & Politique. regne de Louis XIV. BURNET, Mercure Historique & Politique, LAMBERTI. BURNET'S History of his own Times, Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire, du xviii Siecle, par Monsieur DE LAMBERTI, tom. iv. p. 585, 586, 587.

^a LIMIERS, Histoire du

^b QUINCY, LIMIERS,

^c History of Europe for 1708.

monarch had intimated the expediency of making a good peace in the midst and at the height of their victories; for he began to perceive whatever glory, whatever conquests might be acquired, by continuing the war in *Spain*, it was not like to end in the restitution of that monarchy to the house of *Austria*. There is no doubt that if the peace had been then made, when his troops had but just quitted *Madrid*, he would have found his account in it, in a very conspicuous degree, both as to

security and advantage (2). As it was, he left all to the management of a very young prince, whom the allies, by the address of their ministers, and by his marriage, thought to gain entirely to themselves, as in reality they did for some years, till, by overstraining the cord of their connections (3), they had forced him to resume Don *Pedro's* maxim, that a prince may be very faithful to his allies, without preferring their interest to his own.

(2) Memoires de Lamberti.

(3) See the Transactions mentioned in this Section under 1710 and 1711.

queen his mistress; the one appointing him general and commander in chief of all her forces, and the other ambassador extraordinary to his majesty of *Portugal*^d; but the situation of affairs in *Flanders* prevented the sending the succours intended to *Portugal* so early as had been designed; and therefore the summer and the autumn campaigns afforded nothing remarkable, except a singular regulation, that the peasants on both sides should be exempted from the miseries of war. The queen of *Portugal*, whose marriage had been celebrated the ninth of *July*, set out on the eleventh; and having been splendidly entertained in her passage by the king of *Prussia*, arrived on the seventh of *August* at *Wezel*, where she embarked on board the yachts of the states general, and arrived safe at the *Hague* on the nineteenth. She went from thence to *Rotterdam*, where she embarked on the eleventh of *September* on board an *English* squadron commanded by admiral *Baker*; but meeting with bad weather, and contrary winds, she did not arrive at *Portsmouth* till the fifth of *October*. She was complimented on the part of the queen by the duke of *Grafton*; and received and bestowed very rich presents. She embarked on board admiral *Byng*'s squadron on the eighteenth, arrived safely in the river of *Lisbon* on the twenty-sixth^e, and on the twenty-eighth the marriage was consummated. Soon after arrived the richest and the greatest fleet that ever came from the *Brazils*, consisting of one hundred sail, and having on board in diamonds, gold, sugar, and other rich commodities, a cargo valued at six millions sterling^f. Some attempts were made by the *French* party to withdraw the king from his engagements; but without success. On the contrary, he made all the requisite dispositions for having a flourishing army in the field, and for supplying his magazines, so as that the troops might be able to take the field early the next year, to repair the unavoidable inactivity in which they had spent this; and the new levies were made with all the success that could be desired. As the allies knew the great consequence of this to the common cause, their ministers complimented him highly on his firmness.

The campaign
proves unsuccessful.

As there had been some rumour of a convention to render more effectual the agreements for protecting the farmers and peasants, it gave some umbrage to the ministers of the allies, who could not divest themselves of an apprehension that it had the appearance of a neutrality. The *Portuguese* ministers answered, that it was a proposition that came from the enemy: that they were unwilling to be thought less humane, or attentive to their subjects interest; but that, after all, the convention was embarrassed with so many difficulties, that it was more than probable it would come to nothing. The earl of *Galway*, in quality of ambassador extraordinary, made a public entry into *Lisbon* with great magnificence; which highly pleased the court and the people^g. The king, however, was not very complaisant in providing, or suffering the earl to provide for all the *French* refugees he brought over. His majesty thought it very unequal that the private men of a battalion should be his subjects, and the officers strangers. However, so much care was taken, that the army was early in the field, and on the fourth of *May* the *Portuguese*, under the command of the marquis *de Fronteira*, encamped on one side of the *Caya*, the marquis *de Bay*, with the *Spanish* forces lying on the other: the latter were superior in horse, and the former in foot. The *Portuguese* writers say, that the earl of *Galway* was desirous to fight, in order to wipe out the memory of his misfortune at *Almanza*; but he asserted, that he opposed fighting. However, being insulted by the enemy, the allies passed the river on the seventh. The *Spanish* relations say, that the marquis *de Bay* permitted them to pass, and to form without any interruption: the reason is clear, there was a plain on the other side, which gave an opportunity for his cavalry to act. Both the right and the left wing of the allies were quickly beat, the *Spanish* horse pursuing them a full league. On the other hand the *Spanish* infantry behaved ill; that of the allies formed into a square battalion; but the marquis *de Fronteira* made a regular and noble retreat to *Campo Major*. The *English*, who brought up the rear, suffered much. The enemy took twenty-two field-pieces, and fourscore waggons, but there were no great consequences followed this action, only the earl of *Galway*, at his return to *Lisbon*, induced the king to change his sentiments, and to consent, that there should be a large proportion of foreign officers in the new regiments of horse and dragoons he was about to raise. In the autumn campaign the *Spaniards* besieged *Olivenza*; but were obliged to raise it with some loss. In the winter the king obtained a free gift from the clergy, enquired into the conduct of the campaign, and broke such of the officers of his cavalry who had behaved worst. But the discontent this occasioned was felt afterwards in many instances^h.

1709.

An unfortunate squabble
amongst

THERE happened in the winter of the preceding year a dispute on a point of ceremony, which was now revived, and of which it is necessary to give a full account: first, because it became in its consequences a thing of the last importance; and next, because it is so little known, that it will be a difficult thing to find any traces of it in any book written in our

^d BURNET'S History of his own Times, BOYER'S Life of Queen Anne.
Politique, Lettres Historiques, Memoires par LAMBERTI.
tory of Europe for 1709, Mercure Historique & Politique.
Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, LIMIER'S.

^e Mercure Historique & Politique.
^f Mercure Historique & Politique.
^g Hif-
^h QUINCY Histoire militaire de Louis XIV.

a language. The king Don *Pedro*, while he was regent, that is, upwards of thirty years before this time, had found it necessary to suppress what was called the franchises of foreign ministers; and he conducted his design with so much prudence and temper, that it occasioned no sort of complaint, neither had there been any dispute within this period of time. But now the bishop and prince of *Labach* being at *Lisbon* with the character of ambassador from his Imperial majesty; but *incognito*, as not having yet made his entry, which in this country is a point very essential, conceived it a great affront for officers of justice to pass by his house with their white rods in their hands, which are the ensigns of their office; and therefore sent a *Swiss*, who was his porter, to turn them out of the street; and upon their refusing to go back, he beat one of them severely. The king was no sooner informed of this, than the secretary of state wrote to the ambassador to let him know, that he must discharge his porter, or forbear coming to court. This affair was, however, at length terminated. But after it had slept some months, count *Stampa*, ambassador from king *Charles* the third, by the advice and instigation of the bishop, revived it, and more than once sent his servants to compel the officers of justice, and even judges who were passing by his door in their calashes, to go back, and return out of the street. The secretary of state wrote to him, that the king would not endure this; and that if he persisted in such notions, he must forbear coming to court. Upon this count *Stampa* demanded a conference; at which assisted the prelate who began this bustle, the prince *de Cienfuegos*, envoy from king *Charles*, the earl of *Galway* her *Britannic* majesty's minister, and monsieur *de Schonenberg*, minister from the states general, who made what they called a common cause of this, and declared their unanimous resolution, that no officer of justice should pass before their houses without dropping his white staff. The secretary of state represented to them, that while these franchises continued, there was no such thing as peace or justice in *Lisbon*, which induced the late king to suppress them: that the *Portuguese* ministers neither claimed nor enjoyed any such franchises at their respective courts: that this was no common cause as they pretended, since the Pope's nuncio, who had the first rank amongst foreign ministers, and the *Prussian* minister, who was the oldest then in *Portugal*, had publicly disclaimed any concern in this affair: that what they did was of their own heads, and without any instructions from their respective courts; and that this kind of proceeding was of such a nature, as might have very dangerous effects with regard to the common cause; for which reason he exhorted them not to carry things to extremities, or deceive themselves with notions of expedients, since the king was resolved to be the sole master in his capital, and would be obeyed. The ministers stuck by each other; the king ordered them to quit *Lisbon* in twenty-four hours, and at the same time ordered four regiments of horse into the city; and thereupon the ministers submitted till they received the orders of their respective courts in regard to this dispute: and their courts were too wise to revive it¹. This unluckly affair quite disconcerted things in *Portugal*: the king considered it in a strange light, and began to grow jealous of foreign officers and foreign troops, from an affair that began wildly, and ended meanly. The estates had also a private and particular grievance in respect to an imposition that had been laid upon salt at *St. Ubes*: on the other hand, the king of *Portugal* ordered the count *de Tarouca*, his ambassador at the *Hague*, to insist upon the payment of two years subsidies which were due to him. Their high mightinesses found it expedient to pay him one. We shall presently see what the consequences were of these misunderstandings. The count *de Villa-verde* commanded the army of *Portugal*, in the place of the marquis *de Fronteira*: the battalions were far from being complete; and the six new regiments that were to be in the queen of *Great Britain*'s pay, were not above half raised; so that during the summer campaign they acted on the defensive, which was prudent enough, considering that the marquis *de Bay* had an army equal to theirs in *Estremadura*, and there was besides a corps of ten thousand men in *Andalusia*². In the middle of *August* general *Stanhope* beat the troops of the two crowns at *Almenara*; on the twentieth they gained the great victory of *Saragossa*³; upon which expresses were dispatched from the army of king *Charles*, to press a junction with the army of the *Portuguese* at *Almaras*. The answer was, that having no magazines, such a march as this was impossible. It was then desired that a detachment of four or five thousand men might be sent, but this was refused for the same reason⁴. All this time king *Charles* was marching to *Madrid*, against his own will, and against the sentiments of count *Staremborg*. General *Stanhope*, whose measure this was, pressed the court of *Portugal* for the troops in the queen's pay. At last he demanded the *English* regiments; and the secretary of the embassy offered to furnish the expence, the earl of *Galway* being by this time recalled; but this was likewise refused. All that the *Portuguese* would do was besieging and taking a place or two of no great

ministers, attended with fatal consequences.

¹ Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire du xviii Siecle, par Monsieur DE LAMBERTI, tom. v. p. 179, Mercure Historique & Politique, moires par LAMBERTI. ² Mercure Historique & Politique, BURNET's History of his own Times, Memoires par LAMBERTI. ³ QUINCY Histoire militaire de Louis XIV. BURNET's History of his own Times, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Monsieur DE VOLTAIRE. ⁴ Mercure Historique & Politique.

consequence, to alarm and distract the enemy ; after which the army separated and went into winter quarters. To this conduct of the court of *Portugal* the ruin of king *Charles's* affairs is commonly ascribed ^a. In answer to this the *Portuguese* allege, that they had once before made themselves masters of *Madrid*, and suffered severely in their retreat ; that notwithstanding this they marched a second time into *Castile*, and smarted for it at *Almanza* ; that to have marched the whole army now, was to have left *Portugal* at mercy, since king *Philip's* troops in *Andalusia* might have wasted it at pleasure ; that to have sent a great detachment, instead of lessening, would have increased the difficulties of king *Charles*, who did not leave *Madrid* thro' want of force, but thro' want of food which it was not in their power to supply. As to the joint application of all the ministers of the courts, allies to the court of *Portugal*, upon this occasion, we have shewn how that came to have but little weight. The facts are fairly stated, and the reader will judge for himself. In the winter arrived the earl of *Portmore*, in quality of her *Britannic* majesty's minister and commander in chief ; and was received with all possible marks of kindness and respect ^o, agreeable to that particular regard which king *John* always expressed for this nation, and which it may be might have been improved more to our advantage than it was.

A. D. 1710.
The allies complain of the king's conduct, who makes heavier complaints in his turn.

IN the winter the king endeavoured to restore his forces, and declared his intention to act with fifteen thousand foot and five thousand horse in the spring : but at the same time complained of the difficulties he was under to fill his magazines with corn, and to provide horses, of which there was a great scarcity. In answer to this, the ministers of the maritime powers talked in a very high tone, which has very seldom any good effects on princes. His *Portuguese* majesty answered, that if he had not done what his allies expected, the fault lay in their expectations and not in him : that he had lost the best part of one army by marching it to *Madrid* at their request, at a vast expence, paying for every thing, not to disoblige the *Castilians*, who were supposed to be well affected to king *Charles*, whereas it proved otherwise ; that he lost a second army almost entirely in the campaign of *Almanza*, the remains of them having served in *Catalonia* ever since ; and that after this it was no great wonder that he should not be in a condition to act so vigorously as he and they could wish. It happened unluckily that the Imperial minister, on whose credit they had talked in this high strain, appeared about this time to be disturbed in his senses ^p. The count *de Villa-verde* acted offensively in the summer campaign ; took *Miranda* and some other places, and levied great contributions in the enemy's country. He afterwards passed the *Guadiana* and took *Zafra* ; but while he was thus employed, the marquis *de Bay* entered *Portugal*, and actually bombarded *Elvas*, which obliged the *Portuguese* army to return ; and upon this the *Spaniards* retired. In the mean time the *Portuguese* minister, count *Tarouca*, pressed the *Dutch* for the payment of several years subsidies, and made other complaints, which were but indifferently answered ; but to balance these, it was suggested to that minister, that they had some fears as to the sincerity of his master in regard to the common cause. These informations came from the duke of *Savoy*. The count acknowledged, that propositions had been made by an emissary of the marquis *de Bay* ; that an answer had been returned, importing, that *Portugal* would treat only in conjunction with her allies : that under pretence of not having received this answer, the marquis wrote a second letter ; upon which a copy of the former answer was sent him, and his emissary obliged to leave the country. It appeared afterwards there was no foundation for these suspicions ; for that on the one hand the *French* gave out that they had made a secret treaty with *Portugal*, to alarm the allies ; and on the other, had actually made propositions at *Lisbon*, in order to amuse the *Portuguese*, while they were attacking them in *America*. The autumn campaign produced little or nothing. The preceding year the *French* had made a rash attempt upon *Rio Janeiro*, and had been repulsed with great loss. This year they sent a strong squadron to revenge it, which they did to some purpose, and which had a terrible effect upon the affairs of *Portugal*. It happened unluckily, that, when the count *de Tarouca* complained that the states had not performed their engagements, in sending squadrons to protect the coasts of *Portugal*, he had received for answer, that if they had not sent squadrons to *Portugal*, they had however done what amounted to the same thing, by watching the *Dunkirk* squadron ; whereas it was this very squadron, under the command of *Gue Trouin*, that had done all this mischief at *Rio de Janeiro* ^q.

1711.
Military affairs go as untowardly this campaign as they went the last.

AT the opening of the ensuing year the affairs of *Portugal* were in a very perplexed situation ; their loss in *America* appeared to be greater than had been at first imagined ; and by the comparison of their own with the *French* accounts could not fall much short of a million sterling, exclusive of four men of war that had been burnt in the bay. To lessen the king's chagrin, and to put it in his power to take the necessary measures for protecting their commerce, the nobility and clergy made him considerable presents, in ready money and in plate. His majesty appeared to be extremely satisfied with these testimonies of duty and public spirit ;

^a History of Europe for 1710, BURNET.
par LAMBERTI, tom. vi. p. 575.
Mercure Historique & Politique.

^o Mercure Historique & Politique.
^q Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Monsieur DE VOLTAIRE, BURNET,

^p Memoires,

- a but remained still under great uneasiness from the conduct of his allies. He knew that some overtures had been made on the part of *France*, and he disapproved them. In the month of *March* the count *de Tarouca* presented a memorial of his master's demands, in which he insisted upon the restitution of the whole *Spanish* monarchy to the emperor *Charles*, as a measure requisite for the security of *Portugal*¹. Some apprehensions there were that the *French* would pay a third visit to *Rio de Janeiro*, which occasioned a warm application from a *Dutch* squadron, with little effect. He was likewise directed to insist upon the subsidies, and with great difficulty obtained bonds for the amount of one year, and which he discounted, as he had done those the year before, at ten *per cent.* loss. This supply was very acceptable at *Lisbon*; where, as the season of action approached, they found themselves under fresh difficulties; for the *French*
- b had a squadron upon their coasts under the command of the sieur *Coffart*, who gave out that he would force a passage up the river of *Lisbon*, while the marquis *de Bay* had a superior army upon their frontiers, and threatened to send a great body of horse to the very gates of *Lisbon*². The count *de Villa-verda* and the earl of *Portmore* were in the field, with an army so small that they could not hinder the *Spaniards* from making incursions, and raising contributions; and besides, the earl made no scruple of owning that he expected orders every day for embarking the *British* troops. It happened fortunately for this crown, that the heats were so violent that the armies were forced to go into quarters of refreshment sooner than usual; and the marquis *de Bay* receiving soon after orders to detach three thousand horse for *Catalonia*, the armies were brought more upon a level. In the autumn campaign, however, the marquis besieged *Campo*
- c *Major*, which was so well defended, and the count *de Villa-verda* took his measures so well, that towards the end of *October* the *Spaniards* were obliged to raise the siege. But to balance this small success, major-general *Pearce*, who commanded the *English* troops, separated from the *Portuguese*, and declared his intentions to embark. At the same time the *English* court refused to pay any longer the *Portuguese* troops in *Catalonia*; and the king of *Portugal*, finding himself pressed by his enemies and deserted by his allies, was constrained to negotiate a suspension of arms at the *Hague*, which was concluded and signed at *Utrecht* on the seventh of *November*, by the count *de Tarouca* and Don *Lewis d'Acunba* on one side, and by the marshal *d'Huxelles*, the abbe *de Polignac*, and Mr. *Mesnager*, on the other. The *Portuguese* troops in *Catalonia* had orders to separate from those of the other, and to march home by land. Towards
- d the close of the year the *Brazil* fleet arrived safe in the river of *Lisbon*, to the great joy of the whole nation, who had been very apprehensive of its being attacked by the *French* in its passage; and notwithstanding all their pressing instances in *Holland*, were not able to obtain any succours, not so much thro' any coldness, as thro' the inability of the states, who found their forces and their finances equally exhausted by the war. The birth of Don *Pedro*, prince of *Brazil*, served A. D. 1712. to console both the court and the people in the present perplexed state of their affairs; and the solemnity of his baptism was, according to the custom of the country, celebrated with the utmost magnificence, his Imperial majesty *Charles VI.* his *Portuguese* majesty's brother-in-law, and his own sister the infanta, being sponsors. This young prince died about two years after³.
- e It was generally understood at *Utrecht*, and at the *Hague*, that in the course of negotiations *Treaty of Portugal* would take the same steps with *England*. This judgment was sensibly formed, and *peace with* was verified in the event; and yet the king of *Portugal* was in sentiments directly opposite to *France*. those of the queen of *Great Britain*, and had expressed this in a letter to that queen. His plenipotentiaries also were men of abilities and spirit, incapable of becoming the creatures, or being made the dupes of *France*; and yet from their conduct at that time many were of another opinion. Whereas in reality they had no other method to take; for *Portugal* unsupported was by no means able to dispute with *Spain*, more especially when governed by a prince of the house of *Bourbon*, who had reduced all its kingdoms into so many provinces, and, under colour of necessity, had established a kind of military government. Don
- f *Juan* himself was by no means inclined to the *French* interest; but many of his nobility, and some of his ministers, who had married *French* women of quality, were entirely governed by their wives, which was so far from recommending them to favour, that at this very time several of them threatened to quit the court; but the king, by some compliances, prevented what at so critical a season might have been attended with various inconveniencies. The armies were still on the frontiers, and the *Spaniards* finding a favourable opportunity, surprised *Valenza de Alcantara*, which might have renewed the war, if the court of *Lisbon* had been in better circumstances; but, as things then stood, the king thought it adviseable to leave the dispute this had occasioned to be decided by the queen of *Great Britain*. The peace between *Por-*

¹ Memoires par LAMBERTI, Mercure Historique & Politique.
XIV. Mercure Historique & Politique, BURNET.
& Politique,.

² QUINCY Histoire militaire de Louis
: History of Europe for 1711. Mercure Historique

tugal and *France* was signed on the eleventh of *April* ^a, being the very same day it was signed with *Great Britain*. By this treaty the prisoners on both sides were to be set at liberty without ransom: whatever privileges or exemptions his *Portuguese* majesty granted to the *French* in his dominions, the *French* king was to grant the like to the *Portuguese*: the commerce between the two nations was to be put on the same foot as before the war: the *French* quitted all right and all pretensions to the countries lying about the *North Cape*, between the rivers of *Amazons*, and that of *Vincent Pynson*, acknowledging the crown of *Portugal* to have the sole property and sovereignty of the south as well as the north shores of the river of *Amazons*, annulling the treaty concluded with *Don Pedro* the second, and permitting his *Portuguese* majesty to restore those forts which that monarch had been obliged to demolish. It is very certain that the *Portuguese* were very well treated in this negotiation; but it is not easy to say how this was brought about. It was asserted by the *English* ministers, that they had insisted upon these terms: on the other hand, the plenipotentiaries of the crown of *France* openly declared, that they were the pure effects of his most christian majesty's generosity. Things, however, remained still open with respect to *Spain*, and great pretensions were formed by that court with regard to *Portugal*, which, it was intimated, ought to be settled, before any progress could be made in an affair of so great consequence as a definitive peace. *France* however promised her good offices, and the court of *Lisbon*, from a principle of œconomy, reduced their forces to the establishment upon which they stood before the war, and quartered them on their frontiers. At the latter end of the year arrived the fleet from *Brazil*, with a cargo valued at more than a million and a half sterling, and this, notwithstanding the king's duty at the mines had been stopped to indemnify the people for the loss sustained by the *French* depredations at *Rio Janeiro* ^c.

King of Portugal still perplexed.

THE perplexity of the cabinet at *Lisbon* increased daily, from the refractory dispositions of some in the *Brazils*, from a discontented humour that spread itself amongst the populace, and from some intrigues amongst the nobility. The king, who was a prince of much temper and moderation, dissembled his dislike to things that could not be amended, temporized with the house of *Bourbon*, and represented to his old allies how much it was their interest to draw him out of so unpleasant a situation; since if they abandoned *Portugal*, they had no means of giving check to that vast power which they had thrown into the hands of *Spain*. On the sixth of *June* the queen was happily delivered of the infant *Don Joseph*, the present king of *Portugal*; and the king immediately took this occasion to desire *Lewis* the fourteenth to be his sponsor, and named an ambassador to his court, and another who in due time was to repair to *Madrid*. All this time the peace seemed farther off than ever, the court of *Spain* insisting upon satisfaction for two ships, taken, as they affirmed, before war was declared, which they estimated at several millions: they declined any positive answer as to the demand of the restitution of the new colony which they had taken from the *Portuguese*, near *Buenos Ayres*; and they insisted, that the whole estate of the family of *Aveiro* should be restored to the duke *d'Arco*, who had married the eldest of that duke's daughters. To give weight to these claims, the court of *Madrid* augmented their forces on the frontiers, raising magazines, and gave out, that after the reduction of *Barcelona*, the troops in *Catalonia* should march into *Estremadura*. *Don Juan* persisted in the same steady behaviour; but at the same time, as his last resource, represented to *Lewis* the fourteenth, that this was not the way to maintain the quiet of *Europe*: that it was against his interest to delay the general peace; and that events were not in the power of the greatest captains, or the wisest politicians. The *French* court gave fair words; but it is uncertain what would have followed from them. However, two things fell out before the end of the year, which altered the face of things exceedingly; one was the death of queen *Anne*; within a week after which the lords justices signified to his majesty of *Portugal*, that they would oblige the crown of *Spain* to give a categorical answer, and if this was inconsistent with the original plan of peace, he might depend on speedy and effectual assistance ^e. The other was the arrival of a very rich fleet from *Brazil*, with the news, that all the ill humour in that country was dissipated by the discovery of a new mine, for working of which those who had been most dissatisfied now bid the highest. King *John* immediately gave orders for visiting his fortresses, erecting magazines, and levying men, as if he was satisfied the war would break out again, and this had the desired effect. The court of *Versailles* interposed its influence, and that of *Madrid* became more tractable every hour; so that there scarce remained a doubt the peace would be signed before the suspension of arms expired. ^f

1714.

Peace at length concluded with his catholic majesty at Utrecht.

IN this conduct, however, there was somewhat of artifice, as it was founded on an expectation that *Portugal* would recede in some of her pretensions, or at least would admit some of the claims insisted on by the court of *Madrid*. King *John* proving inflexible, *Lewis* the

^a Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. part i. p. 353, Acts & Memoires de le paix d'Utrecht.

^w Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. par Monsieur LAMBERTI. tom. viii. Mercure Historique & Politique, History of Europe for 1713.

^x BOYER's Life of Queen Anne, Histoire de la Vie & du Regne de Louis XIV. Mercure Historique & Politique, Memoires par LAMBERTI.

- a fourteenth declared to his minister, that he had employed his good offices with his grandson, without being able to prevail. A declaration of the same kind was made to the court of *Great Britain*. King *John* persisted in his steadiness : the *Spanish* plenipotentiary at the beginning of this year proposed to the *Portuguese* ministers at *Utrecht*, to adjust the treaty amongst themselves. When this was done, the court of *Versailles* was consulted ; and upon an answer coming from thence, a resolution was taken to sign it when the world least expected any such thing : but for some reasons it was thought proper this should be done very secretly, and without any of the ceremonies that usually attend the conclusion of acts of such high importance. The method taken was this ; the plenipotentiaries brought each a copy of the treaty with him, and, under pretence of taking a walk in the *Mall*, they met, and signed it
- b upon one of the benches on the sixth day of *February* ^y. There were present only five persons, the duke of *Ossuna*, the *Spanish* plenipotentiary, the count *de Tarouca*, and Don *Lewis d'Acunha*, the ministers of *Portugal*, Mr. *Zancorra*, secretary to the duke, and Mr. *de Lima*, who stood in the same capacity to the count and Don *Lewis*. This gentleman had the address in framing the treaty to name his own master first, and to satisfy the *Spanish* plenipotentiary that it was agreeable to the form ; in which it has been thought that he was a little too cunning for him. However, it established a precedent that *Portugal* will hardly depart from, and gave the hint to that expedient which was universally admitted at the conclusion of the last general peace. The reason of the secrecy observed in signing was the duke of *Ossuna's* having sent a courier to *Versailles*, to desire the solution of some difficulties, who returned a little after midnight with
- c a full approbation of the duke's conduct : so that the transaction was made public the very next day.

By this treaty *Portugal* was in all respects a gainer. It was agreed, that the limits of the two monarchies should be the same they were before the war, and in consequence of this his catholic majesty consented to restore the castle of *Noudar*, and its territory, the island of *Verdoejo*, and the territory and colony of *St. Sacrament*, renouncing for himself and his heirs all claim and pretensions to them, and annulling the provisional treaty of 1681 ; but with a reservation of a power of offering an equivalent for these places within eighteen months, which, if not accepted, the right was to be absolute in the king of *Portugal*. His catholic majesty also agreed to pay six hundred thousand crowns by three equal payments, to extinguish all demands

d in relation to the *Affiento* company. He also admitted the three ships belonging to *Buenos Ayres*, seized at the beginning of the war, to be good prizes. On the other hand, his *Portuguese* majesty undertook to restore *Albuquerque* and *Puebla* in the condition they then were, without demanding any thing for the additional fortifications, artillery, or military stores : he relinquished all the claims and pretensions arising from the *Affiento* company, renewed the concordat of Don *Sebastian* for the mutual delivering up of criminals, and the treaties between the two crowns of 1678 and 1701. This treaty was declared to be under the guaranty of *Great Britain*, and also of all such kings, princes, and republics, as within the space of six months should become and be accepted as guaranties by their majesties. The relation of this event brings us happily to a conclusion of this part of our work.

^y Corps Universel diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom viii. part i. p. 444. *Mercurie Historique & Politique*, Memoires par LAMBERTI, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Monsieur VOLTAIRE, History of Europe for 1714.

C H A P. III.

The History of NAVARRE.

S E C T. I.

Rise of this sovereignty, and the history of its princes to the accession of Sancho the Great.

Obscurity of the ancient history of the kingdom of Sobrarva or Navarre.

WE have already so often mentioned to the reader the great difficulties that occur in ascending to the rise of the several kingdoms in *Spain*, after the Christians began to rescue that great country out of the hands of the *Moors*, that he will not be surprised at the repetition of these complaints as to the origin of a sovereignty which the *French* and *Spanish*, and even the historians of this country themselves acknowledge the most perplexed and the most obscure of them all^a. He will also remember, that in treating of the kingdom of *Aragon*, we referred the principal difficulties to the formation of that principality, to this part of our work, where he will have a right to expect we should set them in a proper light, inasmuch as we dissent in opinion from the common current of historians: a step, which, as it ought ever to be taken in order to follow truth, so ought it never to be allowed but where it is supported by reasons, and even by proofs. In respect to the other kingdoms, we have derived some lights to ourselves and to the reader, by explaining the etymology of their names, and by a succinct description of their situation and boundaries; but in reference to the present case, we can draw no assistance from either, the first being so intricate and dubious, that nothing relating to it can be relied on; and there being so much uncertainty and variation in respect to the latter, that to give it the reader here would only serve to mislead and to deceive him.

Several etymologies of the word Navarre, which are altogether vague and uncertain.

As to the name of *Navarre*, it is of equal or rather earlier antiquity than the sovereignty; but what it means, or whence derived, is very far from being clear. Some say that one of the most conspicuous mountains on the frontiers of this kingdom bears the name of *Navaca*, from whence *Navarre* might be formed by corruption^b. The more general notion is, that *Nava* signifies a plain spot of ground cleared from wood, and that *erria*, in the ancient *Cantabrian* language, signified land; and taking these together, the country was first called *Nava erria*, which was gradually changed into *Navarre*^c. It is somewhat more certain that *Nava* signifies in *Spanish*, but perhaps they borrowed the word from the *Moors*, a valley with rocks on both sides; and the reader may read the decisive victory gained by the Christians over the *Moors* at the *Nava de Tolosa*, which is as much as to say the pass of *Tolosa*^d. As this country contains many such vallies, or nava's, it is possible the appellation might come from thence. On the other hand, it is just to observe, that the first time the appellation occurs, it is in *Latin*, and is *Navarri*^e, and is applied not to the country, but to the people, which makes against all these etymologies, which justifies what we said of them, that they are dubious, and little to the purpose.

Mariana's account of the origin of the principality of Sobrarva or Navarre.

MARIANA tells us, that the inhabitants of the *Pyrenees*, taking the advantage of their situation, defended themselves against the *Moors*, but without being subject to any regular form of government, till they were induced to erect a principality by the following extraordinary accident^f. There was a pious hermit, whose name was *John*, who in these times of distress and desolation retired to the steep mountain of *Uruela*, in the neighbourhood of the city of *Jacca*; and upon one of its eminences, built in the best manner he was able, though but meanly, a chapel, which he dedicated to *St. John the Baptist*. There he remained with four of his disciples; and dying with the odour of sanctity, there resorted incredible multitudes of people to his funeral. Amongst the rest there were no less than six hundred gentlemen; but whether they resorted thither purely by chance, or that this meeting was concerted by some of the most distinguished amongst them, so it was that they took occasion to discourse together on the miseries to which their country was exposed, the rage and cruelty of the *Moors*; the glory that would result from throwing off their yoke; the natural strength of

^a PETRI DE MARCA, Limes Hispanicus, col. P. MORET Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra.

^b GARIBAY Compendio Historial de las Cronicas de todos los Reynos de Espana, lib. xxi.

^c L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, p. 2.

^d MARIANA Historia general de Espana; FERRERAS Historia de Espana.

^e EGINHART Annal. A. D. 806.

^f MARIANA Historia generale de Espana, lib. viii.

a the adjacent country ; its vicinity to *France*, from whence they might hope support ; and the example given them by their neighbours in the *Asturias*, who had proclaimed and supported Don *Pelagio* against the whole force of the Infidels. After mature deliberation, they unanimously elected Don *Garcia Ximenes* for their chief. It does not appear that he was of royal descent, or so much as of the blood of the *Goths* ; but rather judged to be descended of the ancient *Spaniards* : however, he was a person of great distinction, being lord of *Amescua* and *Abarfusa*, in that neighbourhood ; and he had espoused Donna *Iniga*, who was also of an illustrious race. It is not agreed whether he was properly king of *Sobrarva* or *Navarre* ; but he recovered *Ainsa*, which is the principal place in the first-mentioned country, out of the hands of the Infidels, and built a noble church where the chapel of St. *Juan de la Penna* had stood, and appointed it to be the burial-place of himself and his successors. A custom very frequent in this and many succeeding ages. A. D. 758.

On the demise of this prince succeeded his son Don *Garcia Inigas*, equally distinguished by his valour and his talents for government. He extended his territories as far as the country of *Biscay*, or at least made himself master of *Alava*. Under his reign *Aznar*, the son of *Eudes the Great*, took from the *Moors* some places near the river *Arga*, to which Don *Garcia* gave the title of a county, and received homage from him as the first earl of *Arragon*. He was succeeded by his son of the same name, who left his county to Don *Galindo*, by whom it was transmitted to his son Don *Ximenes Aznar*. Don *Garcia Inigas*, at his demise, left his dominions to Don *Fortune Garcia* his son, a prince highly celebrated for his valour and his virtues. He was present in the famous battle of *Roncevaux*, in which the emperor *Charlemagne* was defeated ; and in which Don *Ximenes Aznar*, count of *Arragon*, lost his life, whose sister *Theuda* was married to the king Don *Fortune*. He had by her Don *Sancho Garcia*, who conquered the country now known by the name of *Navarre*, and fixed his residence at *Pampeluna*. He is reported to have been slain in battle against the famous *Moor Muza*, and to have been succeeded by his son Don *Ximenes Garcia*, who with his wife Donna *Munia* lies interred in the monastery of St. *Salvador de Leira*, in whom the royal family became extinct ; and an interregnum ensued, during which that famous code was made, which is intitled *Los Fueros de Sobrarva*, or the laws of *Sobrarva*, from whence all the boasted privileges and immunities of the people of *Arragon* were derived. 802.

d At the time the *Moors* subdued *Spain*, it is evident from the concurrence of the historians of all nations, that they pushed their victories to the utmost limits of the monarchy of the *Goths* ; and not satisfied with reducing the whole continent of *Spain*, laboured to seize so much of *Gaul* as had been in their possession^e. This brought them to have some dispute with *Eudes*, duke of *Aquitaine*, who defeated *Zama*, one of their generals, before the city of *Tboulouse*, and cut him off in his flight^b. In order to strengthen himself more effectually, not only against these barbarous enemies, but also against *Charles Martel*, who then governed the *French* monarchy, he gave his daughter in marriage to *Munnuz*, a *Moorish* general, who had revolted in *Catalonia*¹. *Abderamen*, who had then the supreme direction of the affairs of the *Moors* in *Spain*, marched with a prodigious army to reduce him, to punish the duke of *Aquitaine*, and to penetrate into the more fertile provinces of *France*. The two first parts of his design he executed, taking *Munnuz* whom he put to death, and ravaging and destroying the dominions of the duke of *Aquitaine* ; but advancing imprudently with his numerous army into the neighbourhood of *Poitiers*, he was attacked by the *French*, under the command of *Charles Martel* in front, and when the battle was at the height, by *Eudes* duke of *Aquitaine* in rear, which brought on one of the most signal and total defeats of which there is any mention in history^k. This broke the power of the *Saracens*, and in all human probability saved Christendom. *Pepin*, the son of *Charles Martel*, recovered *Narbonne*, and compelled *Suleyman*, who held *Barcelona*, *Gironne*, and the best part of *Catalonia*, to become his vassal^l. The defeat given the Saracens at Poitiers opens a passage for the French into Spain. 721.

e f On the accession of *Charlemagne*, some of the *Moorish* governors, who were desirous of shaking off the yoke of the miramamolin, sought his assistance, and offered him their homage. Amongst the chief of these was *Eben-al-Gabra*, lord of *Saragossa*, who, having given him his son as an hostage, pressed him to enter *Spain*, which he did with two great armies, one passing through *Catalonia*, and the other, which he commanded in *Spain*, through *Navarre*, where he took *Pampeluna*, and pushed his conquests as far as the *Ebro*. In his return, however, after demolishing *Pampeluna*, he met with a very severe check in the valley of *Roncevaux*, where he lost some of his best officers, and a great part of his army, and all his baggage ; but, however, he wisely continued his retreat ; neither did this misfortune deprive him of the places he had occupied on the march or frontier of *Spain*^m. In order to understand this matter clearly, we Charlemagne enters into and recovers part of this country from the Infidels. 778.

^e PETRI DE MARCA, Limes Hispanicus, MARIANA, FERR. cap. xiii.

¹ ISIDOR PACENS Chron. RODERIC Tolet. Histor. Arabum. cap. xiv.

BARD, lib. vi. ISIDOR PACENS Chron. RODERIC Tolet. Histor. Arabum.

^k PAUL LONGO-

^l PET. DE MARCA, Limes Hispanicus, EGINHART. Annal.

^m EGINHART de vitâ & gestis Caroli Magni.

must consider the several nations by whom the chain of the *Pyrenees*, and the countries at the foot of them on both sides, were occupied. These were the *Moors*, who held some fortified places, as conquerors in right of arms; the *Goths*, who had retired into the inaccessible mountains, in hopes of enjoying freedom and their religion; and a third people, who were the *Vascons*, *Bascons*, *Basques* or *Gascons*, for it is all but one name and one nation^a. If there is any distinction to be made, those on the *Spanish* side of the mountains are usually stiled *Vascons*, and that of *Gascons* belongs to those on the *French* side. They were an active, martial, fickle, turbulent, and cunning people, who availed themselves of their situation, took that part by which they could get most, and left it when they could get no longer. These were the people who defeated *Charlemagne*, and who, in point of numbers and power, exceeded both the *Goths* and the *Moors*; that is to say, in this country of theirs, which tho' ill governed was well peopled.

Navarre at this juncture belonged to him, and to several of his successors.

CHARLEMAGNE having given *Aquitaine*, with the conquests on the side of *Spain*, to his son *Lewis*, with the title of king, he turned his arms against the Infidels; and having made a successful expedition into *Catalonia*, passed from thence into *Arragon*, and returned thro' *Navarre* into *France*. At this time he recovered *Pampeluna*, which was again fallen into the hands of the *Moors*; and in the history of this expedition we first meet with the word *Navarre*^b. After these conquests he established, according to the mode of the times, and of the *Gallic* government, counts in all the considerable places which he reduced, and which, the reader will please to observe, comprehended the new kingdom, and its dependent county, which the *Spanish* historian has described, wherever situated or however bounded; and as we have the histories of those times written by some who lived in them, we must have had some notice or hint at least of these princes, if there had been any such^c. About eighteen years after this, under the reign of the emperor *Lewis le Debonnaire*, a *French* army, commanded by two counts, was sent to drive the *Moors* out of *Navarre*, which they performed, and having secured *Pampeluna*, marched back into *France*; but the monarch of *Cordova* having the *Vascons*, or *Gascons*, in his interest, they attacked, and totally defeated them in their passage, taking both the counts prisoners. One of them, whose name was *Ebba*, they sent to the king of *Cordova*, and the other, whose name was *Aznar*, they set at liberty, because he was their countryman^d.

Aznar revolts from king *Pepin*, and establishes himself amongst the *Spanish Vascons*.

THE emperor *Lewis* having given *Aquitaine*, with the title of king, to his son *Pepin*, that prince some way or other disoblged this count *Aznar*, who withdrawing from the *French*, retired amongst the *Spanish Vascons*, and in the country of *Sobrarva*, by the assistance of his relations and dependents, excited a revolt; and here in reality commenced that sovereignty, of which we have undertaken to give an account: but in what manner this revolt was carried on, or to what extent he carried it, does not appear, the brevity with which things are mentioned in ancient chronicles not permitting us to expect, and the laws of history forbidding us to invent any circumstances^e. However, from this deduction the reader cannot but discern, that what has been before reported of the ancient kingdoms of *Sobrarva* and *Pampeluna*, are mere fictions, at least in the manner in which we have seen them related; for during the period in which those principalities are supposed to have existed, we have shewn that these countries belonged sometimes to the *French*, sometimes to the *Moors*, but never to any independent sovereign great or little. We have likewise made it evident, that this principality did not spring, as that of *Asturias* did, from the valour of the *Goths*; neither was it erected, properly speaking, at the expence of the *Moors*, but by throwing off the yoke of *France*. It must, however, be admitted, that the most authentic histories of the kingdoms of *Oviedo* and *Leon* assert^f, that their monarchs were sometimes masters of *Alava*, *Biscay*, and part of *Navarre*; nay, and even of the city of *Pampeluna*, which may be, and, as we have shewn elsewhere, probably is true; but then this is so far from confirming, that it is a farther proof of the impossibility of the foregoing relation, since there is not the least mention in those histories of these kings of *Sobrarva*, or counts of *Arragon*; but the expeditions of the *French*, and the efforts of the *Moors*, are recorded there; and therefore all that we have related is as consistent and as well attested as can be expected, considering the great obscurity of these times, and the short and unpolished method in which their chronicles were written.

The reign of count *Aznar*.

COUNT *Aznar*, by his revolt from *Pepin* king of *Aquitaine*, gave beginning to this sovereignty^g; which is a fact naked indeed of circumstances, but not destitute of proof. We know little of those times, and amongst the little we know is this, that count *Aznar* retired with the *Gascons*, who would follow him out of the more accessible vallies on the side of *France*, into the almost impenetrable mountains on the frontiers of *Spain*; where he provided in the best manner he could for the subsistence of his people in a wild and barren country, and

^a OIHENHARTUS Notitia utriusque Vasconia.

MARCA. ^g EGINHART Vita Lodovici, p. ii.

LUCAS Tudensis, Chron. Adefonsi Magni.

^b EGINHART Annal. A. D. 806.

^c Annales Metens.

^d Annales Metens. FERR.

^e PETRI DE Chronicon Ovitense,

- a for their safety against the *Moors* on one side, and several Christian princes on the other, none of whom had any reason to consider either him or them in a very advantageous light. The disturbances that happened in the imperial family hindered *Pepin* king of *Aquitaine* from pursuing this rebel, though it is not altogether certain that he continued such during his life: it is more probable, that he either compromised his quarrel with him, or that he was received into his friendship as an ally, since he is thought to have lost his life in the quarrel that ensued upon the emperor's bestowing the dominions which his son *Pepin* had enjoyed upon his other son *Charles*, to the prejudice of the children of *Pepin*^u, whose part was taken by the lords of *Aquitaine*, and even by this count *Aznar*, who, though he revolted from their father, died in the field in their cause and his own; being sensible that whoever was strong enough to spoil them of their patrimony, would never allow him to possess, in the manner he desired to possess it, the little country he held, where or whatsoever it might be. A. D. 837.

Don *Sancho*, the brother of the deceased, succeeded him in his small estates, and governed them according to his maxims, paying sometimes great respect to *Pepin* the second, and at others affecting to acknowledge no superior. He extended his territories in such a manner as to join part of *Arragon* and *Navarre* to *Sobrarva*; and he also treated with the princes his neighbours so as to live with them on tolerable terms^w. He had likewise some transactions with *Charles the Bald*, to whom he sometimes gave fair words, and acknowledged him in general terms for his prince; but this was with a design to have recourse to his protection, in case *Ordogno* king of *Asturias* should form any pretensions to his prejudice; for that prince having reduced the *Gascons* in the province of *Alava*, was suspected of a design to carry his arms farther, against which count *Sancho* took the best measures he was able. We have it not in our power to speak with any certainty of the extent of his territories, or the place of his residence, the few contemporary writers we have being content to report, that the people of *Navarre* were at this time Christians, and were governed by a prince whose name was Don *Sancho*. He died at a very critical juncture, and left his principality, then in great danger of being overwhelmed by the power of *Charles the Bald*, to his son, who was either wise or fortunate enough to avail himself of that very danger to shake off all dependence^x, and become truly a prince.

Don *Garcia*, at his entrance on the government, found all the sovereignties about him in the utmost confusion. *Muza*, governor of *Saragossa*, who is generally reputed to have been a Christian and a *Goth* by birth, but who had raised himself to the highest honours by the display of his military virtues amongst the *Moors*, understanding that his old master was dead, revolted from the new king of *Cordova*. *Charles the Bald*, having shut up the sons of *Pepin* in a monastery, gave the kingdom of *Aquitaine* to his son; which disobliged many of his subjects, and none so much as the *Gascons*. Upon this many of their little chiefs resorted to Don *Garcia*, to take his advice, and to demand his protection. He received them kindly, and denied them neither. He told them, that brave men in a country strong by situation might be always free, and gave them broad hints, that in a situation like theirs submission must be necessarily attended with slavery at least, if not extirpation. This induced them to fix under his government for their own security, and rendered him much more formidable than his predecessors. In order to strengthen himself still more, and that he might have nothing to fear from that side on which his dominions lay most open, he thought fit, perhaps with the advice of those chiefs who had lately submitted to his authority, to espouse the daughter of *Muza*, whose revolt had been attended with such success that he assumed the title of king, by which, as a royal author^y observes, there were now three monarchs in *Spain*; that is, *Ordogno* king of *Oviedo*, *Mohammed* king of *Cordova*, and this new king *Muza*, which is as clear and decisive a proof as can well be desired, that hitherto there was no king of *Sobrarva*, *Pampeluna*, or *Navarre*; so that all *Mariana* and other writers have published on this head must pass for fable and fiction, as far as it regards royalty at least; for that there might be some degree of truth hid under the stories they have related, we pretend not to deny, and how much this truth may amount to, we have been labouring to point out chiefly from facts, and from deductions founded on them where facts failed.

This prince of the *Gascons*, who was in truth a great politician, was also very brave; but as his prudence did not go so far as to make him afraid of war when it was necessary, so his martial spirit never suggested to him disturbing his neighbours purely to enlarge his dominions. He thought it more suitable to his circumstances to bring what he had acquired into regular order, and a good condition: with which view he began to erect some fortresses, and to enlarge the towns within the compass of this little principality. The same conduct he pursued, he recommended also to *Muza*, who, that he might carry on the war against the king of *Cordova* with greater vigour, resolved to fortify the town of *Albayda*, that it might cover

^u Annales BERTINIANI.
Magni, FERR.

^w FERR. Historia de Espana, tom. ii. part iv. § ix.

^x Chron. Adefonsi

^y Chron. Adefonsi Magni.

his country from the incursions of the Christians of *Asturias*. The king Don *Ordogno* taking a umbrage at this, and being apprehensive that, when his affairs should be in better order, the king of *Saragossa* might from thence make irruptions into his territories, assembled an army, and laid siege to *Albayda* as soon, or perhaps before its fortifications were finished. This obliged *Muza* to march to its relief and his son-in-law Don *Garcia* made no scruple of joining him with a body of auxiliaries. They encamped upon a mountain not far distant from the place, in hopes perhaps that this might induce Don *Ordogno* to raise the siege. But that monarch, who had a great confidence in the valour of his troops, resolved, notwithstanding the strength of their camp, to attack them without delay; which he performed with so much vigour that the *Moors* were quickly broke, and *Muza* having received three dangerous wounds, made his escape on a horse given him by one of Don *Ordogno*'s officers out of personal friendship. But Don *Garcia* having either advanced too far, or disdaining to save his life by a retreat, was killed upon the spot, to the great grief of his subjects², who with great reason revered the virtue and valour by which he established so regular and powerful a principality.

Don Garcia
first king of
Navarre.

Don *Garcia Iniguez*, as he is called by some, or Don *Garcia Ximenes*, as he is styled by others, succeeded his father, and either at his accession, or within three years after, assumed the title of king, as appears by authentic charters, and was, properly speaking, the first monarch of *Navarre*. There our history falls in, at least in some measure, with that of *Mariana*, who after the interregnum, in which, he assures us, the famous body of laws were made, affirms, that *Inigo Arista*, count of *Bigorre*, was unanimously chosen by the nobility for their monarch, leaving the old title of *Sobrarva*, assumed that of king of *Pampeluna* or *Navarre*, which he transmitted to Don *Garcia Ximenes* his son². We differ from him for want of seeing his authorities, and in respect to those which we have cited; but we agree entirely in the character he gives to this young prince, who was equally distinguished by his courage and conduct; who enlarged his territories by the one, and by the other rendered his people happy. He governed them twenty-three years with great reputation, and is said to have married Donna *Urraca*, the sister, daughter, or niece to a count of *Arragon*, for authors do not well distinguish which. That there were many chiefs in his country who assumed the title of lords, or something equivalent to it, is certain, and that one of these might be in possession of the county of *Arragon* is more than probable, since there is mention of such a person in a charter of this prince, who therein styles himself king of *Pampeluna*, and the name of the count *Arragon* there mentioned is *Galindo*^b. This monarch, Don *Garcia Ximenes*, founded the monastery of *St. Salvador de Leyra* in the *Pyrenees*, which, by the bounty of his successors, was rendered very rich and famous. The archbishop Don *Roderic* of *Toledo*, who was himself a native of *Navarre*, commends the valour of this monarch highly, and asserts, that having gained many victories over the *Moors*, he was at length slain by them in battle; which, however, is not very certain, or consistent with the authentic histories that remain of those times^c. At the time of his demise he left two sons, Don *Fortune Ximenes*, and Don *Sancho*, who had afterwards, as some say, the surname of *Abarca*, as also a daughter Donna *Sancha*.

880.

Don Fortune
Garcias.

Don *Fortune Garcias*, the eldest of his sons, succeeded his father, which, however, is doubtfully reported by *Mariana*. This great historian seems at length to have perceived, that Don *Garcia Iniguez*, or *Ximenes*, was the first king of *Navarre*; for after his account of him, he adds, so obscure is the origin of this kingdom. He makes his successor Don *Sancho Abarca*; but suspicious of the guides he followed in this respect, he breaks out into a warm invective against those who introduced fiction amongst facts, and by interlarding fables have given us romance instead of history^d. The reader will see he met with sufficient provocation in the notes (A). But to return to Don *Fortune Garcias*, he governed his dominions many years

² Chron. d'Albayda, Chron. Adefonsi Magni, FERR. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, p. 9.

Reyno de Navarro, ABARCA.

^c Roderic Tolet. de reb. Hispan. Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon. Hieron. Blanca de variis de Subrarbæ reg. init. sententiis.

^d GARIBAY Compendio Historial de las Cronicas de todos los Reynos de Espana, MARIANA, TURQUET.

^a Historia generale de Espana, tom. ii. lib. viii.

^b P. MORET, Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del

^c Roderic Tolet. de reb. Hispan. Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon.

^d GARIBAY Compendio Historial de las

(A) We have observed in the text what strange confusion there is in respect to these ancient reigns; in our account of which we differ entirely from *Mariana*, who bestows the surname of *Abarca* upon Don *Sancho*, the brother of Don *Fortune Garcias*, and the son of Don *Garcias Ximenes*; and this leads him to insert the following relation concerning what passed at his birth, and in his infancy (1). It is true that he takes it from an-

cient writers, and that he speaks of it with the contempt it deserves; and the reason we transcribe it is, that this rare instance may justify our manifold omissions, and render the reader thankful for not having his memory burdened with many more of these strange tales. "At the time the king Don *Garcia* was slain in the cause of the *Moors*, his consort Donna *Urraca*, who had accompanied, fell with him likewise. A generous

(1) Historia generale de Espana, lib. viii. Histoire generale de Espagne, par Mayerne Turquet, liv. vi.

" knight,

a years both wisely and worthily, as we gather from effects, and from the high character given him in the old chronicles of this nation. He was a great benefactor to the monastery of St. *Salvador de Leyra*, upon which he bestowed large possessions. In this charter he not only assumes the regal stile himself, but adds, that he was the son of the king *Don Garcias*. About four years after this he thought fit to retire into this monastery, which accordingly he did; and having sent for his brother, he first gave him his blessing in a solemn manner, and then placed the crown upon his head. He spent the remainder of his days in that monastery in great tranquillity. In those days perhaps this might not be an act of weakness or superstition. What little learning there was the monks possessed, and were consequently of great use in the regulation of these little kingdoms, the laws of which manifestly prove they were made by men of sense, and lovers of liberty. They found means to connect this not only with a martial spirit, but a martial government; and as in those days it was absolutely necessary that princes should be very active, and command for the most part their armies in person, so when age or infirmities rendered them unfit for this, it was really an act of prudence, and a testimony of public spirit, to retire, as this monarch did, after a glorious reign of twenty-five years, that the government might avail itself of the abilities of his brother: who was in the flower of his age, and consequently fit to defend and enlarge his dominions by feats of arms against the *Moors*. Neither is it at all improbable that he might from time to time have recourse to his brother for advice; so that the state had a double advantage, from the wisdom of the one, and the prowess of the other. As these remarks are founded on facts, and as they serve very much to illustrate the history, the reader will not be displeased to find them here, or be unwilling to extend them farther than it would be proper for us to do in this place.

A. D. 901.
905.

Don *Sancho Garcias*, thus seated on the throne by the resignation of his brother, found himself quickly called upon to deliver his countrymen the *Gascons* on the other side of the mountains, who being attacked by the *Normans*, solicited his assistance. He marched accordingly through the passes of the *Pyrenees*; and having accomplished all they could desire, disposed every thing for his return. But *Aben Lop*, governor of *Saragossa*, and vassal to *Abdallah* king of *Cordova*, judging this a favourable opportunity to fall upon the people of *Navarre*, when their king and the best part of his forces were absent, and at such a distance as seemed to render it impracticable for them to return time enough to give any disturbance to his plan, communicated it to *Abdallah*, and having received a numerous reinforcement, marched with the whole force of the *Moors* at the entrance of winter, and invested *Pampeluna*. The inhabitants were but in a very indifferent condition to sustain a siege, and the *Moors* pressed the place with all possible vigour. Don *Sancho*, informed of the distress of his subjects, immediately began his march for the *Pyrenees*, but found the frost so set in, and the rocky passages so very slippery, that his men were able to make no progress. In this unfortunate situation he ordered the greatest part of the animals of all sorts belonging to the army to be killed, and directed his soldiers to tie pieces of their skins with packthread about their feet, with the hair next them, by which they were enabled to get over those precipices which obstructed their march. As this kind of shoe, still in use amongst the peasants, is called in the language of the country *Abarca*, so many have thought he received that surname from being the inventor. The reader, however, will see that this is not quite so certain, and that those who give him this surname, confound him with another prince. However that matter may be, it is out of dispute, that, arriving unexpectedly, he attacked the Infidels with such spirit and success, that he

Don Sancho I.
907.

^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ZURITA Annal. Arragon. MAYERNE TURQUET. ^f RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudens. Chron. ^g RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, tom. iii. part iv. § x. ^h MARIANA. ⁱ P. MORET.

"knight, whose name was *Don Sanchez de Guevara*,
"passing over the field of battle, saw the queen's dead
"body, and through one of the wounds appeared a
"child's hand, which still had motion. The knight
"thereupon ripped open her belly with his sword, and
"having taken out the boy, with whom she went, carried him home, and caused him to be brought up.
"In process of time, however, his house was so disturbed by phantoms and voices, that he judged it expedient to remove the young prince to an adjacent cottage, where he was brought up safely and hardly.
"This young man at the end of nineteen years he produced to an assembly of the states; and having declared to them his descent, and the wonderful manner

"of his preservation, they acknowledged him for their
"king; and from the shoes that he wore when he was
"thus produced, he had the surname of *Abarca*." It is visible enough that, to frame some account of this whimsical surname, this idle story was invented (2). But it happens unluckily that this was not the *Sancho* that had this surname, but his grandson (3). It is by giving credit to these old authors, who, to cover their ignorance, made no scruple of exerting their invention, that this great historian, and those who follow him, introduced so many impertinent improbabilities, which it is a pain to read, and at the same time impossible to believe (4).

(2) P. Moret, *Abarca*, Ferreras. (3) *Historia de Espana*, § x. (4) *Bellegarde Histoire de Espagne*, and in general all the Abridgments as well as most of the old Histories of Navarre, whether written by Natives, French or Spanish Authors.

gained a complete victory, and entered the city of *Pampeluna* in triumph. But the joy of the victory did not efface from his memory the remembrance of the danger^k.

He fortifies
Pampeluna.

A. D. 908.

914.

915.

His glorious
reign and
death.

921.

THE very next year Don *Sancho Garcias* attacked the castle of *St. Stephen*, which the *Moors* had fortified to the utmost of their skill, and into which they had put a strong garrison, and after an obstinate defence, reduced it. This success encouraged Don *Sancho* to prosecute the war, and to sweep all the fortresses along the river *Ebro*, which he performed as far as *Milagro*. He afterwards passed that river, reduced *Najera*, and the fortress called *Bilibio*, since better known to the world by the name of the castle of *Haro*. This inspired him with the hopes of driving the *Moors* out of the whole province of *Rioja*; which, having reduced *Logroño*, *Alcandra*, *Calaborra*, and *Tudela*, he happily effected^l. The war carried on by Don *Ordogno*, king of *Leon*, being very favourable to his designs, he pushed his conquests still farther, and having reduced *Terrazona* and *Agreda*, extended his dominions as far as the sources of the river *Duero*. But being well apprised that conquests were of little value that were not well secured, he not only applied himself with diligence to repair such as might be most serviceable to him, but also gave directions for fortifying *Pampeluna* so regularly and so effectually, that he rendered it in the estimation of those times a place impregnable. He next cleared all the country between the rivers *Arragon* and *Ebro* from the Infidels, and projected some other expeditions of still greater importance; but finding his health much impaired by the fatigues he had already undergone, he retired to the monastery of *Leyria*^m, and placed his son Don *Garcia* at the head of the army; but without resigning to him the crown, as either hoping to recover his health, or esteeming him as yet too young.

THE *Moorish* governor of *Saragossa* applied himself to *Abderamen* the fourth king of *Cordova*, in order to obtain such a supply of forces as might enable him to restrain the Christians of *Navarre* within their ancient bounds. His project was so plausible in itself, and supported by so many arguments, that the *Moorish* monarch approved, and resolved to carry it into execution: in order to which he drew over great numbers of men from *Barbary*, and having joined these with the whole force of his dominions, sent them under the command of an experienced general to the general rendezvous appointed by the governor of *Saragossa*, in the neighbourhood of *Agreda*, of which place, together with *Terrazona*, *Tudela*, *Logroño*, *Vigueira*, and *Najera*, they soon became masters; after which they entered the kingdom of *Navarre* by the way of *Viana* and *Estella*. The king Don *Sancho* came out of his monastery, and assembled a considerable body of troops that were to be employed as a corps de reserve, while the infant Don *Garcia*, with the army of *Navarre*, retired into *Alava*, where he expected Don *Ordogno* king of *Leon*. The junction being made, the Christian army under these two princes advanced towards the *Moors*, who gave them battle at *Val-de-Funguera*, near *Salinas d'Oro*, where, after a warm and obstinate engagement, the Christians were totally defeatedⁿ. After the battle Don *Ordogno* retired into his own territories, and the infant Don *Garcia* towards *Pampeluna*. As the whole force of the Christians in *Spain* was in a great measure broke by this unfortunate action, one would naturally imagine that it must in its consequences have been extremely fatal to them, and advantageous to the *Moors*; but the very reverse happened. The general of the *Moors*, seeing the country open before him, destroyed it in a cruel manner with fire and sword; and then penetrating through the passes of the *Pyrenees*, made an irruption into *France*, where his forces advanced almost as far as *Toulouse*, and acquired an immense booty. While he was thus employed, the king of *Leon*, having recruited and augmented his army, made a bold expedition into the *Moorish* territories, and wasted them without mercy. The king of *Navarre*, on the other side, marched with his corps de reserve, and possessed himself of the passes, that he might reckon with the *Moors* at their return. The greatest part of their army, commanded by their general in person, took the road of *Rontel*; where, after being harrassed for several days, they were at length totally broken and dispersed, and their general stabbed by a woman; so that none of them escaped, and all their booty fell into the hands of the Christians. The other corps repassed the *Pyrenees* by the same way they entered them, and without much opposition; but Don *Sancho* pursuing them, prevented their passing the *Ebro*, and attacked them with such fury that very few of them returned home^o. About this time Don *Sancho* is reported to have recovered his health in a miraculous manner by the interposition of *St. Peter*^p; and in conjunction with his son, and by the assistance of his good ally the king of *Leon*, retrieved all the places he had lost, and remained in full possession of what is now stiled the *Upper Navarre* (B). In order to unite

^k LUC. Tudens. Chron. FERRERAS. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. P. MORET, FERR. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. MARIANA, TURQUET.

^l P. MORET, MARIANA, TURQUET. ^m RODERIC ⁿ LUC. Tudens. Chron. P. MORET, ABARCA, RODERIC ^o P. MORET, FERR. ^p ABARCA.

(B) The design of this note is to describe the kingdom of *Navarre* in as succinct a manner as possible. Its form is what the mathematicians call a trapezium, or, to use a more common word, a lozenge. The upper point, regarding the north; the *Pyrenean* mountains lie on the east, and the country of *Biscay* on the west; the

a unite more closely the interests of *Leon* and *Navarre*, a marriage was concluded between Don *Ordogno*, and the infanta Donna *Sancha*; but who this princess was admits of some doubt: most writers make her the sister, others the daughter of Don *Sancho*; but *Ferreras*^a inclines to think she was the daughter of the infant Don *Garcia*, for otherwise she must have been advanced in years, which is not very probable. Neither of the kings survived this match long, the former dying immediately on his return home, and Don *Sancho* much about the same time in the monastery of *Leyra*, full of years, and covered with glory. *Mariana* indeed says he was killed in battle by Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, count of *Castile*; and in this he has been followed by the bulk of modern historians; but the error has been learnedly refuted by the judicious father *Moret*^r, who has done more towards the recovery of this history than all the writers who went before him.

A. D. 925.

^a Historia de Espana, tom. iii. part iv. § x.
Reyno de Navarro.

^r Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del

the southern point, terminating on the frontiers of *Aragon*, has that kingdom on the east, and part of the same country and *Old Castile* on the west. Each of its sides, for they are nearly equal, extends about ninety *English* miles (5). The climate is as pure and healthy, and withal as temperate and as pleasant as can be desired, which may compensate for some defects in the soil, that, generally speaking, is none of the most fertile. In some of the vallies, however, they have very good corn, excellent wine, both white and red; the former equal to any in *France*, the latter very little inferior to *Burgundy*. It abounds in good pastures, exceedingly well stocked with sheep and goats. They have likewise a tolerable breed of black cattle, and a very good one of horses. The mountains are covered with timber; and very few countries have venison and wild fowl in greater plenty. The inhabitants are taller, have better complexions, and are more robust than the *Spaniards*; as active and as martial, but not so capricious or so volatile as the *French*; and though not comparable in point of size, yet it is equal in its number of people to any of the *Spanish* kingdoms. It can scarce boast of any great river except the *Ebro*, and this serves only for its frontier. The *Aragon*, the *Arga*, and the *Ega*, water some of its towns; but would scarce deserve to be mentioned if this country had any better (6). This kingdom was anciently divided into six provinces, or, as they stile them in their own language, merindades. The first of these is that of *Pampeluna*. On the east, towards the kingdom of *Aragon*, lies the merindad of *Sanguessa*, which comprehends a city, twelve large towns, and one hundred and sixty-eight villages. *Sanguessa*, which is the capital, and was anciently *Iturissa*, stands on the river *Aragon*, and was heretofore a place of strength and beauty. It is somewhat more than twenty miles from *Pampeluna*, and was looked upon as the key of *Navarre* on that side; at a small distance, on the north-east, stands the famous old monastery of St. *Salvador de Leyra*, to which the bishops of *Pampeluna* retired while that place was in the hands of the *Moors*. The merindad of *Olita* lies in the heart of the country. It contains one city, nineteen large towns, and twenty-six villages. *Olita*, the capital, received the title of a city from *Philip* the fourth, in 1630. It is a well-built pleasant place; and the remains of the palace, built by Don *Carlos* the third, and in his days the finest in all *Spain*, are yet visible. The country about it is the very best of *Navarre*, abounding in corn, vines, fruit of all sorts, such as apples, pears, plumbs. It produces also flax and hemp; and being well watered by several little streams, there are excellent pastures covered with sheep. The merindad of *Tudela*, which lies on the right of the river *Ebro*, contains two cities, and twenty-two large towns. The city of *Tudela* is rather larger and better built than that of *Pampeluna*; but as it lies on the frontiers of *Navarre*,

Castile, and *Aragon*, it labours under the imputation of giving shelter to assassins and banditti, who retire thither to escape the hands of justice; *Puente de la Rina*, which lies on the *Arga*, is famous for its red wine, as *Peralta*, which is six leagues from *Tudela*, is for its white wine, which is stronger and better flavoured than the *Vin de St. Laurent*, so much esteemed in *France*. The merindad of *Estella* is on the frontiers of *Biscay*, and comprehends one city, twenty-four towns, and one hundred and six villages. The town of *Estella* stands on the *Ega*, in the midst of an agreeable plain, and had formerly a well fortified castle. Within this district lies the city of *Viana*, over against *Logroño*, on the river *Ebro*, which formerly gave the title of prince to the heir-apparent of *Navarre*. The sixth merindad, is that which is now called the *Lower Navarre*, and belongs to *France* (7). The north-east side of this kingdom is bounded by the *Pyrenean* mountains, which boundary is two and twenty leagues in length. Through these mountains there are ten passes into *France*, seven or eight of which are dreadful, difficult, and dangerous. To the north of *Pampeluna* there is the valley of *Baztan*, which runs from north to south, and is seven leagues long, and three and a half broad, containing fourteen parishes. Their habits are of a very ancient mode, particularly the women's. The men are all bold, nimble, and dextrous in the handling of their arms, and are all gentlemen by their blood. The valley of *Roncevaux* lies to the north-east of *Pampeluna*, and carries you through a village called *Burguet*, which is the last in *Navarre* to St. *Juan Pie de Port*, in the *Basse Navarre*. This is the easiest and most frequented pass, and is famous for the defeat of the emperor *Charlemagne*. In the church of *Roncevaux*, which is an hundred paces beyond *Burguet*, they shew you two clubs covered with iron, which were taken in the battle of *Roncevaux*, and one of the stirrups of *Orlando* the great champion of *France*, and the slippers of *Turpin* the historian and archbishop of *Paris*, who accompanied the emperor in that expedition. The battle is painted upon the wall; and not far from the church is *Turpin's* tomb, and those of several of the *French* champions that fell there (8). Thro' the valley of *Roncal*, which is still more to the east, is another of the passes into *France*; and this valley is remarkable for the defeat of *Abderamen*, king of *Cordova*, upon his return from *France* through that pass. The extreme parts of this valley, towards the north, are the boundaries between *Spain* and *France*, on that side the principality of *Bearn*, being the next country adjoining, with the borders of which province these of *Roncal* having had many conflicts and disputes about certain rights and privileges, it was at length agreed that the inhabitants of the mountains, on the side of *Bearn*, should submit to be feudatory to those of *Roncal* (9). A noble instance of the martial, independent, and heroic spirit of these people.

(5) *Geographie moderne, par Du Bois*, p. 82.

Luyts Introduc. ad Geographiam novam & veterem, § ii. cap. vi. *Du Bois Geographie moderne*.

d'Espagne, par Don Juan Alvarez de Colmenar, p. 673. *Etat d'Espagne, par l'Abbe de Vayrac*.

through Spain and Portugal, by Udal ap Rhys, Esq;

(6) *Philip Cluverii Introduc. ad Geographiam*, *Joannis*

(7) *Delices*

(8) *Tour*

(9) *Colmenar, Udal ap Rhys*.

*Don Garcia II.
succeeds.*

Don Garcia Sanchez succeeded his father in the flower of his age, and when his reputation for courage and conduct was fully established. He saw the *Moors* much embarrassed by foreign wars, and factions amongst themselves: he laid hold therefore of this opportunity not to extend, but to strengthen his dominions, and to put every thing into the best order possible. With this view he repaired some towns, and built others: he fortified several places on his frontiers, and appointed officers of great experience to command in several provinces; and amongst these was *Don Fortune Ximenes*, count of *Arragon*: at whose request he visited, and granted many favours to the monastery of *St. Juan de la Pegna*^a. He supported his near relation *Don Sancho* against his brother the king of *Leon*; and for that purpose entered into a close friendship with *Don Ferdinand Gonzalez*, count of *Castile*. Afterwards when *Don Sancho*, upon the death of his brother, succeeded to the kingdom of *Leon*, and was driven out by his rebellious subjects, with the assistance of his old ally the count of *Castile*, *Don Garcia* received him with open arms, sent him to *Cordova* to be cured of the dropsy, and in conjunction with that *Moorish* monarch restored him very honourably to his dominions^b. The method concerted between the two monarchs required that *Don Garcia* should advance into the territories of *Castile*, in order to hinder the count from assisting his son-in-law, while *Don Sancho*, with his *Moorish* auxiliaries, entered his own dominions. The count *Don Ferdinand Gonzalez* of *Castile*, the most active, and the most ambitious man of his time, was so much piqued by seeing the king of *Navarre* at the head of his forces in his territories, that he marched with an army to give him battle, though he was sensible that *Don Ordogno* could not bring troops enough into the field to look his enemy in the face, and himself had married *Donna Urraca*, sister to the king of *Navarre*, through whose mediation peace might have been easily restored^c. His impetuosity brought on an action near a place now called *Ciruena*, where his army being defeated, he was himself taken prisoner, and carried to *Pampeluna*. There *Don Garcia* entertained him as a brother-in-law; but that *Don Sancho* might have time to establish himself in his kingdom of *Leon*, he protracted things as much as he could; and when there was no farther danger of the count's embroiling matters any more, he very nobly set him at liberty, without exacting from him any thing more than that for the future he should let his neighbours be quiet; which was a strain of disinterestedness not very common in those times^d.

*His reign and
death.*

THE remaining part of the reign of *Don Garcia*, who lived to a very advanced age, was spent in cultivating the arts of peace, in the improvement of the territories that had descended to him, and in fortifying those which he had acquired. The accounts that are given by *Mariana* and the historians who have followed him, are so confused, so indistinct, and so ill supported, that it would be giving the reader a great deal of needless trouble to produce, and to refute their errors; and from doing this we could derive no merit, since all we have to say must be derived from those learned and judicious authors, who, with wonderful sagacity and incredible diligence, waded through all these perplexities, and ranged the few facts regarding the history of this country in a proper method. The corpse of *Don Garcia* was deposited in the church of *St. Stephen*, with those of his ancestors, where the simplicity of the inscriptions, and the frequent repetition of the same name, has been one great source of that obscurity which has been so loudly and so justly regretted in most of the writers who have meddled with this subject^e.

*Don Sancho
Abarca.*

Don Sancho Abarca succeeded his father, with abilities suitable to his rank, and to that juncture of affairs in which he was called to the government. He had not long enjoyed the sovereignty before the *Moors* invaded the dominions of count *Garcia Fernandez*, and threatened the reduction of *Castile*. The count immediately addressed himself to the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre* for assistance, tho' they were then in amity with the *Moors*, for which reason the former refused it; but *Don Sancho*, who thought the unjust invasion of his neighbour an indirect breach of the peace with himself, marched with a great body of forces into *Castile*; and having joined the count *Don Garcia*, advanced towards the *Moors*, attacked and defeated them with great slaughter^f. This exceedingly provoked *Mohammed Abenamir Almanzor*, alhagib or vizir to the king of *Cordova*, who brought the next year a vast army into the field, with which he over-run great part of *Castile*, which induced *Don Sancho* of *Navarre* to strengthen his frontiers, and to content himself with sending a smaller body of troops to the assistance of his cousin count *Garcia*. This war continued for many years, and was one of the most unfortunate in which the Christians were ever engaged. *Almanzor* was so great an enemy to all the disciples of the gospel, that, provided it promoted their destruction, it was indifferent to him on which side he turned his arms^g. The frontiers of *Castile* he turned into a desert; the city of *Leon* he took, and, after putting the inhabitants to death, burnt it to the ground. He used no less cruelty in *Catalonia*, where he also sacked and destroyed *Barcelona*. These

^a FERR. P. MORET.

^b RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. ZURITA Annal. Arragon. Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon.

^c L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERR.

^d RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. ZURITA Annal. Arragon. FERR.

^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERR.

^f MARMOL, AMBROSIO, MORALES, FERR.

^g MARIANA, FERR. TURQUET.

a facts are mentioned to shew the genius of this conqueror, and the motives Don Sancho had to embark in this war.

At length, having opened the passages into *Navarre*, he advanced with a numerous and victorious army towards *Pampeluna*, which he invested. This expedition he undertook from *His reign and death.* two motives: the first was to restore Don Vela to his county of *Alava*, on whose behalf this war was said to be made; and the other was reducing the last and strongest place in *Spain*, which he flattered himself would quite dispirit the Christians, and prevent all future and further resistance. But Don Sancho Abarca, who had considered the situation he was in very attentively, had provided his capital in all respects so well, and placed therein so good a garrison, that the *Moors* found themselves opposed in such a manner, as created infinite trouble, and a great expence of blood. At length, when their vigour was abated, Don Sancho advanced with his army, and gave them battle with such success, that he gained a great advantage over them, and prosecuted it with such vigilance, that they were constrained to quit his dominions^a. There are many victories of greater éclat, but few of more importance, recorded by the *Spanish* historians, since it gave the first check to the most fortunate of the *Moorish* captains, and who, from a principle of false piety, prosecuted the total destruction of the Christians with indefatigable industry. The calamities that had fallen on their respective dominions having taught the Christian princes their true interest, the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre* entered into a close alliance with Don Garcia, count of *Castile*, which quickly brought things into better order, and gave them besides a probable expectation of future success, which, however, did not fall out, till Don Sancho Abarca was in his grave. He deceased after a reign of twenty-four years, and was interred with his ancestors in the church of *St. Stephen*^b, after adding to the security of his dominions by fortifying several places. A. D. 990. 994.

He was succeeded in his dominions by his son Don Garcia Sanchez, surnamed *the Trembler*, which some say was occasioned by his shaking violently when he entered into action; not thro' fear, but from a kind of tumult in his mind, which, however, quickly subsided when the engagement grew more warm. Some charters there are of this prince, in which mention is made of his brother Don Ramiro, who in them is stiled king of *Arragon*; and of their mother Donna Urraca: and in other charters we read of another brother, Don Gonzalo, called likewise king of *Arragon*; but as *Mariana* well observes, the authority of these pieces is scarce sufficient to establish these facts as certain, more especially as the historians and ancient chronicles have preserved nothing concerning these princes^c. It is, however, not at all improbable, that in those days such young princes were intrusted with the government of provinces; and on the score of their high birth might assume some title superior to that of count; and as we have no distinct relations of the manners of those times, it may be that we consider as marks of possession what in reality were only phrases of compliment. However this might be, there is nothing more certain than that *Arragon* made a part of Don Garcia's dominions; in defence of which he acted vigorously against the *Moors*, from the very time he ascended the throne. This kind of war, however, appeared in process of time injurious to the honour and to the interests of all the Christian princes concerned; who therefore entered into a closer alliance, by which they engaged to act jointly, and with their whole force, against the common enemy, which ever of the confederates he should next attack, and this the rather, because some advantages gained by the *Moors* had drawn over many adventurers from *Africa*, who flattered themselves with the hopes of having settlements assigned them in the new conquests, which, if ever they attained, it was not at all difficult to foresee that the Christians might be quickly reduced to as bad or worse circumstances than those from which their ancestors had emerged by their valour^d. A resolution founded in good sense, and which came in time to stem this torrent that had been hitherto irresistible.

MOHAMMED-ABENAMIR-ALMANÇOR advanced with a potent army, after sacking and destroying *Compostella*, into the territories of the count of *Castile*, as far as *Osma*, where he was *length beat.* met by the Christian army, which was not only composed of the troops, but commanded by all the three princes in person. Don Bermudo, king of *Leon*, being disabled by the gout from mounting on horseback, was placed in a chair at the head of his own guards. Don Garcia, at the head of the forces of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, was in the other wing, and the count of *Castile* in the center. The battle lasted, as we have shewn elsewhere, till night, and seemed to end doubtfully; but the *Moorish* general, decamping in the night, abandoned the field of battle to the Christians, and himself to despair; so that refusing to take any sustenance, he expired at *Medina Cæli*, and with him the fortune of the *Cordovan Moors*^e. It is true that his successor *Abdilmelech* endeavoured to revive the war, by making an irruption into the kingdom of *Leon*, from a presumption, that upon the death of the king he should find things in some confusion;

^a Annal. Complut. Annal. Compostell. Annal. Tolet.

TURQUET.

^c MARIANA.

^d AMBROSIO, MORALES, ZURITA, Annal. Arragon.

^e Annal.

Compostell. LUCAS TUDENSIS Chronicon, RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan.

but the count Don *Garcia* of *Castile* hastened thither with all the force he could raise, and being intrusted with the intire command of the troops of that kingdom, he obtained another complete victory, which changed the face of affairs, raised the courage of the Christians, and abated the spirit of their enemies^f.

The Christian exiles restored. THE progress of this war taught the Christian princes in general, from the light of experience, what sound policy might have taught them long before. They saw that a general war, more especially for any length of time, had a necessary consequence, which it was their business to avoid, that of keeping the *Moors* in a manner by force closely united, and in perfect harmony with each other. They likewise found, that as the original source of the war was the instigation of the malcontents, fled from *Castile* and *Leon* to the court of *Cordova*, and more especially the family of *Vela*, so, in the course of it, most of the misfortunes they had met with arose from the assistance they gave the enemy; from their instructing them in the military maxims and discipline in the Christian armies; and from the intelligence they held with their relations and friends in their respective countries^g. This, therefore, determined them to recall those exiles, particularly the sons of Don *Vela*, count of *Alava*; and this resolution being taken at a time when a change of fortune rendered those banished persons more inclined to return, as being not so much caressed by the Infidels as formerly, it took place according to their wish; and after long absence from their own countries, these exiles were not only recalled, but restored to their honours and their patrimonies, the surest and most prudent method, no doubt, for extinguishing all jealousies and heart-burnings; but which, notwithstanding, in its consequences was not found altogether successful. They had met with much kindness, and formed many friendships amongst the *Moors*; they had done many injuries to the Christians; and by degrees, as the motives to their pardon and reconciliation grew out of remembrance, the instances of resentment they met with from the latter, put them upon renewing their correspondence with the former, which proved the occasion of fresh disturbances, as we have already shewn in other parts of this history, and as we shall be obliged to shew likewise in the course of this^h. So dangerous a thing it is to drive great families to despair, and so difficult to recover to a right temper minds that have been once tainted.

The death of Don Garcia. WE have no other particulars in regard to the reign of Don *Garcia the Trembler*, only it is said that the best historians have doubted whether the tenor of his government, and the temper of his mind, deserved praise or blame. He was, it seems, liberal to a degree of excess, not only to abbies and other religious foundations, but to all who approached him on any occasion: a conduct which, tho' it exposed him to the censure of those who survived him, made him generally and deservedly beloved by those with whom he lived. Authors are much divided as to the name of his queen; but *Mariana* is positive she was called *Donna Ximena*, and it is very likely he is in the rightⁱ. By her he had the infant Don *Sancho*, whose education he intrusted to a religious person of the same name, abbot of the monastery of St. *Salvador de Leyra*, who was a person of learning and probity, and who took care to infuse into his pupil not only the principles of religion, but the maxims also of good sense and honour, which his own experience taught him to frame into a scheme of policy, much superior to any that had been known to his predecessors^k. Don *Garcia* left him his dominions after a short reign of six years. Authors are not agreed as to the place of his burial, which some say was in the church of the monastery of St. *Juan de la Pegna*, and others in that of the monastery of St. *Salvador de Leyra*^l. With his reign the obscurity of this history in some measure ends; so that for the future we shall be able to proceed with greater perspicuity, as having more numerous guides, and those of more established authority.

^f L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERR.

Chron. RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan.

^k L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, TURQUET, P. MORET.

^g AMBROSIO, MORALES, LUC. Tudens.

^h MARIANA, FERR. TURQUET.

ⁱ MARIANA.

^l MARIANA, FERR. TURQUET.

S E C T. II.

From the reign of Don Sancho the Great to that of Don Sancho V. who united this kingdom to Arragon.

IT is very uncertain at what age Don *Sancho* succeeded his father; but it is impossible that he should be in his infancy, as some have written ^a, because we find him married the next year; and as improbable, what others have asserted, that this was his second marriage, which is a fable devised to support the story which we have elsewhere related of his erecting *Arragon* into a kingdom in favour of his son Don *Ramiro* ^b. It appears from indisputable authority, that he began his reign by entering into a close alliance with the house of *Castile*; which he strengthened by marrying Donna *Munia Elvira*, the daughter of Don *Sancho*, and the granddaughter of the count Don *Garcia*, which marriage, though it seems to have proceeded chiefly from inclination, contributed not a little to his interest ^c. He did not, however, take any share in the disputes that arose between his father-in-law Don *Sancho*, and his own father the count Don *Garcia*; nor does it appear that he embarked in the war against the *Moors*, carried on by the last of these two princes, and in which he was slain ^d. In all probability our king of *Navarre* was desirous of settling and improving what his ancestors had acquired before he engaged in any military expedition; but when this was once done, he passed the river *Gallego*, and began to expel the *Moors* out of most of the places they held on his eastern frontier; and having performed this, he prosecuted the war with such success, that he swept the vallies of the country of *Sobrarva*, and the county of *Ribagorça*, of the Infidels: which is a plain proof that if the first sovereigns of this country were really settled in *Sobrarva*, they held but a very small part of it, though the whole is far from being large, or otherwise had lost it again to the *Moors* while they were extending their dominions towards the west ^e.

WE must, however, observe, that in these conquests Don *Sancho* was very much assisted by the natives, of whom a great number were Christians, and consequently very desirous of being freed from the yoke of the *Moors*. There was also a certain count of *Ribagorça*, whose name was *William*, and who was master of a part of this country, who looked with a jealous eye upon these conquests of Don *Sancho*; and though he had not been able to drive out the *Moors*, attempted to dispossess him ^f. The consequence of this act of rashness was, that he was intirely defeated by Don *Sancho*, and lost his dominions, or at least his independency, by his ambition. But while he was thus employed in the eastern extremity of his dominions ^g, *Mundir*, alcaide or governor of *Saragossa*, thought a fair opportunity offered for ravaging *Navarre*, and for recovering part of the places that had been taken from his predecessors. In the first part of his scheme he succeeded, and loaded his army with booty; but in the latter he failed intirely: for Don *Sancho*, returning with his victorious army, fell upon the *Moors* with such vigour, that he intirely routed them, and obliged them to repass the *Ebro* with great loss, insomuch that it may be doubted whether they ever recovered the weight of this blow ^h. As the ancient boundaries between this monarch's dominions and the country of *Castile* were become very doubtful and precarious, and as this might in succeeding times prove the occasion of very fatal disputes, Don *Sancho* and his father-in-law appointed persons in whom they could confide to settle these limits effectually ⁱ.

THE king Don *Sancho*, observing that the monks throughout his dominions had lost much of their primitive sanctity of manners, which of course rendered them very unfit instruments for government in the instructing his subjects, he sent deputies to *Adilon*, abbot of the famous Benedictine monastery of *Clugni*, to inspect the regulations of that house, and to bring back with them some persons of piety and probity, capable of reforming the monasteries in his dominions. This being done, he placed *Paternus*, who was the chief of these reformers, in quality of abbot in the convent of St. *Juan de la Pegna*, and sent others to St. *Salvador de Leyra*, and to St. *Maria d'Yrache* ^k. By their vigilance and care the monks were every where brought into good order, and the king by their advice repaired and restored the ancient abbey of St. *Victoria*. He beautified likewise the cathedral of *Pampeluna*, and regulated the limits of the diocese very exactly. These facts are mentioned to shew, that in these ancient times the piety of princes was in a great measure the true point of policy, adapted in all respects to the nature of their government, and calculated alike to maintain tranquillity amongst their subjects at home, and to inspire them with that zeal which was so absolutely necessary to procure success in their

^a MARIANA.^b FERR. P. MORET.^c ZURITA, P. MORET.^d RODERIC Tolet.

Hist. Arabum, TURQUET.

^e P. MORET.^f FERR. Historia de Espana, tom. iii. part v. § xi.

P. MORET.

^g L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. MORET.^h RODERIC Tolet. Hist.

Arabum, FERR.

ⁱ Monument de S. Milan.^k P. MORET, FERR.

expeditions against the *Moors*¹. A circumstance which, duly attended to, will enable us to a form a true judgment of these times.

His accession to
the county of
Castile.

THE family of Don *Vela*, count of *Alava*, having taken some fresh umbrage at the count of *Castile*, had withdrawn themselves into the territories of the king of *Leon*, where, at the distance of many years, they took a bloody revenge, by murdering the young count Don *Garcia Sanchez*, the last heir male of the family, and the son of the prince, with whom they quarrelled^m. By the death of this prince, his brother-in-law the king of *Navarre* saw himself legally intitled to this noble county, in right of his wife, of which he accordingly took possession, and immediately invested the castle of *Monçon*, into which the assassins had retired, and having reduced it, put all he found therein to the swordⁿ. This was a very great accession of territory, and might very probably alarm his neighbours; for even in these times b the *Spanish* princes were exceedingly jealous of each other, and bore with great impatience such considerable additions of power. An accident which soon after fell out blew the smothered embers of discontent into a flame: the king Don *Sancho* resolved to restore the ancient city of *Palentia*, and committed the direction of this work to the bishop of *Oviedo*, one of the worthiest prelates of that age^o. The reason of this is said to have been, that the king hunting in a wood which now shaded the ruins of the old city, pursued a wounded stag into a cavern, where he perceived an altar, and is said to have felt his arm so numbed that he was unable to use it. Upon inquiry this was found to have been a chapel dedicated to St. Anthony, which induced him to make a vow to restore the city, and to build a cathedral upon that very spot in honour of this saint; which he accordingly did, and which still remains^p. In c proof of this there are as authentic vouchers as a thing of this kind can require; and yet *Mariana* and some other historians, who are well enough pleased with miracles in other cases, reject this^q. The rebuilding of *Palentia* so disturbed Don *Bermudo* the third king of *Leon*, that he took up arms; but Don *Sancho* entered his dominions with a superior force, and took *Astorga*: on which the principal prelates and peers in his dominions interposed, and obliged him to make a peace; the principal articles of which were, that he should give the district in dispute to the infanta Donna *Sancha*, who was to espouse Don *Ferdinand* the younger, son to the king of *Navarre*, who was to have the country of *Castile*, with the title of king^r. This seems to have been a very fair and equal agreement, and was confirmed by both kings at the monastery of *Sabagon*, where the marriage was performed with great magnificence^s. But on d the part of the king of *Leon*, as it afterwards appeared, it was a reconciliation only in shew.

His death and
distribution of
his estates.

A D. 1034.

Don *Sancho* having thus restored the public tranquillity, applied himself to reform the monasteries in *Castile* upon the same plan which he had pursued in respect to those in his hereditary dominions. In compassion likewise to those who made pilgrimages to the tomb of St. James in *Compostella*, he caused a new and safe road to be made through his dominions, by the foot of the mountains *Birbiefca* and *Amaya*, and so through *Carrion*, *Leon*, and *Astorga*, to *Compostella*: this raised his reputation highly, and was at the same time very advantageous to his subjects^t. As he was advanced in years, he was desirous to see the four princes his sons settled in his life-time, and therefore divided his dominions amongst them in the following manner: to Don *Garcia* he gave what is now stiled the kingdom of *Navarre*, with the noble e country of *Biscay*, then stiled, as some affirm, the duchy of *Cantabria*, and the province of *Rioja*; to Don *Ferdinand*, *Castile*; to Don *Gonçalo*, *Sobrarva* and *Ribagorça*; and to Don *Ramiro*, *Arragon*^u. As to the fable upon which this division is said to be grounded, we have given the reader an account of it in another place, and to have mentioned it once is full enough. Having sent all his sons into their respective governments, where they assumed the titles of kings, he ended a long life and a glorious reign in the month of *February* following^v. He was first interred in the monastery of *Ona*, from whence his son Don *Ferdinand* caused his body to be removed to the city of *Leon*^w. As to the tale of his being slain by assassins, in a pilgrimage to *Oviedo*, we have already declared our reasons for rejecting it, and therefore we need not dwell upon them here. It may be we ought to pass the same censure upon what is f said of his assuming the title of emperor of *Spain*; as to which the more ancient writers are silent, and those who report it without authority scarce deserve to be believed^x.

Don Garcia
IV. succeeds
his father.

Don *Garcia Sanchez* of *Najara*, so called from the place of his birth, succeeded his father in his hereditary realm of *Navarre*, but despoiled of so much of *Arragon* as had ever been united to it, and of the new conquests in *Sobrarva* and *Ribagorça*. *Mariana* assures us, that this monarch was gone in pilgrimage to *Rome* at the time of his father's demise, in order to obtain absolution there for the false charge he had brought against his mother, which, how-

¹ MARIANA. ^m RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron. ⁿ MARIANA,
 FERR. TURQUET. ^o P. MORET, RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. MARIANA, TURQUET. ^p FERR.
 i historia de Espana, tom. iii. part v. § xi. ^q RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. ^r LUC. Tudens.
 Chron. FERR. ^s RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. ^t LUC. Tudens. Chron. ^u PIERRE
 MARCELIO, FERR. ^v P. MORET, TURQUET, MARIANA, FERR. ^w RODERIC Tolet. de reb.
 Hispan. ZURITA, FERR. ^x MARIANA.

ever, is refuted, as well by the charter still remaining, which shews he was then in *Navarre*; as by his mother's continuing to reside in his dominions, which assuredly she would not have done if he had been guilty of such an act of baseness towards her; and she had in resentment caused him to be despoiled of *Castile* and *Arragon*². Fiction is often plausible, but true history is always consistent. The quarrel that happened between the kings of *Castile* and *Leon*, gave Don *Garcia* an opportunity of shewing his fraternal affection, by sending a corps of auxiliaries to the assistance of Don *Ferdinand*; but when by the defeat and death of Don *Bermudo*, he became, in right of his queen, who was that monarch's sister, the heir of that kingdom also, it is supposed that Don *Garcia* began to entertain some jealousy of him, which, however, will appear improbable from the sequel of their history; and, perhaps, so long as the queen their mother lived, the brethren, at least in outward appearance, were upon good terms with each other, of which the first step of consequence made by this king, after his accession, will appear to be an incontestable instance³. He had concluded a marriage with Donna *Estafana*, infanta of *Catalonia*; and going to *Barcelona* to solemnize his marriage, he passed through the dominions of Don *Ramiro* and of Don *Gonsalo*, and was treated by both with all the marks of affection and esteem possible. He returned the same way, and visited in his journey the monastery of St. *Juan de la Pegna*, as appears by an authentic privilege belonging to that monastery, which is still preserved⁴. We have, therefore, no reason to believe that the seeds of dissension were hitherto sown amongst the descendants of *Sancho the Great*; but that soon after they were, and that they produced an abundant harvest of mischief, will be our business to make appear, and we shall thereby justify *Mariana's* sentiment, that *Sancho the Great* hazarded the safety of *Spain* by thus dividing his dominions.

A. D. 1038.

THE very same year his brother Don *Gonsalo* was barbarously murdered in passing the bridge of *Monclus* by a servant of his, one *Ramonet*, whose motive to that detestable action was never known⁵. Immediately on his demise, his subjects called in his brother Don *Ramiro* king of *Arragon*, who by this means united *Sobrarva* and *Ribagorça* to his dominions. We do not find that Don *Garcia* gave him any disturbance upon this occasion; but contented himself with endeavouring to provide for the happiness of the subjects he had, without invading his neighbours⁶. Besides, at this time the country of *Navarre* was eaten up by locusts, against which plague, when all methods of prudence failed; he demanded the advice of Pope *Benedict*

The war between the two brethren Don Garcia and Don Ramiro, in which the latter is defeated.

1039.

the ninth, who sent *Gregory* bishop of *Ostia* to visit the country, to preach repentance to the people in general, and regularity to the monks. It seems, before this fall of locusts produced a scarcity, this kingdom was in a state of full prosperity, and the people, from thence fallen into luxury, were gradually declining from that high character which the virtues of their ancestors had obtained⁷. These circumstances encouraged Don *Ramiro*, who had already attacked, and rendered tributary to him several little princes amongst the *Moors*, to think of spoiling his brother of some places which lay convenient for him; and accordingly having assembled an army, under pretence of prosecuting his designs against the Infidels, he suddenly summoned his *Moorish* auxiliaries, and very unexpectedly entered the kingdom of *Navarre*, where he laid siege to *Tafalla*, a place of some strength, and of great consequence⁸. The king Don *Garcia* assembled a considerable body of his father's old troops, with whom he seemed disposed to intrust the defence of *Pampeluna*; but marching from thence in the evening, he surprised the army of *Arragon* in the depth of the night, forced their camp, and obliged his brother to fly on a horse without saddle or bridle⁹. Don *Garcia* having thus relieved *Tafalla*, finding his army reinforced by the arrival of several fresh corps of troops, marched directly into *Arragon*, where most of the great places opened their gates, and his brother, unable to resist him, retired into the mountains of *Ribagorça*; from whence he sent certain bishops to assure Don *Garcia* of his sorrow for what was passed, and to intreat him to remember he was still his brother: upon which the king of *Navarre*, having first admonished him not to forget that himself, retired into his own dominions, and quitted all the places he had taken¹⁰. These events, for want of attending to chronology, are strangely disfigured by *Mariana*, who has had, notwithstanding, many followers.

1042.

THIS war thus happily over, Don *Garcia* applied himself with great spirit and diligence to regulate the domestic affairs of his kingdom, and, in imitation of his predecessors, laid the foundation of the superb abby of *Santa Maria de Najara*; but, while he was thus employed, the *Moors* made an inroad into his country, and, having carried off a considerable booty, lodged it in the fortrefs of *Calahorra*¹¹. This gave the monarch of *Navarre* a fair opportunity of annexing that place to his dominions, and he took his measures for that purpose

1043.

² FERR.³ P. MORET.⁴ ZURITA, FERR.⁵ Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon.

Chron. S. Joan. de rup. TURQUET.

⁶ FERR. Historia de Espana.⁷ Chron. antiq. de reb.

Arragon. FERR.

⁸ Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon. RODERIC Tolet. de rebus Hispaniæ.⁹ LUCAS

Tudensis Chronicon.

RODERIC Tolet. de rebus Hispaniæ, Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon.

¹⁰ LUCAS

Tudensis Chron.

¹¹ MORET Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarro,

lib. xiv. fol. 746.

with so much secrecy and celerity, that he not only invested, but took it by storm, before the *Moors* were in any condition to relieve it. This added highly to his reputation, more especially as he immediately restored it, and made it a bishop's see ^k. In *Biscay* the clergy complained that they were scandalously oppressed by the nobility and gentry, who treated them very little better than slaves, and even obliged them to breed up and feed their dogs. The king interposed, and rendered them all the justice they could desire, settled their livings in such a manner as that they might live comfortably upon them, and thereby merited great commendation ^l. We must here put the reader in mind, that from these facts, which are related nakedly, and admit of no contradiction, he ought to frame in his own mind a character of this prince, upon which will depend all the credit due to the remaining part of this history; upon which, to save time, we shall avoid making any remarks, but leave them intirely to his sagacity, with a moral persuasion, that after a little reflection he will see things in a true point of light.

Is said to have designs somewhat injurious towards his brother, who seizes his person in revenge. THE vast expence incurred by building the new monastery of our lady of *Najara*, exhausted the treasury of *Navarre*, and made it very difficult for Don *Garcia* to perform his purpose. Upon this he applied himself to the convent of *St. Millan*, and desired to borrow a part of their wealth, in order to perfect his new foundation. The abbot was not altogether averse to this; but the prior, whose name was *Dominick*, obstinately opposed, and prevented it; which so provoked the king, that he ordered the abbot to exclude him the cloister ^m. Not long after Don *Garcia* fell dangerously ill; upon which his brother Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile*, came to *Najara* to make him a visit. It is said that the latter claimed this very city, with the province belonging to it, and some other places, as having been anciently dependent on the kingdom which his father had given him: whereas, on the other hand, Don *Garcia* asserted, that in the same instrument by which the king gave his brother a kingdom, he expressly assigned to him these places which he kept, and would keep ⁿ. However, he received Don *Ferdinand* with all the kindness and respect possible; but in a little time it was infused into the head of the *Castilian* monarch, that his brother had an intention to secure his person; and he thereupon retired as suddenly and as secretly as possible into his own territories, highly offended at the injury which had been offered him, not yielding any credit to the assurances that his brother gave him, that he was imposed upon by some of his favourites, and that never any such design had entered into his head ^o. Some historians of *Navarre* would persuade us, that Don *Ferdinand* was so well satisfied as to come a second time into *Navarre*, and returned without the least injury or molestation. But however that might be, some years after, this prince being extremely sick at *Burgos*, Don *Garcia* went thither to see him, where, though he was at first received with all imaginable affection and regard, yet was he very speedily seized by his brother's order, and sent prisoner to the castle of *Cea* ^p. He remained not long there, but, by flattering or bribing his guards, made his escape; and on his returning into his own dominions he began to raise forces, in order to take a severe revenge. It is said that, to do this the more effectually, he solicited the *Moors* of *Saragossa* and *Tudela*, to lend him their assistance, which they very readily did; so that he was quickly in a condition to invade *Castile* with a very numerous and potent army ^q.

Don Garcia having made his escape, invades Castile, and is slain in battle. As his long illness was attributed to his offending prior *Dominick* of the convent of *St. Millan*, so all that happened afterwards is referred to another quarrel with the same holy person; who having prevented the king by a miracle from removing the body of their patron to his new convent at *Najara*, was by him so roughly handled, that he withdrew into the dominions of Don *Ferdinand*, where he became abbot of *Silos*, and was employed with other venerable persons by the king of *Leon* and *Castile* to mediate with his brother, and to make up this difference. But Don *Garcia* was inflexible; so that when his preparations were over, and his whole army assembled, he, in the latter end of *August*, began his march into *Castile*, and advancing directly towards *Burgos*, in a plain between *Atapuerca* and *Afes*, about nine miles from that city, Don *Ferdinand* met him with his troops, and on the first of *September* the two armies engaged ^r. The dispute continued for a long time equal; but at length an officer, whose name was *Sanchez Fortune*, who had deserted the service of Don *Garcia*, and entered into that of his brother, penetrated the guards of the former, and piercing the king through with a lance, bore him with his horse to the ground. Others say, that two deserters out of his own guards, being well acquainted with his person, singled him out in the battle, and each of them ran him through with a lance at the same time. Being thus slain, through a private pique, his army retired, and are said to have left the *Mohammedans* to be surrounded, and cut to pieces ^s. His corpse was interred the third day after his death in the royal

^k Chart. Monast. S. Millan.

^l P. MORET.

^m Vita St. Dominic.

ⁿ Chron. antiq.

de reb. Arragon. LUCAS Tudenfis Chronicon. RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispaniæ.

^o ZURITA Annal.

Arragon. MARIANA, TURQUET.

^p P. MORET, ABARCA.

^q Chron. antiq. de reb. Arragon.

LUCAS Tudenfis Chronicon, RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispaniæ.

^r Chronicon Ovitenfe, Annal. Com-

plut. Annal. Tolet.

^s LUCAS Tudenfis Chronicon, RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispaniæ.

a monastery of our lady of *Najara*, which had cost him so dear. Some ancient writers say, that the king of *Castile* availed himself of this victory to dismember from the kingdom of *Navarre* the countries which had given rise to the dispute between him and his brother; but a very accurate and judicious historian has shewn the fact to be otherwise, and that he gave his nephew no disturbance. The deceased monarch is said to have left behind him four sons, and as many daughters: these were *Don Sancho*, who succeeded him; *Don Ramiro*, to whom his father gave the feignory of *Calaborra*; *Don Ferdinand*, and *Don Raymond*: the infantas were *Donna Ermefinda*, *Donna Ximena*, *Donna Major*, and *Donna Urraca*^t.

Don *Sancho Garcias* ascended the throne after the unfortunate death of his father, and, as some writers say, proved a prince no way distinguished either for wisdom or valour. He stood much in awe of his uncle *Don Ferdinand*, and though he hated him for his father's death, and was jealous of his exorbitant power, yet at first he seemed to take in good part such excuses as he thought fit to make, and also to comply with whatever terms he judged it proper to demand^u. But when thoroughly established in his government, he entered into a close correspondence with his other uncle *Don Ramiro* of *Arragon*, who having the same interests, and the same fears, proposed to him a defensive alliance, as the most effectual security for them both, against a king who was equally formidable to his Christian and to his *Mohammedan* neighbours. This treaty produced in a great measure the desired effect; but the king of *Leon* and *Castile* chancing to die, divided his dominions, leaving *Don Sancho* *Castile*, *Don Alonso* *Leon*, and *Don Garcia* *Galicia* and *Portugal*^w. Before this *Don Ramiro*, king of *Arragon*, was killed in a battle against the *Moors* of *Saragossa*, whom the king of *Castile* had taken under his protection: this induced *Don Sancho* of *Navarre* to renew his treaty with his cousin *Don Sancho* of *Arragon*, which enabled him to repel the invasion of *Don Sancho* of *Castile*, who was thoroughly beaten by the allied princes; though afterwards turning his arms against his brethren, he united once more all his father's territories, and consequently became in every respect as formidable to his cousins as ever his father *Don Ferdinand* had been. But the death of that ambitious prince soon released them from their apprehensions, notwithstanding his brother *Don Alonso*, whom he had forced to take refuge amongst the *Moors* of *Toledo*, succeeded him in all his dominions^x. Some facts there are which seem to contradict the character before given of this prince; for when *Don Sancho* of *Arragon* attacked the *Moorish* king of *Saragossa*, our *Sancho* of *Navarre* received him as his tributary, and thereby secured him from being the victim of his cousin's ambition^y. He also resisted all the importunities of *Pope Alexander* the second, who pressed him to lay aside the old *Gothic* form of celebrating divine worship, and introduce the *Roman* liturgy, and this notwithstanding the king of *Arragon* yielded to his demand. But he did not at all oppose the holding a council for reforming simony, and other vices, which prevailed amongst the clergy; on the contrary, he took care that the canons made for that purpose were duly executed. He was also steady, in conjunction with his cousins, in treating with the contempt they deserved the wild pretences of *Pope Gregory* the seventh, who by a scandalous and ridiculous forgery, as we have shewn in another place, pretended to render all the Christian princes in *Spain* feudatories to the see of *Rome*, than which there could not be any thing more idle or preposterous, notwithstanding the learned cardinal *Baronius* undertook to defend it^z. These seem to be proofs that *Don Sancho* of *Navarre* was not either a weak or pusillanimous prince, though he was of a very pacific disposition; or it may be that some domestic misfortunes restrained him from endeavouring to raise his reputation by feats of arms, in the same manner his father and other illustrious ancestors had done: but we can only guess at these things, the story of his reign being particularly obscure, and even the few facts that are preserved being differently related, and some of them with contradictory circumstances: however, we must take them as they are, and without pretending to help them by conjectures.

Don *Raymond*, the brother of the king of *Navarre*, being seduced by some young men, with whom he had contracted too great an intimacy, began first to treat his brother with less respect than was due to him, and next endeavoured to diffuse this spirit of contempt amongst his subjects. He treated his piety as meanness of spirit; ridiculed his constant attention to business as unworthy of his dignity; and complained that he had made no additions to his territories by conquest^a. He made no impression upon the bulk of the people, who, persuaded that their sovereign had nothing so much at heart as their happiness, were intirely devoted to his service; but he drew his sister *Donna Ermefinda* into his intrigues, and had a numerous set of ruffians, who were his partizans, and whom he protected from the punishment which the laws would have inflicted for their offences, which made them so insolent that they committed

^t ZURITA Annal. Arragon. MARIANA L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Paris, 8°.

Tudensis Chronicon, RODERIC Tolet. de rebus Hispaniæ.

Tudensis Chronicon, RODERIC Tolet. de rebus Hispaniæ.

Historia de Espana.

^u RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispaniæ.

^w MARIANA, FERR. TURQUET.

^y ZURITA Annal. Arragon.

^u LUCAS

^x LUCAS

^z FERR.

openly the greatest violences, to the terror of all the sober part of mankind^b. The king, ^a having at first tried all methods possible to reclaim him, at length declared him and his associates rebels and public enemies. Don *Raymond*, who either persuaded himself, or was persuaded by his bravoës, that if his brother was dead, the people would set aside his children, and receive this gallant prince for their king with universal applause, having caused some castles to be fortified, and drawn about him as great a number of these mutinous people as he was able, he began to practise against his brother's life, and soon brought his barbarous designs to bear, though authors differ a little about the manner in which the assassination was perpetrated. Some say, that Don *Raymond* sent a considerable number of his attendants into the city disguised, in order to defend the person who was instructed to kill the king, and that at length this was executed at *Roda*, where Don *Sancho* was stabbed by his brother's appointment^c. Others assert, that, while he was hunting on the mountains between *Funes* and *Milagro*, Don *Raymond*, who was reconciled to him in appearance, observing that the greatest part of the company were left behind by the king's eagerness in pursuing a wild boar, he and his associates took that opportunity to throw him and his horse over the rocks, by which he was beat to pieces^d. This execrable act was committed on the fourth of *June*, when the king had reigned twenty-two years. His body is said to have been interred in the church of the royal monastery of St. *Maria de Najara*, universally lamented by his subjects^e.

^a THE generality of historians tell us, that this king espoused Donna *Placentia*, and had by her three sons, of whom the eldest was Don *Ramiro*, and both the others were called *Garcia*; ^c but this is a mistake, for in reality Don *Ramiro* was not his son, but the two Don *Garcia*'s were, and being very young at the time of their father's death, were carried for safety into the territories of *Castile*. The confusion was so great, that very few knew what they were doing, or what they would have done; in this only they agreed, that the stain of this treason could be effaced by nothing but the blood of the infamous Don *Raymond* and his associates; upon which he fled immediately to *Almutadir*, king of *Saragossa*, who, in pity to his distress, gave him a subsistence^f. Don *Ramiro*, lord of *Calaborra*, laboured to pacify the minds of the people, and engage them to place him on the throne with his brother, to no purpose; for they persisted in the strange resolution they had formed, not to admit any of the family. Don *Ramiro* upon this immediately proclaimed in *Calaborra* Don *Alonso* king of *Castile* and *Leon*; ^d and on his detaching a considerable body of troops to his assistance, seized the provinces of *Rioja* and *Biscay*; all which wrought not in the least on the people of *Navarre*, who, in pursuance of their own inclinations, called in the king of *Arragon*, shewing no concern for the children of their deceased king, who were left to the compassion of the king of *Leon* and *Castile*, who caused them to be well educated, the younger dying a child, and the elder being killed in battle by the *Moors*, as some say, though *Ferreras* conjectures, from their being both of the same name, that one was illegitimate, and that both died in their childhood^g. As Don *Sancho* brought a great body of troops with him to *Pampeluna*; and as Don *Alonso* reinforced his army in the province of *Rioja*, it looked as if the possession of *Navarre* was to be decided by force of arms; but the prelates and peers interceding, and representing ^e to both princes, that they were fighting the battles of the Infidels, in fighting against each other, it was at last agreed that each should keep what he had already obtained, and that the river *Ebro* should be the bounds of their respective dominions^h. It was by this unfortunate event that the kingdom of *Navarre* lost those fertile and great provinces, all communication with the ocean, and that part of *Old Castile* which had been hitherto annexed to it. As for the infant Don *Ramiro*, and the infantas Donna *Urraca*, Donna *Major*, and Donna *Ximena*, they withdrew into *Castile*, and were treated with all the regard due to their birth, and all the kindness their distressed circumstances demandedⁱ. And thus having shewn how the realms of *Navarre* and *Arragon* were again united, after a separation of upwards of forty years, we shall conclude this section.

^b ZURITA Annal. Arragon. L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Paris, 8°. du Royaume de Navarre, TURQUET.

de reb. Hispan. ^c P. MORET.

^d MARIANA, FERR. TURQUET.

^e Annal. Compostell. Chron. S. Joan. de rup. RODERIC Tolet.

^f MARIANA, FERR. TURQUET.

^g FERR.

^h P. MORET.

S E C T. III.

From the reign of Sancho the fifth to that of queen Joannia, who by marriage united this crown to that of France.

- ^a **D**ON Sancho Ramirez, or Don Sancho the fifth, thus mounted the throne of Navarre by the consent of the people, and assumed the title of Don Sancho the fifth. As we have given the history of this prince already, in speaking of his hereditary kingdom, we shall confine ourselves here to such facts as have a strict relation to Navarre. He found himself frequently obliged to pay much higher respect to Don Alonso, king of Leon and Castile, than he was by any means inclined, and that on two accounts; one because of his pretensions to Navarre, which were at least as good as his own; and the other because he gave a protection in his dominions to those who had a better title than either. It was this that engaged him to assist at the siege of Toledo, where, to conceal his jealousy of that monarch's power he contributed not a little to make him much more powerful than he was. On the other hand, Don Alonso, not satisfied either with those provinces which he had torn from his kingdom, or with the submissions paid him by Don Sancho, secretly hated him for the acquisition he had made of Navarre, and for this reason protected the Moorish princes, their common neighbours; so that during their whole reigns these monarchs lived in apparent amity and private enmity with each other, till it wrought the death of one of them^a. In his domestic government king Sancho was equally zealous for the welfare of his subjects and the glory of his crown. He made many good laws that are contained in a code that bears his name^b; he built the city of Estella, or Stella, in a pleasant plain, on the banks of the river Erga, covered by a strong castle, and which is now looked upon to be the second place in the kingdom; he made restitution and did penance for having taken the treasure of the church to support his wars against the Moors, who in the times of public confusion had found means to seize several places in the mountains, of which he dispossessed them; to prevent which inconvenience from ever happening again, he gave the countries of Sobrarva and Ribagorça to his son Don Pedro, in his life-time, and this, as some say, with the title of king^c. The last great action of this monarch's life was that which put an end to it; for having invested the city of Huesca, which was defended against him by the whole force of the Moors, not without the assistance of some Castilians, he was shot, as he extended his arm in giving directions, under it with an arrow into his body, of which wound, being carried into his tent, he speedily expired, as some say, on the first, but as others, on the fourth of June, when he had reigned in Navarre eighteen years^d. A.D. 1094.
- ^d DON Pedro, reputed by some king of Sobrarva several years before, succeeded his father in all his dominions; and having, in conjunction with his brother Don Alonso, promised never to put an end to this war till Huesca was reduced, he, to fulfil that promise, gave battle to a numerous army of Moors, under the king of Saragossa, and of Christians, under the count of Cabra, in the great plain of Alcoraz, and by their total defeat made way for the surrender of that place. It was in this battle that the historians of Navarre pretend that St. George was seen fighting on horseback, at the head of one of their squadrons, and from thence they have a particular devotion for that saint^e. The best part of his reign was spent in several expeditions against the Infidels, from whom he took many strong places, and thereby extended his dominions on every side. But if he was fortunate in his wars, he was very far from being so in his family, since his son the infant Don Pedro, and his daughter the infanta Donna Isabella, died both on the eighteenth of August, and himself, as some say, on the twenty-eighth of September following, partly of a lingering disease, and partly of grief for his children, when he had governed the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon ten years^f. He was interred with his children in the church of the monastery of St. Juan de la Pegna, and was the last king buried there, unless it may be his successor, though in respect to this there is no certainty. Don Pedro's short reign. 1096.
- DON Alonso succeeded his brother, who died without posterity, and became in a very short space of time, from the younger brother of a little king, the most powerful of the Christian monarchs, which, since the ruin of the Gothic kingdom, had reigned in Spain. He was the first of his name who had reigned either in Arragon or Navarre; but after his marriage with Donna Urraca, he intitled himself Don Alonso, the second of Leon, and the seventh of Castile; but that he ever intitled himself emperor is, if not false, of very doubtful authority^g. We Battles. 1104.

^a P. MORET, ZURITA Annal. Arragon. FERR. TURQUET.

^d RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. MARTINEZ Historia de la Fundacion y Antigüidades de S. Juan de la Pena, Annal. Compotell. LUC. Tudens. RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. TURQUET.

ABARCA, P. MORET.

^f Annal. Compotell. MARTINEZ, ZURITA, ABARCA, FERR.

^c ZURITA.

^e ZURITA,

^g MA-

have said so much of this gallant prince in the histories of *Leon*, *Castile*, and *Arragon*, that it is unnecessary to dwell upon his great actions here. We shall therefore only observe, that he reduced *Saragossa*, *Tudela*, *Terrazona*, *Calatayud*, *Daroca*, and all the country on the south of the *Ebro*, which he annexed to the kingdom of *Arragon*^h. He was the first who carried the arms of the Christians into the fruitful province of *Andalusia*; and so brave in his person, and so fortunate in his military expeditions, that he obtained the surname of *the Gainer of Battles*. His valour was no less conspicuous in *France*, where he took *Bayonne*, than in *Spain*, and the very fame of his exploits drew, as the custom of that age was, to his standard, the most gallant knights from all the countries in *Europe*ⁱ. But this noble, and, in the general acceptation of those times, pious prince, persisting obstinately in the siege of *Fraga*, and giving battle to a much superior army of *Moors*, who advanced to the relief of it, was totally defeated on the seventeenth of *July*; and having lost upon the spot most of the generous cavaliers that came to him out of foreign countries, and the flower of the nobility of both his kingdoms, escaped with difficulty to the monastery of *St. Juan de la Pegna*, and there died in two days of grief, as cotemporary writers say^k; so that there is not the least reason to credit the fables reported by some authors of his surviving this action several years, and leading a retired life in the guise of a hermit near *Jerusalem*^l. He died without issue; and by his will, which was made at *Bayonne*, left prodigious legacies to the church, and both his kingdoms to the knights templars; but his subjects were wise enough not to suffer themselves to be disposed of in that manner; and therefore, as soon as they had recovered the great consternation they were under, they convened an assembly of the states^m.

The states of Navarre assembled at Pampeluna chose Don Garcia Ramirez their king.

It was of the greatest consequence to come to a speedy election, and the greatest part of the assembly had cast their eyes upon Don Pedro Atarez, a man of great virtue and ability, and descended from Don Ramiro the first, king of *Arragon*. Against this, however, Don Pedro Tizon de Cadreita, and Don Peregrin Castellezuelo set themselves violently, affirming, that he was a person of austere manners, and already excessive proud; so that raising him to the throne would be making themselves and their countrymen miserableⁿ. Warm debates arising, the assembly was transferred to *Moncon*, where it quickly appeared that the only means to prevent a civil war consisted in the elevation of Don Ramiro, brother to the deceased king, to the throne, though a monk, and in priest's orders^o. The nobility of *Navarre* seeing this, retired home, and assembling at *Pampeluna* suddenly, unanimously elected Don Garcia Ramirez, and having sent for him from *Moncon*, declared him king^p. All authors agree that he was of the royal family; but many, and *Mariana* among the rest, will have him to be the son of Don Ramiro, and the grandson of Don Sancho, whom his brother assassinated^q: yet upon a strict examination of the charters, and other authentic instruments of those days, it very clearly appears that he was in reality the grandson of Don Ramiro, the brother of Don Sancho, who retired into *Castile* during the troubles of *Navarre*; so that his new subjects might be truly said to render him that justice which they had refused his grandfather. He was in the flower of his age, and very capable of that high dignity to which he was advanced, personally brave, but politically cautious: jealous of the honour of his crown, but tender of his people's safety: in a word, very able to maintain war when forced to maintain it; but by no means disposed to disturb his neighbours, or to expose those who had chosen him for their protector, to gratify his ambition.

Difficulties to which he found himself exposed immediately on his accession.

He had scarce felt the weight of a crown before he found two princes equally desirous of easing him of his burden: the first was Don Alonso Raymond, king of *Leon* and *Castile*, who pretended to the sovereignty of *Navarre*, as being descended from Don Sancho the Great in a direct line; the other was Don Ramiro, king of *Arragon*, who conceived that, as the heir of his brother, he was as much intitled to one kingdom as the other^r. Don Garcia with great address wound himself out of these difficulties. He went to pay his devoirs to Don Alonso, and by this condescension concluded a treaty with him much to his own advantage. With the like dexterity he insinuated to the nobility of *Arragon*, that a war would be fatal to both nations; and that though he had just pretensions as the heir of Don Garcia de Najara upon the sovereignty of *Arragon*, yet he was content to remit things to an arbitration: the result of which was, that his right to *Navarre* was acknowledged, the nobility of *Arragon* being satisfied that Don Ramiro would have enough to do to govern one kingdom. They insisted only, that, in reverence to his age, Don Garcia should pay him a kind of homage, which he very readily performed, hoping, in case he survived him, to be chosen his successor^s.

A. D. 1135.

Successes of this monarch,

THINGS did not long continue in this pacific situation; for Don Garcia having demanded the restitution of the provinces that had been dismembered from his kingdom, and annexed to

^h ZURITA, RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudens. Chron. ⁱ ABARCA, ZURITA, FERR. ^k Annal. Compustell. Annal. Tolet. MARTINEZ, RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. Chron. Adefons Magni. ^l MARIANA. ^m FERR. tom. iii. part v. § xii. ⁿ ZURITA, Chron. Adefons Magni, FERR. ^o TURQUET. ^p FERR. ^q ZURITA. ^r MARTINEZ, Chron. Adefons Magni, ZURITA, FERR. Chron. Adefons Magni, MARTINEZ.

^a *Castile*, and having received a rough answer from the emperor, for so Don *Alonso* was now styled, he entered into an alliance with Don *Alonso Henriquez*, prince of *Portugal*, and endeavoured to obtain it by force of arms; but failing in this, the dispute was at length compromised^b. This was succeeded by a new quarrel with Don *Raymond Berenger*, who, on the abdication of Don *Ramiro*, had assumed the title of prince of *Arragon*, and was count of *Barcelona* in his own right. The emperor Don *Alonso* assisted his brother-in-law Don *Raymond* in this dispute; but Don *Garcia* managed the war with so much courage and conduct, that he beat the prince of *Arragon*, and obliged the emperor to raise the siege of *Pampeluna*; and at length the peers and prelates of his realm interposing, the emperor concluded a treaty with him, by which an end was put to all their differences, and, for the confirmation of it, his son Don *Sancho* married the infanta Donna *Blanch* of *Navarre*^c. The war with *Arragon* was still continued; in which Don *Garcia* gained several advantages; but his queen Donna *Margaret* dying, he thought fit, to promote his own interest, to marry Donna *Urraca*, the natural daughter of the emperor; who compromised the disputes with *Arragon*, and engaged both princes to assist him in his wars against the *Moors*; which they very honourably performed, and the emperor, by their assistance, managed that war with great success^d. This was one of the last great actions of Don *Garcia*'s life, who, after managing very prudently that perplexed state in which he found the affairs of his monarchy, and having restored it to its ancient independency, died in peace at *Pampeluna* on the twenty-first of *November*, and was buried in the cathedral church of that capital, equally regretted by his subjects and by the princes his allies^e.

A.D. 1140.

1147.

1150.

Don *Sancho*, surnamed *the Wise*, succeeded his father, and very steadily pursued his maxims. He delivered his sister, who had been married while a child, and who was now become a woman, to the infant Don *Sancho*; and at the same time his mother-in-law Donna *Urraca* returned to her father's court^f. The war with *Arragon* being revived, he carried it on with great spirit and success, notwithstanding the emperor assisted Don *Raymond*, and at length obliged the latter to terminate the disputes that had lasted so long between the two crowns by an equitable and solid peace. After the death of the emperor he attempted the recovery of the places that, to the prejudice of the crown of *Navarre*, had been annexed to *Castile*; and though he failed in his first attempt, yet taking afterwards a more favourable opportunity, he succeeded, and by the like prudent management hindered the coalition of the small *Moorish* principalities, by assisting the weaker against the stronger, by which he kept their forces still divided, and at the same time employed in ruining each other^g. It was from the exercise of these refined arts of policy, as well as from his diligence and attention to domestic improvements, that he obtained the surname of *Wise*, and retrieved and restored the broken forces of his monarchy in such a manner, that he begun to be as much considered, both by the Christian and *Moorish* princes, as any of his predecessors had been^h. An extraordinary instance of this comes in properly here, and shall be the more largely explained, because, tho' occasionally mentioned elsewhere, yet the particulars were reserved for the history of *Navarre* and the reign of this prince, to both which they naturally belong.

Don Sancho VII. or the Wife.

ⁱ We have shewn in how uneasy and precarious a situation Don *Sancho*'s affairs stood with regard to the kings of *Arragon* and *Castile*, and the injuries he received from both; and we have likewise shewn upon what motives he assisted the *Moors*: the point now in hand is to give the reader a clear idea of the immediate advantages which resulted to him from a measure that seemed to promise but very remote benefits at the most. The *Moorish* prince he assisted was *Mohammed Aben-lop*, king of *Valencia* and *Murcia*, whose dominions were scarce contiguous to his, and with whom therefore it might have been apprehended he had little to do^j. His auxiliaries were commanded by Don *Pedro Ruiz d'Azagra*, by whose assistance he not only repulsed and defeated his enemy, but likewise besieged and made himself master of *Granada*^k, and out of gratitude for so signal a service, the generous *Moor* made him a present of the town and fortrefs of *Albarracin*. This is a small place, but of great strength, standing on an eminence near the *Guadalavir*, commanding a pleasant district on the frontiers of *Castile* and *Valencia*, as well as *Arragon*, within which kingdom it lies^l. The king of *Navarre* gave Don *Pedro* leave, and furnished him with the means to fortify this place, to people it thoroughly, and to keep a strong garrison in it; so that, before they were aware, the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon* saw a new sovereignty erected, equally troublesome to both; though Don *Pedro*, to save appearances, styled himself the vassal of our lady of *Albarracin*, because the cathedral was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin^m. This new prince, who had a long head, as well as a stout heart, acted constantly in conjunction with his old master; and whenever he

By his concurrence and advice Don Pedro Ruiz d'Azagra becomes sovereign of Albarracin.

^a Chron. Adefons Magni, FERR. Adefons Magni, FERR. TURQUET.

^c RODERIC Tolet. LUC. TUDENS. P. MORET.

^e Chron.

^b P. MORET.

^d Annal. Tolet. P. MORET. L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA.

^f LUC TUDENS. Chron. Chron. Adefons Magni.

^g Annal. Tolet. GARIBAY,

^h FERR.

ⁱ RODERIC. Tolet.

^j FERR.

^k Etat de l'Espagne, par

^l l'Abbe VAYRAC, tom. i. p. 163.

^m P. MORET, FERR.

A. D. 1161. endeavoured to enlarge his western frontier, the lord of *Albarracin* was sure to make a diversion in his favour, by an excursion into the very heart of *Castile*. On the other hand, if the king of *Arragon* invaded *Navarre*, Don *Pedro* was presently at his back; so that by the help of this ally, the wise Don *Sancho* stood no longer in awe of either, or of both these princes. Such were the effects of this singular expedient, nothing similar to which is perhaps to be met with in any history. But we pass to instances, though of a less striking, yet of a more general nature, which will give a true idea of this prince's government.

Other instances of Don Sancho's prudence and policy, by which Navarre was restored to a great degree.

We must allow the historians of *Navarre* to have had a just right to set this monarch on a level with any of those who flourished in his time: he entered on his dominions when they had been harrassed by a long war, and curtailed through a series of ill-fortune. He had scarce a single power that was sincerely allied to him, and even in his own territories some inclined to the king of *Castile*, and more to him of *Arragon*. To balance this, he kept at first on the defensive; entered into a league with *Lewis* the seventh of *France*, which subsisted during both their reigns; enlarged the privileges of most of the great towns, built some new ones, and fortified all; exempted the inhabitants of the vallies that were most barren from taxes, by which indulgence they were always ready to take arms as occasion required. His court was the asylum of the injured and oppressed, whether Christians or *Moors*; so that he had ever in his service men of distinguished courage and great experience. He was, for those times, a prince of learning, which he encouraged amongst his clergy and nobility. He had a good correspondence throughout *Europe*, and so good intelligence, that he let slip no opportunity of recovering the places that had been torn from his predecessors. His alliance with *Portugal* was of great use to him: and his industry and activity in time of peace enabled him to make or sustain war sooner and steadier than any of his neighbours. He lost several battles, and some towns; but he rejected all offers of peace till these were restored; and his abilities and experience furnished him with such resources, that sooner or later he procured his own terms. His generosity in the usage of such as he made prisoners gained him an high reputation, and was in other respects very useful; his modesty and his silence rendered his designs impenetrable; and his readiness in forgiving past offences, brought back into his dominions most of those who had retired into *Arragon* or *Castile*. He first introduced the title of count into *Navarre*; and was so ready to acknowledge whatever services were rendered him by the nobility, and paid them so much respect upon all occasions, that they let slip no opportunity of expressing their zeal, or of conforming to his will, by which he wrought so great a change in the order and œconomy of the state, that at the same time he raised his own revenues, the people in general were much richer than before his accession to the crown. His address and his experience might have given him a boundless authority, if he had sought it; but, except in great emergencies, he did nothing but by the advice of the states, or at least with their consent; and was so far from abridging the liberties of the people, that in many instances he extended them. When he found it impracticable to recover all *Biscay*, he insinuated to the lords of it, who were vassals to the crown of *Castile*, that hostilities might prove the destruction, but could never turn to the advantage either of the *Biscayners*, or the people of *Navarre*; and therefore he advised them to keep a tacit and perpetual neutrality when the two crowns were at war, the advantages of which were quickly so apparent, and the lords of *Biscay* became by this means so independent, that the monarchs of *Castile* could never engage them to break through it, while the kings of *Navarre* drew little less benefit from that province than they would have done if it had been held of them; which benefit, though foreseen by him, was not felt in its full extent but by his successors.

This monarch defeats the confederacy formed for conquering and dividing his dominions.

1173.

Don *Alonso* king of *Arragon*, count of *Barcelona*, and master of several fair estates in *France*, could never divest himself of the passionate desire he had once entertained of being master of *Navarre*; and finding the like disposition in Don *Alonso* the third of *Castile*, he took advantage of their having concluded a truce with the *Moors*, to propose the conquest of that kingdom, in order to which a kind of convention was settled between them: as both princes had numerous armies on foot, and had bound themselves by reciprocally depositing certain fortresses for the due performance of their engagement, Don *Sancho* was never in so great peril before. At the time appointed, the troops of *Arragon* entered *Navarre*, and took several places; but they were so well and so long defended, that by the end of the campaign the army was much reduced. On the other hand, the king of *Castile* in person penetrated almost as far as *Pampeluna* with a superior army, Don *Sancho* retiring before him all the way, and suffering him to burn and pillage the country at his pleasure; but in his retreat he harrassed his troops exceedingly, and recovered a great part of the booty. The next year the war was carried on in the same manner; but while the king of *Arragon* pleased himself with the

¹ ZURITA, P. MORET, FERR. L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. FERR. ² ZURITA, FERR.

³ P. MORET, TURQUET, RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. ⁴ P. MORET, FERR. ⁵ ZURITA, LUC. Tudens. Chron.

a taking of several small places, he was alarmed with the news that Don Sancho had made an irruption into *Arragon*, had taken *Cajuelos*, and was preparing to cut off his retreat. As for the *Castilians*, finding the country in the same manner as they left it, and meeting with no opposition, they were afraid of advancing too far, from an apprehension of suffering by that famine which they had caused. Events of the like nature followed in several campaigns, till at length all parties, weary of a war by which none were gainers, consented to leave all their disputes to the arbitration of *Henry* king of *England*, to whose court each of the princes sent ambassadors, and gave security to submit to his decision^p. In the mean time a cessation of arms took place, which continued for several years. It was in this interval of peace that two queens of *Navarre* died almost at the same time, Donna *Sancha*, sister to Don *Ferdinand* king of *Leon*, and aunt to Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, who was buried in the cathedral at *Pampeluna*, and Donna *Urraca*, the widow of Don *Garcia Ramirez*^q. The use Don *Sancho* made of this calm was to build in the province of *Alava* the beautiful town of *Vitoria*, to cover his country from irruptions on the side of *Castile*; and he chose the situation so happily, that in process of time it became a fine city, and the capital of this country, after it fell, during the reign of his son, under the dominion of the crown of *Castile*, to which it has been united ever since^r.

A. D. 1181.

THE decision of king *Henry* of *England* was not accepted, and yet the truce still continued. But the king of *Castile* reflecting, that while this misunderstanding continued, it would be always the interest of Don *Sancho* to hinder as much as in him lay the success of his expeditions against the *Moors*, and also that the campaigns against that monarch were attended with great loss of blood, and little or no profit, while the common enemy was increasing in strength, which must be attended with great ill consequences in process of time, he demanded an interview with that monarch; in which, once for all, they adjusted the disputes that had so long subsisted, settled the frontier between both their kingdoms, and gave each other, according to the mode of those times, security for the due performance of this treaty, which was one of the greatest and happiest events in his reign^s. The king of *Arragon* also, tired out with unsuccessful expeditions, and desirous of applying his attention to affairs of another nature, took the like method, and concluded a definitive peace. Thus Don *Sancho* carried his two great points, and obliged both his potent neighbours to renounce those pretensions which ambition suggested, and which for such a length of time had been seconded by force^t. One thing aimed at by this treaty would have been very injurious to the interests of *Navarre* had it taken place. The two kings of *Castile* and *Arragon* had thoughts of attacking and reducing Don *Pedro Ruiz de Azagra*, whose independency gave them great disquiet. The opportunity was favourable: the king of *Navarre* could not now defend him; and against the combined forces of the two crowns, it was impossible he should defend himself. In this desperate situation Don *Sancho* suggested to the two crowns he might demand the protection of the *Moors*; and in that case, instead of being easily suppressed, he might prove a more formidable enemy than ever. The confederates, having considered this, resolved to pursue their true interest, in acting against the *Moors*, referring the siege of *Albarracin* to a more convenient season^u. *Richard* the first, king of *England*, having demanded Donna *Berengara*, Don *Sancho's* eldest daughter, in marriage, he readily consented; and that princess being delivered to queen *Eleanor*, the king's mother, was by her carried into *Flanders*, and from thence on board a fleet to the island of *Cyprus*, where their nuptials were solemnized on the twelfth of *May* at *Limisso*^v. The very next year the *English* monarch being in the *Holy Land*, the count de *Toulouse* attacked his seneschal in *Gascony*, supposing that he should obtain an easy conquest; but the king of *Navarre*, being acquainted with it, sent the infant Don *Sancho* with eight hundred men at arms to the assistance of the seneschal, which intirely disconcerted the count's scheme^w. This was one of the last great actions of his life; for the king being seized with a consumptive distemper, sunk by a gradual decay, breathed his last on the twenty-seventh of *June*, leaving behind him the reputation of being the most accomplished monarch that ever sat on the throne of *Navarre*^x.

Other memorable acts, and death of Don Sancho the Wise, after a long reign, and with high reputation.

1191.

1194.

GREAT hopes were conceived of Don *Sancho*, who succeeded his father of the same name, and who in the former part of his reign was surnamed *the Strong*, or *the Brave*; but towards the end, for a reason that will be given, the *Hidden*, or *Inclosed*. He was certainly a prince of lively parts, as well as steady courage; but either he did not understand, or at least he did not pursue, the maxims of Don *Sancho the Wise*^y. Immediately after his accession he promised Don *Alonso* king of *Castile*, to bring him a considerable reinforcement, in order to enable him to make head against the whole strength of the *Moors*; and there is no reason to doubt that he would have been as good as his word, as well as the king of *Arragon*, who had

Accession of Don Sancho the Strong.

^p ROGER HOVEDEN Annal.^q P. MORET, RODERIC Tolet. FERR.^r P. MORET.^s LUC.

Tudens. MARIANA, P. MORET. FERR.

^t ZURITA.^u P. MORET, ZURITA, FERR.^v ROGER.

HOVEDEN Annal.

^w FERR. ROGER HOVEDEN Annal.^y L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre,

RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. TURQUET, P. MORET, FERR.

^z RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan.

P. MORET.

made the same promise, in case that monarch had given them time to accomplish their design. ^a But by an unaccountable stroke of vain-glory, and a preposterous desire of defrauding his allies of their just share of reputation, he advanced with the troops of *Castile* against a numerous army of *Moors*, by which he lost the great battle of *Alarcos*, which might have been fatal at least to his own dominions, if the Infidels had prosecuted their victory. The kings of *Navarre* and *Aragon* were so much provoked at this behaviour, that they disbanded their forces: and, on the other hand, the king of *Castile* took this so ill, that having made, or rather obtained, a truce from the *Moors*, he made an attempt upon their dominions; but with little success ^a. Some time after he struck up an alliance with the king of *Aragon*, and promised to assist him in case he would revive his old pretensions to the crown of *Navarre*. The king of *Morocco*, being well informed of all that had passed, as well as the forces and dispositions of these princes, ^b began a secret negotiation with the king of *Navarre*; by which he promised him his daughter, and offered, by way of portion, to give her all the large dominions which he held in *Spain*. Alarmed on the one side, and allured on the other, Don *Sancho*, whose strength lay rather in his arm than in his head, embraced this proposition, so far at least as to enter into conferences with the emissaries of this potent prince; but with what view cannot be so clearly determined ^b.

His voyage to
Africa, and its
consequences.

THIS intrigue could not be carried on so secretly as to escape the knowledge of other Christian princes; who thereupon attacked the character of the king of *Navarre* with the utmost marks of resentment, giving out, that he intended to enter into a close alliance with the *Moors*, and perhaps to abandon the Christian religion. This induced him to send the bishop of *Pampeluna* to *Rome*, to assure Pope *Celestin* the third, that these were downright calum- ^c nies, and that he intended nothing of that kind; and the pontiff thereupon wrote him a very tender and obliging letter, which is still extant ^c. However, notwithstanding these assurances, Don *Sancho*, being perfectly informed that the kings of *Castile* and *Aragon* were concluding a peace with the *Moors* in order to attack his dominions, not only persisted in his negotiations with the Infidels, but proceeded at length to quit his own dominions, and with a small retinue to pass over to *Barbary*, in hopes of accomplishing his marriage ^d. At his arrival in the court of *Morocco* he found the face of affairs very unexpectedly changed by the death of the king, and his son's positive declaration, that he did not intend to be bound by his father's agreement, but meant to preserve his *Spanish* dominions, and to transport a considerable body of forces from *Africa* for that purpose. Don *Sancho*, thus disappointed, and ^d knowing what unhappy consequences must attend his absence, would willingly have returned without delay into his own territories, but was quickly made sensible that this was also impracticable; for the new monarch of *Morocco* insisted on his going with him in person against his rebels; which, not being able to avoid, he did with a good grace, and acquired great reputation by his behaviour ^e.

A. D. 1199.

The kings of
Castile and
Aragon at-
tack his do-
minions in his ab-
sence, and
make great
conquests.

In the mean time the kings of *Castile* and *Aragon* did not let this favourable occasion slip, but attacked the kingdom of *Navarre* with all their forces. In the very first campaign the king of *Aragon* made himself master of several places, some by force, and some by compo- sition: but the king of *Castile*, though he had the better army of the two, was by no means able to make so rapid a progress ^f. He had made an irruption into the province of *Alava*, and ^e had made himself master of several inconsiderable places, and most of the open country; but *Victoria*, which was well fortified, and had a good garrison, made a long and obstinate resistance; so that he was obliged to leave the reduction of it to Don *Lopez de Haro*, lord of *Biscay*, who brought it by the beginning of the next spring into such a situation, that the gar- rison and the inhabitants desired leave to send the bishop of *Pampeluna* into *Barbary*, to know whether they had any relief to expect, and promised to surrender upon his return. This was granted; the bishop went accordingly, and the king told him, that he was obliged to his faithful subjects for the long and gallant resistance they had made; but that not having it in his power to bring them any succours, he did not pretend to hinder them from making the best terms they could for themselves. Upon this the inhabitants of *Victoria* demanded, that the ^f king of *Castile* should promise to maintain them in all their privileges and immunities; and this being granted, they immediately opened their gates. The fate of *Victoria* not only drew after it the loss of the whole province, but that also of *Guipuscoa*, and of what yet remained to the crown of *Navarre* of *Biscay*, particularly the port of *St. Sebastian*; all which were from this time united to the kingdom of *Castile*, and was an irreparable loss to this sovereignty ^e. Instead of wondering that so much was torn from the territories of *Navarre*, we have reason to be surprised that any thing was left, considering the power of the monarchs who attacked it, the address by which the king of *Castile* gradually detached the crown of *France*, and the rest of Don *Sancho's* allies, and the supineness of the kings of *Leon* and *Portugal*, who had an interest

1200.

^a LUC. Tudens. Chron. Annal. Tolet. Annal. Compostell. P. MORET.
^c AMEROSIO MORALES, Cronica generale de Espana.
P. MORET, FERR. ^e ROGER DE HOVEDEN, P. MORET.
ZURITA, MARIANA, TURQUET.

^b ROGER HOVEDEN, FERR.

^d ROGER DE HOVEDEN, LUC. Tudens. Chron.

^f RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan.

^e Annal. Tolet. LUC. Tudens. Chron. ROGER HOVEDEN.

a in preserving a monarchy by which themselves had been more than once preserved; and this was so much the more astonishing, as the alliance which had driven Don *Sancho* in a manner to despair, and the war that had deprived him of his dominions, were the pure effects of jealousy and ambition, and did not proceed from any thing this monarch had done, or at least he had given no adequate offence^b. The outcry made as to his treaty with the Infidels being fully answered by its motive, which was that ill-usage he received from Christians, without meeting with so much as one Christian friend.

It must appear strange, that while his subjects were thus oppressed, when two foreign armies were in the bowels of his country, Don *Sancho*, who had the reputation of being so brave a prince, should remain abroad in the service of the *Moors*, and without attempting to afford them the least succour. The writers of those times, however, own, that Don *Sancho* was not inexcusable. He was seized, either through fatigue or disturbance of mind, with a very dangerous fever in his passage; and this, either through the malignity of the disease, want of skill in those who treated it, or want of patience in the king himself, fell into his foot, and turned afterwards into a cancerous humour, which never could be cured. It is most probable that this happened after his expedition against those who had taken up arms in opposition to the miramolin, and that as soon as he was a little better he prepared for his return home^c. We are also told, that though he was in the highest credit with the monarch he had served, yet he absolutely refused to make a diversion in his favour, by attacking the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, though he might have done it very conveniently; because he had made a truce for ten years, and had sworn to the due observance of that truce. But he shewed his gratitude to the king of *Navarre* another way; for on his departure he not only loaded him with presents, but furnished him likewise with a vast sum of money, that he might be the better enabled to change the face of his affairs^d. He landed at *Carthagera*, and took his measures so well, that he passed from thence into his own dominions without being discovered. On the news of his arrival the *Castilians* raised the siege of a place on the very point of falling into their hands^e. There happened soon after an event of much greater importance: Don *Diego Lopez*, who thought himself ill treated by the king of *Castile* his master, revolted, and withdrew with his dependents, and a good body of troops into *Navarre*, from whence he made inroads into the very heart of *Castile*. His master, Don *Alonso the Noble*, A. D. 1201. marched with the joint forces of *Castile* and *Leon* against him, and at length shut him up in *Esfella*, where he made so good a defence, that the king found himself constrained to raise the siege^f. The Pope having received exact information of the situation of things in *Spain*, and the ill usage the king of *Navarre* had met with, interposed his good offices^g; and Don *Diego Lopez*, having made his peace with his master, remembered the obligations he was under to Don *Sancho*, and concluded a treaty for him upon the best terms that could be obtained^h. By this the consumption that wasted his state was for the present stopped.

The king took the opportunity of this interval of peace, for the war with *Arragon* was also suspended, to put his country into a posture of defence, and to repair the losses he had sustained in some measure, by making better the dominions he had left. He was either by nature, or in consequence of his misfortunes, extremely frugal, but this disposition was so far from being grievous to his subjects, that it turned to their benefit; for, having his coffers full, he remitted several grievous impositions, proceeding on the true maxim, that wherever the people were oppressed the prince must be poorⁱ. This had a wonderful effect; for his subjects continually boasted that the father was the wisest, and the son the best prince ever seated on their throne: and hence followed an event that no policy could foresee; for the inhabitants of *Bayonne*, and the country adjacent, finding themselves harrassed by the continual wars of the princes their sovereigns, and those who pretended to be so, put themselves under the protection of the king of *Navarre*, which was a thing extremely commodious for him in many respects. The truce still subsisting with the king of *Castile*, that monarch demanded an interview with Don *Sancho* at *Guadalaxara*, where it was renewed for five years; and Don *Alonso* at the same time undertook to mediate a peace with *Arragon*. On his return from this interview to *Pampeluna*, there fell out a dismal accident; for the king's only brother, Don *Ferdinand*, running at the ring, was thrown by his horse against a stone pillar, and died upon the spot^j.

Don *Alonso the Noble*, king of *Castile*, perceiving the ten years truce with the *Moors* drawing towards a close, and knowing how assiduous they had been in improving the quarrels

^b RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. FERRERAS.

TURQUET, ^c ROGER HÖVEDEN Annal. RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan.

Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^d AMBROSIO MORALES, Cronica generale de Espana, FERRERAS.

^e RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. MORET

Chron. RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. MORET

Don Thibaud. FERRERAS.

^f RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan, MAYERNE

TURQUET, ^g L'Histoire du

^h RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. MA-

ⁱ LUC. TUDENS.

^j RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. Chronique de

amongst the Christian princes to their own advantage, represented in very strong terms to Don Pedro, king of Arragon, the necessity of turning the truce with Navarre into a solid peace, that they might be in a condition to act offensively against the Infidels, as the most effectual means to preserve their own territories from becoming the seat of war^a. Upon this remonstrance an interview was appointed between the three kings, at a place called Mallen, where a peace was concluded between Don Sancho of Navarre, and Don Pedro of Arragon, to their mutual satisfaction; and at the same time both kings promised Don Alonso to bring the flower of their forces to his assistance. But Don Pedro of Arragon, intimating that his finances were in great disorder, Don Sancho of Navarre generously offered to lend him twenty thousand pieces of gold, which he also performed, and had a certain number of castles and towns consigned to him to secure the repayment^b. The next year there was another congress held, and the following was entirely spent in preparations; and in the succeeding spring, the war being commenced, Don Sancho, in performance of his promise, marched with a fine corps of troops to join the Christian army, and was not only present, commanding the right wing in the decisive victory gained July the 16th, but was, by the universal consent of all writers, the principal instrument of providence in obtaining it; for Don Sancho with his cavalry breaking the iron chain, and penetrating into the center of the Moorish army, compelled the miramamolin to seek his personal safety in flight. Some authors say, that the tent of the Moorish monarch was assigned him as a trophy of his victory. It is, however, more certain, that he returned with Don Alonso, and made his public entry with that monarch into Toledo; from whence, after a short stay, he returned home with his victorious army, himself covered with glory, and his troops laden with plunder. At his departure, Don Alonso, as a mark of his gratitude, restored to him fifteen places, which had been left to him by the peace; so that nothing could be more honourable or advantageous to him than this campaign, which rendered him as much revered throughout all Spain, as he had hitherto been in his own dominions^c.

Resumes his designs for the benefit of his subjects and the security of his dominions.

At his return to Pampeluna, he resumed his former designs for the benefit of his subjects. He had already instituted an order of knighthood for the security of the roads, and the protection of passengers. He now caused a body of laws to be published, which had the same thing in view, as well as the suppressing robberies, murders, and whatever else, from the violence of those times, carried in it reproach to civil government^d. He caused also some convents to be repaired, and others to be erected, having chiefly in view the drawing people into his dominions, and increasing the number of towns and villages, which were commonly the effects of such foundations. His liberality appeared sufficiently upon these and other public occasions: at others he was sparing to a great degree, and indeed it could not well be otherwise. The fortress of Viana he constructed for the security of his country, in case the spirit of ambition should revive in the court of Castile; and he took his measures so well, and prosecuted his design with such vigilance, that the place was very soon in a posture of defence; and from its happy situation became, in a very short space of time, one of the most considerable places in the kingdom^e. He also repaired and improved the town of Tudela, which he made the principal place of his residence, partly on account of the excellency of its air, and partly from its vicinity to the frontiers of Castile; whence he judged it absolutely necessary that it should be rendered one of the strongest and most populous places in his dominions. Here, as some writers assert, he shut himself up closely in the castle, and was seldom seen by any but his domestics, on account of that cancerous humour, which in process of time extended itself from his foot upwards; and from hence it is pretended that he had the surname of *Hidden* or *Retired*^f: with respect to which we pretend not to decide; only this is certain, that he did not at all relax in his care of public affairs, but continued to form and execute various schemes for increasing the number, and promoting the welfare of his subjects, in which Providence blessed him with as great success as he could desire. He was also equally fortunate in amassing wealth, by leading almost a private life, without offending his people^g.

Don Sancho adopts James king of Arragon, heir of all his dominions.

We come now to the last and most obscure part of this prince's history. Some writers, and particularly Mariana, say, that, being very old and infirm, his subjects began to slight his authority, insomuch that there were various seditions in Pampeluna; that these were excited by his nephew Thibaut, earl of Champagne, who being his next heir, was weary of waiting for the crown till it fell of itself, and was therefore desirous of shaking it off the old man's head. They add, that Lopez Diaz de Haro, lord of Biscay, had invaded Navarre, and committed great outrages there, which he attributed to the ambition of St. Ferdinand; and upon these motives, it is said, he invited James king of Arragon to Tudela, where, after many conferences, in which he inveighed bitterly against the want of fidelity and duty in his nephew, and the

^a Lucas Tudenf. Chron. ZURITA.

^b RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. MARIANA.

^c LUCAS

Tudenf. Chron. RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. Annal Tolet.

^d MORET. MARIANA.

^e MORET.

^f L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^g MORET, L'Histoire du

- a exorbitant lust of dominion in Don *Ferdinand*, he made an agreement with the king of *Arragon*, that they should reciprocally adopt each other, in order that the survivor, being possessor of both kingdoms, might have power sufficient to defend their independency, and to protect their subjects in the enjoyment of their liberties. He also lent him at this time one hundred thousand crowns, that he might be the better able to prosecute his wars against the *Moors*^a. The adoption and the loan are things certain; but the other circumstances, as they are very improbable, so they are far from being well supported. The whole of this transaction, when closely and impartially examined, may perhaps be reduced to this. Don *Sancho* being grown old, and having nothing at heart so much as the welfare of his subjects, believed, that, as the last heir male of Don *Garcia Ramirez*, he might call to the succession whom he pleased, by way of adoption: and he preferred *James* king of *Arragon*, as descended from *Sancho the Great*, in hopes that the kingdom of *Navarre* might participate of the many advantages daily flowing to *Arragon*, from the martial spirit and great capacity of this victorious prince, who, if his pretensions had not been this way admitted, might easily swallow it up by conquest. That this was really the case, and that there was no reciprocal adoption, appears manifestly from the conduct of king *James*, who the very next year, and during the life-time of this prince, caused the states of his kingdom to swear allegiance to his son, which would have been a wanton infraction of his treaty with the king of *Navarre*, had it been really made on these terms^b. It is also probable, that what is said of the count of *Champagne* is said without foundation, since it is a fact out of dispute, that this prince, to please his uncle, actually did homage to the king of *Arragon*, in prejudice of his own right, which certainly he would never have done, if he had been of such a temper, as is suggested, or if he had so strong a party in *Navarre*: so that after all the truth seems to be, Don *Sancho* was so universally beloved by his subjects, that they submitted implicitly to his will, not because he was an absolute prince, but because a long and wise administration had given them an entire confidence in him, which is true absolute power; and his nephew Don *Thibaut* took this extraordinary step of relinquishing what he took to be his right, as well to please the people, as to please his uncle^c, who in fact had nothing else in view, but to provide for their future happiness and perfect independency, by procuring them a potent protector when he should be no more. The course of the history, we flatter ourselves, will convince the reader, that these conjectures are founded in truth; and that Don *Sancho*, tho' he led a life of continual pain and misery, and was now broken with old age and many infirmities, was notwithstanding a wise, a great, and a good prince to the last.

A. D. 1232.

THE generality of historians inform us, that after this Don *Sancho* led a very uneasy and unsettled life, sometimes inclined to embark his adopted son the king of *Arragon* in a war with *Castile*, and at others out of humour with that prince, as well as displeased with his own subjects^d. But it is very doubtful whether these facts be true. It is at least certain, that those who report them fall into evident confusion in respect to dates, and intermix various circumstances, as to which the historians, who lived in or near those times, are altogether silent. There may, however, be good grounds to suppose, that Don *Sancho* might be much chagrined at the foresight of those evils that were like to come upon his subjects by his dying not only childless, but without heirs male of the whole blood. His eldest sister *Berengara* had married *Richard* king of *England*, who died without issue. His younger sister *Donna Sancha*, who espoused the count of *Champagne* and *Brie*, had left by him a son, Don *Thibaut*, who succeeded to his father's estates, and was now upwards of thirty, whose accession to the throne of *Navarre* the king judged inexpedient for himself and for the nation; for he apprehended that if he came into *Navarre* his hereditary possessions would suffer extremely; and that on the other hand, if he paid only a proper attention to his patrimony, it would excite great disturbances and factions in *Navarre*. On the other hand, the king of *Arragon* was descended from the male line of the kings of *Navarre*, his territories had been formerly united to that crown, the laws were nearly the same, and these, with other causes, had determined the king to act as he did; and for a time all parties seemed to acquiesce in his plan^e. But the people of *Navarre* afterwards changing their minds, we may very easily conceive how their historians came to impute to age, infirmities, and a splenetic disposition, that project of their king's, which in reality proceeded from his zeal for their welfare. However this might be, Don *Sancho* ended his days at *Tudela* on the seventh of *April* one thousand two hundred thirty four; in whom expired the male line of Don *Garcia Iniguez*, after they had held the kingdom of *Navarre* near four hundred years. His body was interred in the church of the monastery of the canons regular of *Roncevaux*, of which he is said to have been the founder^f.

Death of Don Sancho VIII.

^a MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.^b ZURITA.^c FERRERAS.^d MARIANA, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET. Compostell. Kalendar Lyrens.^e FERRERAS.^f Annal.

Thibaut I.
succeeds his
uncle.

A. D. 1235.

1236.

1237.

His expedition
for the recovery
of the Holy
Land.

1239.

1240.

His return to,
and mild go-
vernment of,
his dominions.

1247.

THE clergy, nobility, and people of *Navarre*, as soon as the king was dead, determined, notwithstanding all that had passed, to call his nephew the earl of *Champagne* to the succession, preferring, as it seems, the independency of their crown to their own interests, which had been very excusable in Don *Sancho*, whatever it might be in them. However, that they might proceed with caution and safety, they sent deputies to king *James* of *Arragon*, to let him know their resolution, and to desire that he would release them from the homage which they had sworn to him, at the request, and purely with a view to gratify their deceased king, which that monarch readily granted^a. Some indeed say, that he dissembled^b, and that he afterwards endeavoured to vindicate his right by arms, which does not appear; but the contrary, as will be hereafter seen very plainly. This point being once settled, they sent Don *Pedro Ramirez de Pedrola*, bishop of *Pampeluna*, and other lords, to invite the earl of *Champagne* to come and accept the crown; which he very willingly did, and was with great solemnity crowned in the cathedral of that capital on the eighth of *May* following^c; the Pope also interposing vigorously, to prevent the transaction becoming the ground of a war. The reason of this interposition was the hopes the pontiff had that the new king would take upon him the cross, and join in an expedition for the recovery of the *Holy Land*, which, in pursuance of a vow made by his father, he accordingly did, tho' at the apparent hazard of his dominions. *Lewis* the ninth, better known by the name of St. *Lewis* of *France*, had at this time some disputes with this new king, in quality of earl of *Champagne*; but Pope *Gregory* the ninth interceded so effectually, that the king promised to suspend all his pretensions during the absence of that prince, who was now employed in raising forces in *France* as well as *Navarre*, in order to fulfil his engagement^d. With the same good intention he addressed himself to the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and procured from them, without any difficulty, the strongest assurances that they would take no advantage of the king of *Navarre's* absence^e, whose dominions might otherwise have been easily over-run, and could hardly have been retrieved.

DON *Thibaut* seeing all things thus happily settled, and having received in his capital the famous Don *Roderic Ximenes*, archbishop of *Toledo*, ambassador from *Castile*, to convince him of the friendship and esteem of his master St. *Ferdinand*, he took his leave of the nobility, and having settled the government, went into *France*, to join the army of the *Crosses*^f. The dukes of *Bretagne* and *Burgundy*, the counts of *Bar*, *Vendosme*, and *Montfort*, with several other great lords, having taken part in the same design, chose him generalissimo of this holy league^g; and the next year embarked with a potent army at *Marseilles*, and other places in its neighbourhood, for *Syria*, where they arrived without any considerable accident. This expedition, however, though begun with the greatest hopes, ended the next year without the smallest success; for the princes quarrelling amongst themselves, and the duke of *Burgundy* making a very unadvised attempt upon *Gaza*, in which he lost the best part of his troops, this increased their misunderstandings to such a degree, that Don *Thibaut*, seeing plainly there was no good to be done, and that the whole army would be gradually wasted, embarked such of the troops as would obey his command, and returned into *Europe*, not a little chagrined at this misfortune, which, however, did no prejudice to his reputation, since it was on all hands allowed, that his behaviour was without blame; that the mischiefs which had happened arose from disobeying his orders; and that it was owing to his prudence and patience that so great a part of the army was preserved and brought home^h. His subjects received him with great satisfaction, and the posture of affairs in *Spain* left him at full liberty to gratify his natural inclination to improvements of all kinds, which he pursued to his own satisfaction, and to the no small pleasure of his subjects, by whom he was generally and deservedly beloved.

THE preceding monarchs of *Navarre* had bounded their views by erecting fortresses, churches, or convents; but Don *Thibaut* introduced elegance and magnificence, as well as utility. His genius, admirable in itself, had been cultivated by an excellent education, and by travel, which furnished him with notions much superior to those of princes unassisted by these advantages. He brought with him from the *East* many different kinds of rich fruits into his territories in *France*, and these he transplanted again into *Navarre*, to which the people of that country owe their most delicate wines, very little inferior to those of *France*; and an excellent sort of pears, which in honour of him, and to perpetuate the memory of this prince, are called *Thibaudines*. He was still more careful with regard to agriculture, which hitherto his subjects had practised but rudely and in such a manner that the soil and climate were unjustly reproached for what was in truth owing to their want of skill and application. He built some palaces himself, which remain no contemptible monuments of his taste; and, led by his

^a FERRERAS.

^b L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^c FER-

RERAS.

^d RAINALD.

^e Annal. Tolet. ZURITA Annal. Arragon. Chron. antiq. de reb Arra-

gon.

^f Chronique de Don Thibaud.

^g FAVIN Histoire de Navarre, P. DANIEL Histoire de

^h France, MAYERNE TURQUET.

ⁱ P. MORET, MAIMBOURG Histoire des Croisés.

a example, many of the nobility did the like, so that in a short time the court of *Navarre* became one of the most brilliant in *Spain*^p. But as human happiness is never solid or sincere, so what Don *Sancho* had foreseen, in process of time came actually to pass; that is, the nobility began to form cabals against him, which he was compelled to pacify by grants of offices and lands, to the great impoverishment of his treasury, and with some diminution of his authority. The most remarkable of these disputes was that which he had with Don *Pedro Jaçolas*, bishop of *Pampeluna*, on account of the castle of *St. Stephen*, which belonged to that prelate, in right of his see, and which the king caused to be fortified for the benefit of his subjects; for which high offence the bishop, retiring into *Aragon*, cast an interdict upon his whole diocese, which threw the kingdom into the utmost confusion^q. At length, after a tedious struggle, the king accommodated matters with the bishop, who thereupon removed the excommunication^r. There remained, however, so many doubts and scruples on the minds of the more ignorant part of his subjects, that he found it absolutely requisite to go to *Rome*, in order to obtain a general absolution from the Pope, which was gradually granted to him^s.

A. D. 1248.

1249.

AFTER his return things went on quietly enough; and he continued to govern and to adorn his territories with the love of his subjects, and the esteem of his neighbours, to the time of his decease, which happened on the eighth of *July*, when he was in the flower of his age, and very little turned of fifty. He had a graceful person, was excellently skilled in music and poetry, a great lover of learning and learned men. His reputation for courage so well established, that none of his neighbours were willing to provoke him; and his ambition so regulated by his respect to justice, that he made no attempts to their prejudice^t. He was thrice married; first to the daughter of the count of *Metz*, from whom he was divorced by the Pope, and by whom he had no issue; the second was the daughter of the lord of *Beaujeu*, by whom he had Donna *Blanca*, who espoused *John*, surnamed *the Red*, duke of *Bretagne*^u. His last consort was *Margaret*, daughter to the count *de Foix*, by whom he had three sons, *Thibaut*, *Pedro*, and *Henry*, the first and last successively kings of *Navarre*; and a daughter, Donna *Agnes*, whom others call *Leonora*, married ten years before her father's death to Don *Alvaro Perez de Azagra*, lord of *Albarracin*^v. On his death-bed he recommended the queen and her children to the protection of the king of *Aragon*, with whom he had always lived in peace and friendship. An incontestable proof that *Mariana* and the rest of the historians who suspect his candour, in the renunciation of his title to *Navarre*, injure his character. His corpse was interred in the cathedral church of *Pampeluna*^x.

Remainder of his reign and death.

1253.

THE same historians, who represent king *James* of *Aragon* as a dissembler in the case of *Thibaut II.* his renunciation, bestow on him the highest praises, in regard to that spirit and punctuality with which he executed his charge as guardian to the royal family of *Navarre*. They tell us that he went in person to *Pampeluna*; contracted an alliance offensive and defensive with the young king against *Castile*; treated of a marriage between him and his daughter; and entered into other engagements, which were ratified and confirmed by a subsequent treaty, after the king of *Navarre* became of age^y. But perhaps those come nearer the truth who content themselves with saying, the king of *Aragon* discharged his trust with fidelity, by which the two kingdoms enjoyed peace and happiness for several years. The queen dowager, Donna *Margaret*, went to make a tour into her son's estates in *France*, where she was seized with a distemper that very soon conducted her to her tomb, which she found in the monastery of *Clervaux*. The death of the queen his mother made it requisite for the young king to take a tour into *France*, and was on the very point of beginning his journey, when he understood that some of his subjects had made an inroad on the territories of the king of *Aragon*. Upon this he gave that king the strongest assurances, not only of its being done without his privity or consent, but also of his sincere intention to give him adequate satisfaction, in case any of the offenders should fall into his hands^z, by which he prevented any misunderstandings between the two crowns, and gave the world a just idea of his own character. He then proceeded in his design of visiting his territories in *France*, where his presence was very acceptable, and where, by his mildness and affable behaviour, he established his reputation as a most accomplished prince, which induced *St. Lewis* to invite him to his court, and to propose to him a very advantageous alliance, which he received with great respect, and very willingly accepted both the invitation and the proposition that attended it, as being equally honourable in itself, and very advantageous, as his affairs were then circumstanced, which was a farther proof of his penetration and capacity, and proved in many respects highly beneficial to his subjects.

1256.

^p L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^q P. MORET, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^r L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. MORET. ^s L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^t FAVIN Histoire de Navarre, MARIANA. ^u L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^v FAVIN Histoire de Navarre. ^w L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^x P. MORET, FERRERAS.

He goes into France, and espouses the princess Elizabeth, or Isabel, daughter to St. Lewis.

THE precise time at which the king made this journey, and more especially that of his marriage, is not easily settled, for in the transactions of these times the more authorities that occur, the more differences commonly happen with regard to dates; but as to facts we may report them with greater certainty. King *Lewis* consented to his marriage with his daughter *Isabel*, provided he compromised the claim made by his sister the duchess of *Bretagne* upon parts of his estates in *France*, which was done by the grant of an annuity of three thousand livres *per annum*, which, as the *French* historian observes, fall but little short of thirty thousand livres at this day ^a. This and all other points being adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of both princes, the marriage was celebrated at *Melun*, where Don *Thibaut* received, as the portion of the princess *Elizabeth*, ten thousand livres, being the same sum that was given to her sister ^b. This marriage gave him a great interest at the court of *France*, which he employed in favour of his friend and guardian the king of *Arragon*; and was very instrumental in making that treaty by which all disputes were compromised, and all claims regulated between the two crowns ^c. He continued for some time after this in *France*, where he constituted his brother, the infant Don *Pedro*, governor of *Champagne*, which, however, he did not long enjoy, being removed by death when he was a very young man ^d. On his return into *Navarre* some disputes arose between him and his nobility, who entered into a league against him, and chose one of their number to oppose all acts of their sovereign, which they judged to be inconsistent with their privileges. But the Pope, having intelligence of this, directed the archbishop of *Bordeaux* to make a tour into *Navarre*, and to use his best endeavours to put an end to these heart-burnings and jealousies, which he did very effectually ^e. This Pope was *Urban* the fourth, who died the same year, as appears by the king's letters of felicitation to his successor.

Returnstbither again, and together with St. Lewis takes the Cross.

1265.

THE death of his brother before-mentioned made it requisite for the king to return again into *France*, as well to procure a fit marriage for the infant Don *Henry*, his only surviving brother, as to put him in possession of the government of *Champagne*, and other measures for the benefit of his family. The lady upon whom he had cast his eyes was Donna *Constantia*, the daughter and heiress of Don *Gaston de Moncada*, viscount of *Bearn*, which would have been a very advantageous alliance if it had taken place. In his return to *Navarre* he received for his vassals the counts of *Conforans*, *Comminges*, and *Estarac*, not that their estates fell to the crown of *Navarre*, as some have thought, but because it was the custom in those days for the lesser nobility to engage themselves in the service of great princes, to follow them in their wars when required, for which they had an annual pension in time of peace ^f. In all probability the king might then have in view the expedition which he soon afterwards undertook. Pope *Clement* the fourth having prevailed upon St. *Lewis* of *France* to assume the cross, in which expedition he was accompanied by his sons-in-law *Thibaut* king of *Navarre*, and *Edward* prince of *England*; this, and the preparations requisite for assembling an army and equipping a fleet, took up a considerable space, during which the king negotiated and concluded a marriage between his brother the infant Don *Henry*, to whom he committed the regency, and the princess *Blanch*, daughter to *Robert* count of *Artois*, brother of St. *Lewis*, with whom he obtained the county of *Rheims* ^g. On the return of his brother into *Navarre*, he confided to queen *Isabel* the government of *Champagne*, and the rest of the territories that he held in *France*; and, by the interposition of St. *Lewis*, he renewed for five years more a truce formerly concluded under the same mediation with the king of *England*, in respect to the town of *Bayonne*, upon which he formed some pretensions. In fine, all obstacles being removed, he embarked with his troops in order to follow his father-in-law, who was already sailed with his fleet and forces to *Sicily* ^h; and with him went many lords of *Champagne* and *Navarre*.

1269.

His brother Don Henry governs the kingdom with much prudence in his absence.

IN the absence of the king a civil war broke out in *Castile*, and the infant Don *Philip*, who embarked therein against his father, went into *Navarre*, to persuade the regent to support him and the rest of the nobility in their pretensions; but tho' Don *Henry* might easily have drawn them to have made large concessions in his favour, with respect to those provinces and their dependencies, which had been detached from the kingdom of *Navarre*, with little appearance of right, in former reigns, yet he very wisely answered, that tho' he administered the government, he wanted regal authority in *Navarre*, and could not therefore, consistent with the trust reposed in him by his brother, enter into a measure which must involve the nation in a foreign war ⁱ. *Mariana* seems to intimate, that there was some jars between him and the king of *Arragon*, which, however, is not probable, considering the engagements he was under to

^a P. DANIEL Histoire de France, tom. iv. p. 190. FAVIN Histoire de Navarre. ^b Inventaire des Chartres, tom. ii. cap. vi. N° 97, Histoire & Cronique de St. Louis de France, par Sire DE JOINVILLE, Senechal de Champagne. Contemporain dudit Roy, 4°. ^c Memoires de Dupuy, tom. ii. ^d FERRERAS. ^e RAINALD, AMBROSIO MORALES. ^f P. MORET. ^g L'Histoire de Royaume de Navarre, FAVIN Histoire de Navarre, FERRERAS. ^h NANGIUS in gestis Lodovici, MARIANA, FERRERAS. ⁱ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

the king his brother, and that himself was hardly returned to his dominions from an expedition which he had attempted with a view of passing into the *Holy Land*; but being shipwrecked on the coast of *France*, thought it more expedient to lay that design aside, and resume the government of his own territories. But if any such disputes really happened, it must have been after Don *Henry* became king, in his own right, and in support, as the writer before-mentioned says, of the old claim under the will of Don *Sancho* the eighth, which, at such a distance of time, would have been a very stale pretence, contrary to all rules of justice, and to his own conduct with respect to the father and the brother of Don *Henry*, as we have already stated it, in speaking of the accession of both kings ^k.

WHEN the king of *Navarre* arrived in *Sicily*, with the *French* lords who accompanied him, he was very much surprized to find, in the first council of war that was held, that he had not been admitted into the secret of the design, St. *Lewis* declaring it his intention not to proceed to *Syria*, but to the coast of *Africa*, where he intended to besiege *Tunis*. Thither Don *Thibaut* accompanied him, and was present when he died of the plague, or some other contagious distemper, before the place, on the twenty-fifth of *August*, as appears by a letter of the king of *Navarre*'s writing, which is still extant, and in which he gives a very distinct account of the circumstances that attended it ^l. He did homage in the same camp to the new king *Philip the Hardy*, for the estates he held in *France*; and after the peace was made with the king of *Tunis*, he returned with him into *Sicily*, where he was scarce arrived before he fell sick at *Trapani*, and after a short illness deceased on the fifth of *September*, one thousand two hundred and seventy ^m. His queen *Elizabeth* or *Isabel*, who either accompanied or followed him, deceased likewise in the spring of the succeeding year, at or near *Marseilles*, on her return to *France* ⁿ. In the spring the corpse of the king was transported into *France*, and buried in the church of the convent of *Cordeliers* at *Brie*. As he was a monarch of sincere piety, endowed with many amiable qualities, and particularly remarkable for the sweetness of his temper, he was caressed and admired by all the princes his neighbours; and by his own irreproachable character maintained his dominions in peace during his whole reign, which caused him to be generally and justly lamented by his subjects.

HENRY, surnamed *the Gross* or *the Fat*, his brother dying without issue, was proclaimed king at *Pampeluna*, in the month of *March*. He is said to have been of a more reserved temper than his brother; but is allowed to have governed well in his absence, and to have supported his dignity after his accession to the throne with spirit, notwithstanding the misfortunes that he met with in his family, and the opposition given him by the infant Don *Pedro* of *Arragon*, who pretended to revive those pretensions which his father, still living, had disclaimed. This king having married the niece of St. *Lewis*, depended on the friendship and assistance of his cousin king *Philip*; and governed so steadily, that tho' his neighbours were willing enough to have given him disturbance, yet perceiving him always in a condition to defend his territories, they did not think fit to attack him ^o. He had by his queen a son, called after his father and brother *Thibaut*, who was bred up at *Estella*, where, as some writers say, his nurse let him fall out of a gallery, by which he was killed upon the spot ^p. Others affirm, that it happened thro' the carelessness of his governor, who in a fit of despair threw himself from the same gallery, and perished with him ^q. Besides this son he had a daughter, the infanta Donna *Joanna*, about two years old at the time this lamentable event happened, whom he immediately caused to be acknowledged heiress of the crown by the states ^r. He not long after made a treaty with *Edward* the first, king of *England*, by which he promised to give this princess in marriage to one of his sons, when she should attain to a fit age ^s. But it is very probable this circumstance was not made public, since many historians affirm, that *James*, king of *Arragon*, in hopes of marrying her to a prince of his blood, concluded an alliance with king *Henry*, which was of no small advantage to his affairs. He did not, however, survive long enough to avail himself of those troubles that might have given him an opportunity of recovering some of the provinces which he claimed, as dismembered from his monarchy by the kings of *Castile*; for, as most writers agree, he was choaked with fat on the twenty-second of *July*, one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, leaving his daughter sole heiress of his dominions, under the tutelage of the queen dowager ^t, whom some historians call *Blanch*, others *Joan* of *Artois*, and *Ferreras* mentions her by both names. He left likewise a natural son, born, before he was married, of the heiress of the house of *Lacarra*, who bore his own name, and became afterwards marshal of *Navarre* ^u. He was buried in the cathedral church of *Pampeluna*, with great solemnity; and in him ended the male line of the counts of *Champagne*, kings of *Navarre*, after having possessed that kingdom above forty years.

^k FERRERAS.^l P. DANIEL. Histoire de France, tom. iv. p. 363.^m FAVIN Histoire de Na-

varre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

ⁿ FAVIN Histoire de Navarre, P. DANIEL, FERRERAS.^o L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.^p FAVIN Histoire de Navarre.^q L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.^r P. MORET.^s FERRERAS, P. MORET.^t FAVIN,

FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^u MAYERNE TURQUET, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

Donna Joanna, under the tutelage of her mother, becomes queen of Navarre at three years old.

DONNA Joanna was scarce three years old when she became a queen. It is said that her father directed by his will, that she should not marry a prince of *Castile* or *Arragon*, but of *France*. It is, however, not impossible, that this circumstance might be invented after such a marriage took effect. Be that as it will, the queen dowager called an assembly of the states on the twenty-seventh of *August* following, in order to make choice of a person who might assist her in the administration of the government, when *Don Pedro Sanchez Montagu* was chosen.^w Many historians assert, that this measure was absolutely against the queen's will, and that she resented it extremely; but those who lived in and nearest to these times maintain the contrary, which is indeed the most probable. It was not long before a strong party was formed against *Don Pedro*; at the head of which was *Don Garcia de Almoravides*, who had recourse to the crown of *Castile* for protection, which was promised him; and this obliged *Don Pedro Sanchez de Montagu* to apply himself to the king of *Arragon*, with the like success.^x As both these princes had in view the marriage of the heiress of *Navarre* into their families, the queen, who was equally averse to either, resolved to secure her own safety, and that of her daughter's, by flying into *France*, and demanding the protection of king *Philip*, which she accordingly did, and was received with all the respect due to her dignity, and all the kindness which her distressed circumstances required.^y This is a succinct and sincere state of the case; but as the transaction before us is in itself of a very curious nature, one of the most important that ever happened with regard to the kingdom of *Navarre*, and which had some degree of influence on the affairs of *Europe* in general, it is requisite that we should explain it more particularly; the rather, because both the *French* and *Spanish* historians, who have treated this subject, are not in all respects so impartial as one could wish; and therefore it is necessary to consider and compare the several relations they have given us, in order to discover the truth, which is all we aim at, as not having any kind of bias to sway us either on this side or on that in the dispute.^z

A. D. 1275.

Philip the Hardy contracts his son Philip the Fair to the young queen of Navarre.

At this juncture *Don Alonso*, surnamed *the Wise*, governed *Castile*; but, as we have shewn in another place, his administration, notwithstanding that high title, was not either steady or successful.^a His eldest son, the infant *Don Ferdinand de le Cerda*, was a prince of parts and spirit, but withal very ambitious. He had married *Blanch*, daughter of *St. Lewis*, by whom he had two sons, who were children at this time, of whom he intended to marry the eldest to the heiress of *Navarre*; and knowing the confusion the kingdom was in would prevent any army from taking the field against him, he marched with an army into the country, not doubting but that he should make a cheap and speedy conquest; and this once effected, or even in part effected, the marriage he had in view would be esteemed a favour.^b But the policy of the kings of *Navarre*, who kept their frontiers always well fortified, and their subjects in exact discipline, prevented this; for tho' he became master of some small open places, yet *Viana*, the first strong place he besieged, made so good a resistance, that, after considerable loss, he was obliged to retire.^c On the other side, *James* king of *Arragon* was grown old and feeble in body and in mind; the infant *Don Pedro*, his heir apparent, set up, as we have observed, a kind of claim to *Navarre*, but managed it with a great shew of temper and moderation; offered the states the choice of either of his sons for the young queen, and to leave him in the entire possession of the kingdom, with a promise of such succours as should be necessary to defend them against *Castile*.^d It was this that engaged *Don Pedro Sanchez de Montagu*, and other noblemen of the first houses in *Navarre*, to lean to his party; so that the kingdom in general, most of the great towns in particular, and the city of *Pampeluna* more especially, stood divided into three factions, the *Castilian*, the *Arragonian*, and the *French*. *Philip the Hardy* had received and succoured the queen with great generosity; but he likewise had his views, and was in truth more nearly interested than either of the other princes.^e The young queen was heiress of *Champagne* and *Brie*, in the very heart of his dominions: he judged, therefore, and it was very natural for him to judge, that there could not be a more expedient match for this young princess than one of his sons, and he had three by his first queen, *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*. His own inclination was to marry her to the eldest; but *Pope Gregory* the tenth, though he had a great kindness for the king, would not hear of this; and a dispensation, according to the mode of those times, being necessary, he was obliged to accept that favour in behalf of *Philip*, who espoused, or rather was contracted to that princess, by the consent of the queen her mother.^f and this answered the king's purpose much better than his own choice would have done; for *Lewis* being quickly after poisoned, *Philip* became his heir, and consequently all the dominions and estates of the young

^w FAVIN, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

FAVIN.

^y L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. DANIEL, MAYERNE TURQUET.

FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET, FAVIN Histoire de Navarre, P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

BAY, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

gon, MAYERNE TURQUET.

ZURITA Annal. Arragon, MARIANA.

TURQUET.

^x L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS

^z MARIANA

^b L'Histoire de Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA Annal. Arra-

^c FAVIN Histoire de Navarre.

^d L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre,

^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. DANIEL, MAYERNE

^f P. MORET, FAVIN Histoire de Navarre, P. DANIEL.

a queen, which was what he aimed at, were annexed to the crown ^z. Having stated this matter clearly, let us now proceed to the thread of the history.

As soon as things were thus far settled, the queen dowager of *Navarre*, by the advice of king *Philip*, declared *Eustace de Beaumarchais*, seneschal of *Thoulouse*, viceroy or regent of *Navarre*, and sent him with a good corps of troops to take possession of his government. He met with greater success than could well have been expected; for he not only penetrated into *Navarre*, but got possession also of part of the city of *Pampeluna* ^h. A foreigner, with the title of regent, supported by an army of strangers, could not be very welcome to a free people, who had enjoyed them long, and were therefore very jealous of their liberties. But *Eustace* was a wise man, behaved with great moderation to such as submitted, and punished those who, taking advantage of the situation things were in, committed either murders or robberies, with great severity, which soon gained him respect, and in process of time affection ⁱ. However, *Don Garcia Almoravides* held one part of the city, with his faction, in favour of *Castile*; *Don Pedro Sanchez de Montagu* had also a corps of troops without, and looking upon *Eustace* as one who had deprived him of his post, patched up an agreement with *Don Garcia*, constrained the *French* viceroy and his garrison to retire into the castle, and held them there besieged. As soon as this was known in *France*, an army was assembled for the relief of *Navarre*, and the command of it given to the king's uncle, *Robert* count of *Artois*, and father to the queen dowager ^k. The malcontents had seized all the passes in *Navarre*; but the count, making a feint, marched his army through the territories of *Arragon*, and appeared before *Pampeluna* on *Christmas-eve*. *Don Garcia de Almoravides*, suspecting *Don Pedro de Montagu*, caused him to be assassinated, and demanded very importunately the aid of *Castile*: upon which *Don Alonso* marched a powerful army to support him; but understanding the strength of the count of *Artois*, and how well he was posted, suddenly retired ^l. *Don Garcia*, having early intelligence of this, pretended to receive news of a very different kind; and causing great rejoicings to be made in that quarter of the town which he held, took an opportunity in the night to slip out, and withdrew with his chief partizans into the dominions of *Castile*. His faction, thus deserted, sent to the count of *Artois* to demand terms, who directed the constable *Imbert* to settle the capitulation. While this was doing, some of the foldiers, perceiving that the garrison had quitted their posts, scaled the walls, and having admitted their companions, put to the sword all they met with; so that greater cruelties were scarce ever exercised than in this place. At length the viceroy, issuing from the castle with his garrison, put an end to these disorders, and protected the people that were left. He afterwards recovered as much of the plunder as he was able; and, by restoring it to the right owners, acquired much honour and esteem, from an event that must otherwise have rendered the *French* nation odious in *Navarre* to the last degree ^m.

COUNT *Robert* of *Artois*, perceiving how great a terror this had struck throughout the whole kingdom, and being very strongly solicited by such as had firmly adhered to the interests of the two queens, followed his blow, and speedily reduced the whole kingdom, a few castles on the frontiers only excepted, which being in the hands of the malcontents, they had time to call in the *Castilians* or the *Arragoneses* to their assistance ⁿ. The war being very warm between the crowns of *France* and *Castile*, on account of the setting aside of the children of the infant *Don Ferdinand de la Cerda*, *Don Alonso the Wise* desired a conference with the count of *Artois*, who, by the permission of the king of *France*, made a tour to his court, and left the command of the army, as well as the direction of civil affairs, to the viceroy *Eustace Beaumarchais*, who brought all things into good order, and made the people of *Navarre* very sensible that their welfare was the principal object of his care ^o. His successors followed his example closely, which by degrees reconciled the whole nation to a match, which at first appeared to them in the light of a great misfortune. It may be, the comparison of their own circumstances with those of the subjects of *Castile* and *Arragon* might contribute to keep up this disposition, since both countries were at this time perplexed with civil and foreign wars, which spread discord and distress quite through them, and in a short space of time exhausted their wealth and power ^p.

WHEN the young queen *Donna Joanna* entered into her fifteenth year, the marriage was solemnized with great magnificence between her and the *French* prince *Philip*, afterwards sur-named *le Bel*, or *the Fair*, who was then about seventeen, and who assumed the title of *Philip* king of *Navarre*, till by the death of his father he added it to that of *France* ^q. This marriage was extremely pleasing to the inhabitants of *Champagne* and *Brie*, and not disagree-

^z L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. TURQUET.

P. DANIEL. ⁱ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, P. DANIEL.

varre, FERR. TURQUET. ⁿ FAVIN, MARIANA, TURQUET.

Navarre. ^p ZURITA Annal. Arragon. MARIANA, FERR.

DANIEL. ^h ZURITA Annal. Arragon, FAVIN,

^k FAVIN, FERR. TURQUET.

^l L'Histoire

^m L'Histoire du Royaume de Na-

^o L'Histoire du Royaume de

^q FAVIN, MARIANA, P.

able to the people of *Navarre*, who, by the assistance they had received from *France*, had rendered themselves so formidable to the subjects of *Arragon*, that even the haughty Don *Pedro* A. D. 1284. was glad to negotiate a truce, which they were suffered to conclude, though the war continued as warm as ever between that kingdom and *France*^a. Thus we have conducted this history to the end of the period prescribed to this section, and to its first conjunction with that crown, to which, in title at least, it stands at present united.

^a L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, TURQUET.

S E C T. IV.

From the union of Navarre with the crown of France, in the person of Philip, to its conjunction with those of Arragon and Sicily.

The war continues between France and Arragon to the death of both kings.

THE disputes between *Philip the Hardy* and Don *Alonso the Sage*, king of *Castile*, ran very high, and brought both monarchs sometimes into the field, but negotiations generally intervened; and as war was alike difficult to both parties, so, without reconciliation or friendship, interest drew them from time to time to conclude truce after truce^a. The chief reason of this was, that if *France* had made war in earnest, the seat of war must have been in *Navarre*, which being at this juncture united to *France*, she was inclined to spare. But it was far otherwise with regard to king *Philip's* quarrel with the house of *Arragon*, on the score of the *Sicilian Vespers*, in which the *French* having received a national injury, the king employed the whole force of his realm to revenge it, supporting at that time the thunder of *Rome* by that of his arms^b. King *Philip* of *Navarre* attended his father in his expedition into *Catalonia*; in which, with a prodigious expence of men and money, he with much difficulty made himself master of *Gironne*: a conquest equally dear to both kings; for Don *Pedro* of *Arragon* soon after breathed his last, chiefly through the excess of fatigue which he had endured in the last campaign; and king *Philip* expired at *Perpignan*, in his return to his own dominions, of a disease which he had got at the siege^c. These wars, however ruinous to other countries, were highly serviceable and beneficial to *Navarre*, where the viceroys, though frequently changed, were all of them tied by their instructions to act upon the same plan; and this consisted in the improvement of the interior part of the country, and in finding employment for restless spirits on the frontiers, or sending them to exercise their valour in the armies of *France*, where they were always well received, and some of the nobility highly advanced and amply rewarded^d.

1285.

History of the transactions in Navarre, to the death of Donna Joanna I.

PHILIP the Fair, now king of both realms, in right of himself and his consort, pursued the war against *Arragon* with vigour, but continued the truces with *Castile* to the demise of king *Sancho*, when the viceroys of *Navarre* altered their measures, adjusted their differences with *Arragon*, and endeavoured to avail themselves of those intestine troubles which disturbed the kingdom of *Castile*. The apparent reason of this alteration in their conduct, was the conjunction of the two crowns, in favour of Don *Alonso de Cerda*, whom they pretended to advance to the thrones of *Castile* and *Leon*; but the genuine and real cause, upon which they acted, was to extend the territories of *Navarre* and *Arragon* at the expence of the young monarch of *Castile*, whose affairs were administered by the queen-dowager his mother^e. It was to save appearances in some measure that *Alonso de Roleed*, being viceroy of *Navarre*, and very active in this confederacy, sent a knight of *Navarre*, with a message, to the queen regent of *Castile*, demanding restitution of all the places and provinces of which their majesties predecessors had been despoiled by the ancestors of the king of *Castile*; and this claim went as far as *Atapuerca*, at no great distance from *Burgos*. The queen gave a soft answer, and the viceroy, having obtained his master's consent, acknowledged Don *Alonso de la Cerda* for king of *Castile*, by which all the country as far as the river *Oia* was yielded to *Navarre*^f. But king *Philip*, being engaged in the war of *Flanders*, could not assist the confederates so powerfully as to enable Don *Alonso* to comply with his agreement. While this war was carried on slowly, and with little success, died Donna *Joanna*, queen of *Navarre*, on the fourth of *April*, one thousand three hundred and five, when she had borne that title thirty-one years^g. The most memorable action of her life was the building the college of *Navarre* at *Paris*, for promoting useful literature, and which she liberally endowed with lands in her county of *Champagne*. She had by her husband the following children, *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, successively kings of *France*, *Robert* who died young, *Margaret*, *Isabel* who espoused *Edward* the second of

^a FAVIN Histoire de Navarre, P. DANIEL Histoire de France, FERR.

^b L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. ^c FAVIN Histoire de Navarre, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. ^d L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

^e ZURITA, FERR. P. DANIEL. ^f L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

^g ZURITA, FERR. P. DANIEL.

^a *England*, in whose right *Edward* the third her son claimed the *French* crown; and *Blanch* who died young ^b. This queen is much blamed for her hatred to the *Flemings* ^c.

LEWIS HUTIN, that is *the Quarrelsome*, assumed the title of king of *Navarre*, on his mother's death, being then about fifteen years old; and espoused the same year *Margaret*, daughter to *Robert* duke of *Burgundy*, by *Agnes*, daughter of *St. Lewis* ^k. The death of the queen was no sooner known in her dominions, than the states of *Navarre* sent a deputation to the court of *France*, desiring that their young king might be sent into his own dominions; which demand they supported by so many reasons, that both the kings admitted them to be just, and promised to comply with them. The circumstances of their affairs, however, were such, that it was two years before he went thither; and on his arrival at *Pampeluna*, was solemnly crowned in the cathedral, with the acclamations of all his subjects ^l. He did not continue to reside there long; and even during his stay, there happened some disputes, occasioned by his imprisoning two noblemen of *Navarre*, who had opposed the *French* viceroys, and whom he carried with him at his return into *France*. He was likewise attended by two hundred young noblemen and gentlemen, all of whom he provided for, and thereby attached so many families to his person and government, as rendered his administration quieter than otherwise it would have been ^m. The quarrels on the frontiers of *Arragon* were about this time renewed, which *James*, then king of that country, so much resented, that he sent an army to invade *Navarre*, which was defeated, and the royal standard of *Arragon* taken by the militia of the town of *Sanguessa*; for which reason, by a grant from *Lewis Hutin*, they have borne it ever since in their arms ⁿ. The king of *Navarre* being at *Lyons*, to pacify some troubles that had arisen there, a strange misfortune befel him and all the royal family; for *Margaret*, queen of *Navarre*, *Jane*, wife to his brother *Philip*, and *Blanch* of *Burgundy*, who had espoused prince *Charles*, were all charged with adultery; and the first and last of these princesses were on a strict trial found guilty, and imprisoned in the castle of *Galliard*, where not long after the queen of *Navarre* was strangled by her husband's orders ^o, now become king of *France* by his father's death. He then married the princess *Clemence* of *Hungary*, and died after a very short and troublesome reign, *June* the fifth, one thousand three hundred and sixteen, at the castle of *Vincennes*, as is said of poison ^p. At his decease he left one daughter, *Donna Joanna*, by his first queen, and his new-married princess big with child, which threw the affairs of both kingdoms into some confusion ^q. At length *Philip*, surnamed *the Long*, brother to the deceased king, was declared regent of *France* and *Navarre*, till the king, in case the queen should be delivered of a son, attained the age of fourteen. This happened, and the son was baptized by the name of *John*; but as he lived only a week, his name was never inserted in the lists either of the kings of *France* or *Navarre*, though he had an unquestionable title to both, and, one would have thought, should have been proclaimed upon his birth ^r.

PHILIP THE LONG, so called from his extraordinary stature, assumed the regal title immediately upon the death of his nephew, and made all the haste he could to be crowned. But notwithstanding this, *Eudes* duke of *Burgundy*, uncle to *Donna Joanna*, the daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, declared publicly, that her right to *Navarre* was incontestable, and that he held her claim to the crown of *France* to be as good ^s. In this he was supported by the count of *Nevers*, the dauphin of *Viennois*, and, which is very extraordinary, by *Charles the Fair*, the king's only brother. Their intrigues did not hinder his coronation, and his right was afterwards solemnly confirmed by an assembly of the nobility and clergy ^t. However, to appease the malcontents, he gave his eldest sister in marriage to the duke of *Burgundy*, with the county of the same title, another sister to the dauphin, and conferred various favours on the rest, which had so good an effect, that he assumed the title also of king of *Navarre*, to the apparent prejudice of his niece, but without the least contradiction from the duke of *Burgundy* ^u. He did not long enjoy the regal dignity. As to the kingdom of *Navarre*, he added to the viceroy a royal council, that his power might be the more restrained, and that a greater number of ears might be open to justice. His only son *Lewis* died in his cradle; and he died himself on the third of *January*, one thousand three hundred twenty-two ^v.

CHARLES THE FAIR succeeded his brother, and assumed the title of *Navarre* as well as *Charles the Fair* assumed the title of king of *Navarre*, to the prejudice of his niece. though the young queen was already married to *Philip* count of *Evreux*, son to *Lewis* count of *Evreux*, brother to *Philip le Bel*, who espoused the queen of *Navarre*; but in truth she was still a child, and therefore it was said, that *Charles* only assumed the title, as his brother had done, in quality of guardian to his niece ^x. He had as little inclination as his predecessor

^h L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. DANIEL, TURQUET.

^k FAVIN, P. DANIEL, TURQUET.

^m L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

ⁿ Histoire de France.

^p L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA, P. DANIEL.

^q Histoire de France, FAVIN.

^r P. DANIEL.

^s L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. TURQUET.

^t L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA,

^u FAVIN, TURQUET.

^v P. DANIEL

^w MEZERAY,

^x L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, TURQUET.

^y P. DANIEL.

to visit that country, where the nobility on the frontiers took great liberties, and made frequent a excursions into the territories of *Castile* and *Arragon*, which provoked their neighbours to make reprisals; for which, in return, the people of *Navarre* were not at all slow in taking revenge. In one of these expeditions they received a severe check at *Baltibar*, wherein the best part of their troops were cut off by the inhabitants of *Guipuscoa*^r. On the side of *Arragon* they were more successful, insomuch that the king of that country complained to king *Charles* in *France*, who promised redress, and sent orders for that purpose into *Navarre*, which were but indifferently obeyed. It seems the nobility had no great opinion of the uprightness of his intention; for when *Alonso Robora*, his viceroy, demanded an oath of allegiance, they absolutely refused it, insisting, that in *Navarre*, though they obeyed their b princes wherever they were, yet they never swore to any but in their presence². The disorders that had broke out in the former reign increased extremely under this; insomuch that all things had a strong tendency to anarchy and confusion, at the time of this monarch's death, which happened the first of *February*, one thousand three hundred twenty-eight, when he had just entered the seventh year of his reign³. At the time of his demise he left his queen, the sister of the count *de Evreux*, big with child, upon which *Philip de Valois*, son of *Charles de Valois*, and grandson of *Philip the Hardy*, in quality of first prince of the blood, was declared regent of *France*, not without some distaste to the rest, of whom there were about thirty^b.

Donna Joanna THE death of king *Charles* was no sooner known in *Navarre*, than the common people laid c hold of this as a favourable occasion to wreak their spleen on a race of men whom they hated beyond measure, and who, it is not improbable, might have given too much cause for their hate. These were the *Jews*, of whom vast numbers were settled in *Navarre*, since it fell under the dominion of *France*, and more especially after their expulsion out of that kingdom, towards the close of the reign of *Philip the Long*^c. These the commons of *Navarre* accused of oppression and extortion; and falling first upon those of foul characters, extended their insolence and rapine by degrees, till they plundered and murdered, as some historians relate, not fewer than ten thousand^d. In order to appease these tumults, the viceroy and his council summoned the clergy and nobility to assemble at *Pont-a-la-Royne*, where they took order indeed for suppressing those disturbances; but instead of putting an end to their sessions, the states adjourned to *Pampeluna*, where they undertook to examine and decide the disputes that d had arisen about the succession of the crown^e. The daughters of *Philip the Long*, and *Charles the Fair*, put in their claims, on account of their father's dying, as they affirmed, possessed of the crown of *Navarre*; which was but little regarded. But *Edward* the third of *England* had a strong party. His pretensions arose from his being the son of *Isabel*, the daughter of *Philip the Fair*, by *Joanna* queen of *Navarre*^f. At length, after much debate and mature deliberation, the states took upon them to declare, that the right was in *Joanna*, daughter to *Lewis Hutin*, the son of *Philip the Fair*, by *Joanna* queen of *Navarre*^g. *Philip de Valois*, in the same assembly which decided in favour of his right against *Edward* the third, disclaimed all pretensions to *Navarre*, which he acknowledged to belong to *Philip* count of *Evreux*, his brother-in-law, in right of his consort^h. But the states of *Navarre* did not either wait for or e take notice of this; but proclaimed her queen immediately, appointing *Don Juan Corboran de Lebet*, and *Don Juan Martinez de Medrano*, lord of *Arroniz*, to administer public affairs in her name, with the title of regentsⁱ. A solemn embassy was also sent to *Rome*, in the name of the queen, which was extremely well received. As for the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, both the *French* and *Spanish* historians say, that *Philip de Valois* gave his brother-in-law, *Philip de Evreux*, *Angouleme*, *Molain*, and *Longueville*, for them; but this is a matter not to be run over lightly, and which deserves a strict discussion, as it will enable us to form a right idea of the terms upon which the two last kings, *Philip* and *Charles*, held the country of *Navarre*, and their kind intentions towards their niece^k.

The king and queen of Na- THE states of *Navarre*, in pursuance of what they had already done, sent to invite their f sovereign queen *Joanna*, and her consort *Philip de Evreux*, to *Pampeluna*, which, with the consent of the *French* king, they accepted, and upon their arrival were received with all possible marks of joy as well as respect^l. When these transports were a little over, the states acquainted *Philip* the third, and *Joanna* the second, so they were now stiled, that it was with unfeigned pleasure and satisfaction they beheld their lawful sovereigns in the capital of their dominions; but that it was fit they should be informed, that, as for many years past there had been scarce any face of government, by which their subjects were not only grievous sufferers,

^y FAVIN, FERR. TURQUET. ^z L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ^a MEZERAY, P. DANIEL.
^b MEZERAY. ^c L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. TURQUET. ^d FERR. ^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERR. ^f FAVIN Histoire de Navarre. ^g L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. TURQUET. ^h P. DANIEL Histoire de France. ⁱ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. TURQUET. ^k FAVIN Histoire de Navarre, TURQUET, P. DANIEL Histoire de France. ^l FAVIN, MARIANA, TURQUET.

a but also the form, and even the essence of their ancient constitution in danger of being lost, they took it therefore to be for their honour and interest, as they were sure it was their duty, to restore both: that they had sufficiently shewn a spirit of justice and loyalty in asserting their rights, and bringing them to the peaceable possession of their dignity; but having done this, they were now bound to discharge their trust to the people, which they could no otherwise perform than by presenting them a bill of rights, to the due observance of which they were to swear at the time of their inauguration; beseeching them to believe, that as their freedom consisted in living according to the known laws of *Navarre*, so the prerogative and succession of the crown being described and ascertained by those laws, they were ready to support and defend both^m. The king and queen accepted this paper very graciously, and having signified their approbation of it, were solemnly crowned in the cathedral of *Pampeluna*, on the fifth of *March*, with the universal applause of their faithful subjectsⁿ. At the same time they swore to the maintenance of the people's rights; and what these were will appear at the bottom of the page (A). By this firmness in the states the old constitution in the kingdom was revived and confirmed.

A. D. 1329.

KING *Philip* being invited by his brother-in-law to accompany him in his wars in *Flanders*, he returned into *France*, but left the queen at *Pampeluna*; and having given great proofs of valour in the famous battle of *Cassel*, he returned into his own dominions^o. He had not been long at home before he clearly perceived that the power of Don *Alonso* of *Castile* was so great, that war could not be undertaken against him with any probability of success; and that, on the other hand, the disordered state of their own dominions required such regulations, as could never be carried into execution but in a time of profound peace. These reasons determined the king and queen first to complete the one, and then to attempt the other, which resolution of theirs, as it was wisely taken, so it was also worthily performed. Their ambassadors acquainted the king of *Castile*, that as it was many years since their dominions had enjoyed the presence of a sovereign, they were not unacquainted that some extravagancies had been committed, more especially by their youth upon the frontiers; that being now in *Navarre*, they determined to put an end to such practices, to live in strict friendship with all their neighbours, and to respect in a particular degree the king of *Castile*. Don *Alonso* knew the motives and the scope of this embassy, which fell exactly in with his views. He answered, therefore, that he rejoiced sincerely to see the lawful sovereigns of *Navarre* in quiet possession of their dominions; that he was well pleased to find they entertained such just notions of their own affairs; that he accepted their kind offers, and would maintain the peace between the two crowns with the utmost punctuality^p. This great affair thus adjusted, their majesties made a thorough reform throughout their dominions; placed natives in all posts of honour and profit, civil and military; and having established a new parliament to redress grievances, and to render justice in all causes, and to all persons, they named such to have seats and voices therein as were recommended to them by the states, which gave great content^q.

The king returns into France, and after some time goes back into Navarre.

1331.

It was not long after this that either the affairs or the inclinations of the king and queen led them back to the court of *France*, leaving *Henry de Solibert*, or, as he is more generally called, *Henry de Solis*, their viceroy in *Navarre*, but with a power more limited than that of former viceroys^r. He judged the most effectual method of extending this, was to fall in with the passions of the nation. It was with this view that he set on foot a negotiation for the

By the indiscretion of the viceroy Henry de Solis, there happens a war.

^m L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ⁿ FERR. TURQUET. ^o FAVIN, P. DANIEL, FERR. ^p L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. TURQUET. ^q FAVIN Histoire de Navarre. ^r L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, TURQUET.

(A) We may justly stile these articles the bill of rights in the kingdom of *Navarre*; and as we have in these an authentic sketch of the old constitution in this legal and limited monarchy, it may afford the reader great pleasure to review and to reflect upon it. They might be reduced to ten (1). I. To maintain the rights, laws, customs, liberties, and privileges of the realm, written and not written, and not to diminish but rather augment them. II. That they should disannul all that had been done to the prejudice thereof by the kings their predecessors, and by their ministers, without delay. III. That for the term of twelve years they should not coin any money, but such as was then current within the realm, and that during their lives they should not coin above one sort of new money. IV. That they should not receive into their service above four strangers. V. That the command of forts and garrisons of the realm should be given to gentlemen born and dwelling in the country, who should do homage to the queen, and promise to hold them for her and the lawful heir. VI. That they should not exchange nor involve the realm for any other state whatsoever. VII. That they should not sell nor mortgage any of the revenues of the crown, or do any act to prejudice the realm, nor against them that by law were to succeed. VIII. That to the eldest son which God should give them, coming to the age of twenty years, they should leave the kingdom free and without factions, upon condition that the states should pay unto them for their expences a hundred thousand pieces of gold. IX. That if God gave them no children, in that case they should leave the realm after them free, with the forts in the hands of the states, to invest in them those to whom by right they should belong. X. That if they infringe any of these articles, or any part of them, their subjects should be looked on as free from their oath of subjection.

marriage

(1) Favin Histoire de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, Mayerne Turquet.

between Cas-
tile and Na-
varre.

A. D. 1335.

marriage of the infanta *Joanna* of *Navarre*, with the infant *Don Pedro* of *Arragon*, in order, with the assistance of that crown, to fall upon the dominions of *Castile*, where he had long had a close correspondence with the malcontents. In the course of this negotiation *Don Pedro* altered his mind, and made choice of the younger sister *Donna Maria*, which was soon after concluded, and ratified by an assembly of the states^a. This alliance had no sooner taken effect, than the viceroy and his new ally began to assemble an army for the invasion of *Castile*. *Don Alonso* endeavoured to prevent this, by informing *Henry de Solis*, that if his subjects had done any wrong to those of *Navarre*, he was ready to make satisfaction. The viceroy was so bent upon the war, that he knew not what would content him; and besides he thought he had taken his measures so well, that victory and conquest must of necessity attend his arms^b. In conjunction, therefore, with the troops of *Arragon*, he made an irruption into *Castile*, where, chiefly through his own temerity and indiscretion, he was heartily beaten, as we have shewn in the history of that kingdom: however, *Gaston* count *de Foix*, embarking in this quarrel, the fortune of war might have changed, if the court of *France* had not interfered; first, in obliging the count *de Foix* to return into his own dominions; and, next, in prevailing on the king of *Navarre* to consent to a negotiation^c. The reason of this moderate and just behaviour in the *French* monarch, was the distress of his affairs through the war with *England*. By this interposition, therefore, a kind of congress was established at *Pampeluna*, under the mediation of the archbishop of *Rheims*; their majesties of *Navarre* having also sent a new viceroy, *Salazin de Anglera*, with full powers, to conclude a peace; which was soon after signed, upon terms very honourable for them^d.

Don Philip

III. dies of an
indisposition,
caught at the
siege of Alge-
zira in Andalusia.

In some time after the peace was concluded between *Arragon* and *Castile*, *Don Pedro*, now seated on the throne of the first-mentioned kingdom, consummated the marriage concluded some years before with the infanta *Maria* of *Navarre*. As soon as the affairs of *France* permitted him to retire with decency, king *Philip* resolved to return into his own dominions, together with the queen his spouse, where their presence was become highly necessary^e. These disorders were scarce redressed before the news of the siege of *Algezira*, carried on by *Don Alonso* of *Castile* against the *Moors*, alarmed in a manner all *Christendom*. We have described it particularly elsewhere, and therefore shall say nothing of it here but what is strictly connected with our subject. The king of *Navarre* piqued himself so much on the character of an accomplished Christian knight, that he resolved to present himself before the walls of *Algezira*. He sent provisions and his equipage by sea; and with a small corps of choice troops marched by land into *Andalusia*. He had all the honours paid him in his passage that would have been paid to *Don Alonso* himself; and on his arrival in the camp was treated with all possible marks of respect^f. His conduct and his valour are highly commended by *Spanish* historians; but through some irregularity in his diet, he was seized with a malignant fever, which obliged him to retire; and his malady increasing, he died at *Xeres*, in his return home, on the twenty-sixth of *September*, one thousand three hundred forty-three, in the sixteenth year of his reign. His body was carried to *Pampeluna* by his troops, having all possible honours shewn it in its passage, and was there interred in a manner suitable to his rank^g. His memory was highly revered in *Spain*.

Death of queen
Joanna II.

1346.

1348.

THE queen *Donna Joanna* governed the kingdom of *Navarre*, after her husband's decease, with equal dignity and discretion. She made choice of the wisest and ablest of her subjects, to whom she gave a place in her council, and regulated all her actions by their advice^a. Her affection to *France* induced her to send a body of good troops to the assistance of king *Philip*, in whose service they acquired great reputation^b. The martial spirit of the nation, however, gave her some trouble; for the inhabitants of *Tudela* and *Corella* having made an inroad into *Castile*, on account of some differences they had with the people of *Alfaro*, the inhabitants of the marches of *Castile* assembled to revenge this breach of the peace; but the king *Don Alonso*, out of pure regard to the queen, restrained them, and took upon himself to make them satisfaction. But what happened once on the side of *Castile* fell out often on that of *Arragon*, and yet *Don Pedro* seldom troubled her with complaints. He knew that it was against the queen's intentions, and that she had done all she could to prevent it; and he knew that a war would only increase the evil, which, by strengthening his frontiers, and such other methods as prudence directed, he laboured to remove. Besides, he knew the queen had a great influence in the court of *France*, which she was always ready to exert on his behalf^c. The death of *Bona* of *Luxemburgh*, the wife of *John* duke of *Normandy*, eldest son to the *French* king, gave that monarch an opportunity of shewing his high respect for this princess, since he

^a L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERR. ^b FAVIN Histoire de Navarre. ^c L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. TURQUET. ^d FERR. ^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERR. ^f FAVIN Histoire de France, FERR. TURQUET. ^g L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERR. TURQUET, FAVIN Histoire de Navarre. ^h L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. TURQUET. ⁱ BALUZ in vit. Clemen. VI. ^j L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, TURQUET.

a immediately thought of a marriage between her daughter Donna *Blanca*, or *Blanch*, and the heir apparent of his crown. At his request, therefore, the queen conducted her to court, where the king, who was but lately become a widower, was so much struck with her beauty and merit, that he married her himself, notwithstanding the inequality of their age^d. The queen of *Navarre* did not long enjoy this felicity, for the marriage was solemnized in the month of *August*, and Donna *Joanna* died at *Conflans* on the sixth of *October* following, in the twenty-third year of her reign, and was buried in the monastery of *St. Dennis*, near the body of king *Lewis Hutin* her father^e, of whom she looked on herself as the sole heiress.

b This princess, by *Philip* of *Eureux* her consort, had *Charles*, who succeeded to the kingdom of *Navarre*; *Philip* count of *Longueville* and *Normandy*; *Lewis* count of *Beaumont le Rogere*,
 c who had a son of the same name, who espoused the daughter of the count of *Mauleon*, and became standard-bearer of the kingdom of *Navarre*. After the death of this countess, he espoused *Joanna*, daughter and heiress of the duke de *Duros*^f. Their daughters were *Joanna*, who espoused the viscount de *Roban*, after she had been refused by the king of *Arragon*; *Maria*, who married that prince; *Blanch*, the last wife of the *French* king *Philip de Valois*; and *Agnes*, who espoused *Gaston Phœbus*, count of *Faix*. These alliances, almost wholly owing to the consummate prudence and high reputation of the queen, had rendered the house of *Navarre* infinitely more powerful than in times past, and gave them so great a weight both in *France* and in *Spain*, as made them much more considered and respected than could have resulted from their dominions; though these were so situated, and their subjects had acquired so great a character for their military virtues, that they might, generally speaking, have held the balance, before the rest of the kingdoms of *Spain* came to be united under one head^g. But all these advantages, though great in themselves, required such a degree of prudence, and such a dexterity in management, as is very rare amongst princes; and therefore it might have been easily foreseen, upon the death of queen *Joanna*, that the next reign must either have been the most glorious, or the most unhappy to the people of *Navarre*, that they had ever seen. The character of the young prince, heir apparent of their crown, gave them reason to hope the former; but experience taught them, that nations may be sometimes deceived in prospects of affection as well as parents.

d CHARLES LE MAUVAIS, or, as the *Spanish* writers stile him, *Don Carlos the Wicked*, succeeded his mother; and having attended her into *France*, in order to be present at his sister's marriage, received there the deputies of the states, who came to invite him home. This young prince was then in the eighteenth year of his age, had been brought up chiefly in the court of *France*, and was one of the most accomplished persons of his time^h. He was courteous, well-bred, eloquent in a supreme degree, easy in his address, popular without losing his dignity: qualities which attracted the admiration of all *Europe* before he ascended the throne, and which he afterwards abused in such a manner, as to be the object of their detestationⁱ. He received the addresses of his subjects very graciously, and promised, that as soon as he had adjusted some affairs of great consequence to his family in *France*, he would return to *Navarre*. He did so; and after making the usual concessions, and taking the accustomed oaths, he was
 e crowned with great solemnity, in the cathedral church of *Pampeluna*, on the twenty-seventh of *June*^k. There broke out not long after a rebellion, under pretence of a violation of privileges: in which, it is said, the king was not at all to blame; but having dissipated these mutineers, he punished many of them with such severity on the *Pont de Meluce*, which is less than a mile from *Pampeluna*, that it alarmed his subjects, and gave them an ill impression of a reign, the first page in the annals of which was marked with blood^l. But the king troubled his head little with what was said: he followed on all occasions his own opinion; and though he changed this very often, yet it was commonly without reason, and always without advice.

f DON *Pedro the Cruel* had just mounted the throne of *Castile*. In point of age there was no great inequality, and in point of temper these princes were but too like each other. Don *Carlos*, who was really a politician, believed it to be for his interest to have a personal acquaintance with the princes who were his neighbours. He took therefore the first fair occasion of making a tour to *Burgos*; and the *Spanish* writers say, that there never was any interview more magnificent, or better conducted^m. The two kings were as yet unstained in their characters; young, gay, and splendid in their courts; extremely well pleased, and perfectly complaisant one to the other; so that the alliances between the two courts were speedily concluded; and they parted, as they met, with equal satisfaction on both sidesⁿ. This interview did not at all please Don *Pedro*, king of *Arragon*, who hated Don *Pedro* of *Castile*, and was jealous of Don *Carlos*. He sent, therefore, two lords of great distinction to the court of *Pampeluna*, to

^d FAVIN, MEZERAY, TURQUET.^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. P. DANIEL.^f FAVIN Histoire de Navarre.^g L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.^h P. MORET, MEZERAY,

P. DANIEL.

ⁱ MEZERAY, GARIBAY, TURQUET.^k L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR.

TURQUET.

^l FAVIN Histoire de Navarre.^m GARIBAY, ZURITA Annal. Arragon.ⁿ L'Histoire

du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, TURQUET.

renew the treaty between the crowns of *Aragon* and *Navarre*; to offer him a princess of the house of *Sicily*; to desire him to hinder the marriage of the king of *Castile* with queen *Blanch*; and to request an interview. Don *Carlos* renewed the treaty; excused himself on the subject of the marriage, as being desirous to match in *France*; assured him that his fears, as to his sister, were ill grounded, since the dowagers of that crown did not contract second marriages; and consented to the interview, which took place about *Midsummer* at *Monblanc*, where, after several conferences, the monarchs parted with less opinion of each other than before the interview^o. He spent the autumn in *Languedoc*, where he had the title of his lieutenant from the French king *John*, and where he acted with almost absolute authority^p.

He goes to the French court, espouses the princess Joanna, and becomes notwithstanding a mal-content. A. D. 1353. It was now time for him to make his appearance at the French court, where he had great views. He began with demanding the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, and formed pretensions also upon the duchy of *Burgundy*. The king was not much inclined to give him satisfaction; but to soothe and soften him, if possible, he gave him his sister the princess *Joanna*^a. As this was one of the points Don *Carlos* had in view, it was very acceptable; but it was scarce celebrated before he set up new demands; for the truce being expired with *England*, he thought king *John* durst deny him nothing. He complained that *Angoulême* had suffered so much during the war, that he drew nothing from it. King *John* thereupon gave him the towns of *Mante* and *Meulan* in exchange, with which he was very well pleased, as it strengthened his interest in *Normandy*, where he was desirous of making himself considerable^r. But it happened unluckily that the king bestowed the county *Angoulême* upon the constable *Charles* of *Spain*, who was his favourite. This *Charles* was the son of Don *Alonso de la Cerda*, and the king of *Navarre* hated him mortally. This gift of a county, that had been his, inflamed him to such a degree, that hearing the constable, who suspected nothing, was at *Aigle* in *Normandy*, he went thither with his brother *Philip*, and a small retinue of determined men, surrounded the inn where the constable was, and caused him to be murdered in his bed^s. In order to avoid the punishment due for this murder, his next thing was to raise a rebellion. He fortified several places in *Normandy*; wrote circular letters, to justify what he had done, to most of the great cities in *France*; and entered into a correspondence with *John* of *Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*, son to *Edward* the third. King *John* found himself at this time in great perplexity: his dignity and his disposition inclined him to severity; but he found it equally dangerous to declare his resentments, or to dissemble them: yet, upon mature deliberation, the last seemed most expedient; the two queens-dowagers of *France*, one the aunt and the other the sister of the king of *Navarre*, interposing powerfully on his behalf^t.

A formal but insincere reconciliation between the two kings, thro' the mediation of the dowagers. 1354. A NEGOCIATION being set on foot, the king of *Navarre* made very high demands in satisfaction for his pretensions to *Champagne* and *Brie*; and king *John*, who had already taken his resolution to content him, if it was possible, after a little altercation, consented to them all, provided the king of *Navarre* came and demanded pardon in person for his offence; to which he yielded: but, on the other hand, insisted on having the king's son, the duke of *Anjou*, as a hostage for his safety; to which, the necessity of his affairs requiring it, the king consented^u. Things being thus settled, the king held his solemn bed of justice, where the king of *Navarre* appeared, excused himself for the death of the constable, which he acknowledged to have been done by his orders, but upon just motives, as at a proper time he promised to shew; expressed great sorrow for the offence given to the king; and desired that he would be graciously pleased to pardon him. King *John* ordered the constable of *Bourbon* to arrest him, which he did, and carried him prisoner out of the court. The two dowagers, his aunt and sister, then threw themselves at the king's feet, to implore his grace; and after some time the constable was ordered to produce his prisoner; and the king having granted him his pardon, according to what had been stipulated, he was set at liberty; but, as the reader will easily believe, the two kings were far from being reconciled^v. *Charles* after this retired into *Normandy*, where he fortified most of the towns in his possession, and put strong garrisons into such as were capable of making the best defence^w. He then went secretly to *Avignon*, where conferences were held for a peace between the crowns of *France* and *England*; and having had several private interviews with the duke of *Lancaster*, he withdrew with all possible secrecy into *Navarre*, with a resolution to carry into execution, in a proper season, the measures he had concerted.

He contrives new schemes to the prejudice of king John, and. THESE proceedings being made known to king *John*, he marched immediately with a considerable army into *Normandy*, and seized the best part of the estates which the king of *Navarre* held there into his hands; but *Eureux*, *Pont-au-demer*, *Chebourg*, *Avranches*, *Mortain*, and *Gavre*, were too strong, and their garrisons too numerous, to be reduced. The king

^o GARIBAY, ZURITA Annal. Arragon. FAVIN Histoire de Navarre.

^a FAVIN, P. DANIEL, FERR.

Navarre, P. DANIEL, FERR.

du Royaume de Navarre, MEZERAY, TURQUET.

Histoire de France.

^r P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

^s FAVIN Histoire de Navarre, P. DANIEL, TURQUET

^t FAVIN, P. DANIEL, FERR.

^u Histoire de Languedoc.

^v L'Histoire du Royaume de

^w L'Histoire

^x MEZERAY

- a** of *Navarre* demanded a safe conduct, and offered to clear himself of all that was laid to his charge. King *John* granted it; but instead of coming in the manner he expected, he landed at *Cherbourg*, in the month of *August*, with a body of troops. However, he entered into a new negociation; and, upon the promise of a hundred thousand crowns, professed that he was fully satisfied, and that he meant not to set up any farther claim or pretence^y. In the month of *September* he went to *Paris*, saw the king, and gave him in person the same assurances; which he either believed or seemed to believe, so that they parted in all appearance good friends. But in the beginning of the next year the king of *Navarre* acted a new part; and setting up for a patriot, endeavoured to hinder the king from levying taxes and impositions, tho' by authority of the states of *France*. This offended the king but very slightly, in comparison of an intrigue which he had been some time carrying on, and which was now discovered^z. He had seduced the dauphin *Charles*, then about eighteen, and by that pestilent eloquence, of which he was master, persuaded him that he was extremely ill used in not having a government. He advised him, therefore, to retire to the court of his uncle, the emperor *Charles* the fourth; promised to accompany him thither; and laid down a method of proceeding, by which the king's person was to be seized; after which he was to be dealt with as they thought expedient. The king pardoned his son, and gave him the duchy of *Normandy*; upon which he gave a hint to the king of *Navarre*, that they were suspected, and all things were buried in oblivion for the present, that is, in appearance; for the dauphin seemed to be deterred from acting by the king's suspicions, but to persist in his sentiments^a.
- b** This young prince, to make some amends for his offence, or rather in consequence of that disposition which led him into it, contrived, in conjunction with his father, to seize the king of *Navarre*, with whom he still lived in all possible intimacy. That the blow might be the more effectually struck, they would precipitate nothing. At length the dauphin invited the king of *Navarre*, and some of the principal persons of his party, to dine with him, on the fifth of *April*, in the castle of *Rouen*, where they were surprised, just as they were sitting down to table, by the king in person, having with him his brother the duke of *Orleans*, his son the count de *Anjou*, some other great lords, and a handful of resolute men^b. The king caused the count de *Harcourt*, the Lords of *Gravelle* and *Maubue*, and *Oliver Doublet*, to be beheaded in a field adjacent. The next day the king of *Navarre* was carried prisoner to the castle of *Gaillard*, and transferred from thence to the chatelet at *Paris*. His schemes, however, were so well contrived, that what king *John* hoped would have put an end to them all, served rather to promote them^c. His brother *Philip* put himself at the head of the troops; *Jeffry Harcourt* raised a great party in *Normandy*, to revenge the death of his brother; the duke of *Lancaster* quickly landed with a reinforcement from *England*; and *Lewis*, the king of *Navarre*'s third brother, went into that kingdom to take the best measures he could to spread confusion on all sides, and, if possible, to engage the king of *Arragon* to break with *France*, and to make an irruption into the provinces adjacent to his dominions. It is true, that a part of these schemes failed; but it is also true, that the greatest part of them took effect; insomuch that *Don Carlos* was more at ease in his prison, notwithstanding he was threatened with a process against him for treason, than the king, whose prisoner he was, and who became himself a prisoner the next year, by the loss of the battle of *Poitiers* to the *English*^d.
- c** CHARLES of *Navarre* had been removed, that he might be more safely kept, to the castle of *Arleux* in *Cambresis*; and after king *John* was taken prisoner, and all *France* in confusion, his brother *Don Philip* resolved to make some bold attempt for restoring him to his liberty. With this view *Don Roderic Urtiz*, *Don Corbaran Lebet*, *Don Ferdinand Ayanz*, and *Don Carlos d'Artieda*, four valiant knights as any in his service, accompanied by a few determined persons, and conducted by *John* the brother of *Monsieur de Pequinez*, to whose custody he was committed, went to the fortress in the disguise of colliers, scaled the walls, and carried him to *Amiens*, though not without suspicion of collusion in the governor^e. He was there met by his brother *Philip*, and both began to raise forces. In the mean time the people of *Paris*, having differed with the dauphin, who had assumed the government of the kingdom, with the title of lieutenant, invited the king of *Navarre* thither, and when he came, treated him with great respect. It was upon this occasion he made his famous harangue to about ten thousand persons of all ranks in an open square. He chose for his text these words, *Justus Dominus, et justitiam dilexit*, i. e. "The Lord is just, and in justice is his delight." He began with the zeal and affection which every man ought to have for his country and the public good: he glanced on the fierceness and haughtiness of the king's temper, mentioned the iniquitous death of the count d'*Eu*, constable of *France*, beheaded on false suspicions by the artifice of *Juan de*

seduces his son the dauphin from his duty.

A. D. 1355.

The dauphin betrays him into his father's hands, who punishes his conduct, and puts the king of Navarre in prison.

His escape from the castle of Arleux, entry into Paris, and peace with the dauphin.

^y FAVIN, P. DANIEL. Procès du Roy de Navarre.

^z L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. TURQUET.

^a M. S.

MEZERAY.

^b FAVIN, Historique & Chronique de JEAN FROISSART, cap. clvi.

^c MARIANA, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. TURQUET, MEZERAY.

^d FA-

VIN, FERR. MEZERAY.

^e Contin. NANGII, MEZERAY, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

la Cerda, who was rewarded with his place; justified the manner in which he caused that man ^a to be put to death; exclaimed against the heavy taxes that had been laid upon the kingdom; insisted that his greatest crime was endeavouring to prevent them; deplored the mischiefs arising from a disputed title; hinted that his own was better than either of the competitors; expatiated on the sufferings he had gone through in eighteen months confinement; and concluded with assuring them, that they were pleasant to him in comparison of his sorrow for the distresses of *France*^f. The people wept all the time he was speaking; and his party grew so strong, that the dauphin was obliged to promise him full satisfaction, let his demands be what they would. He gave upon this occasion a new specimen of his art: he did not set them very high; but he demanded that the memory of those who had suffered when he was taken prisoner should be restored, their families reinstated, and a general amnesty granted to all who ^b had assisted him before or since^g. After public testimonies of reconciliation with the dauphin, he left *Paris*, and went to *Rouen*; where, upon *Innocent's-day*, he went accompanied by the clergy, nobility, and people, and standing on foot under the gibbet, caused the bodies of his three friends to be taken down (for that of the count *de Harcourt* had been taken away by his relations before) embraced, put them into chariots, caused them to be interred with the utmost solemnity; and not only assisted himself at the ceremony, but made a funeral oration in their praise, which was often interrupted by the seeming violence of his grief^h. This had all the effect he could desire upon the *Normans*, who attached themselves to him, as if they had been his subjects.

A. D. 1357.

Brings France
by his intrigues
to the brink of
ruin, and then
is content to
save it by a
peace.

THE conditions with the king of *Navarre*, as they were made by force, were but indif- ^c ferently performed; the places that were to have been yielded to him in *Normandy* refused to open their gates in obedience to the dauphin's orders, their governors pretending they were placed there by the kingⁱ. The war upon this broke out afresh; and having obtained some assistance from the *English*, he began to waste the country on one side, while his brother Don *Philip* did the like on the other. At this time the dauphin was at *Paris*, where he had called an assembly of the states; but having some way disoblinded the people, they invited the king of *Navarre* thither, and turned the dauphin out^k. But carrying with him some of his *English* auxiliaries, this gave colour for a rumour, that he intended to put the capital into their hands: upon which the people in his turn forced him out, and recalled the dauphin; which provoked ^d him to such a degree, that he declared he would never acknowledge the princes of the house of *Valois*: that he looked upon himself to have a better title to the crown than they, and would make his claim good by force of arms^l. When he published this, he made no question of recovering *Paris* by the help of *Stephen Marcel*, provost of the merchants, and others of his adherents; but at the time they were opening the gates, they were attacked and slain: notwithstanding which he continued the war. He paid his troops so liberally, behaved towards them so courteously, and gave them in all respects so great encouragement, that he had soon a very numerous army, with which he blocked up the dauphin in *Paris*, and brought him to such distress as forced him to offer any terms. The *French* historians acknowledge, that upon this occasion the king of *Navarre* behaved with great generosity; and when their respective plenipotentiaries were on the point of breaking off the conferences, he desired an interview ^e with the dauphin at *Pontoise*, where he told him, in few words, that the kingdom must be undone by the continuance of the war; and that by rendering him his inheritance in *Normandy* the peace should be made^m. His brother Don *Philip* was so much offended at this, that he retired to the *English*; but the king adhered to his promise, raised the blockade, and appeared sincerely reconciledⁿ.

1359.

He has an in-
terview with
Don Pedro the
Cruel of Cas-
tile, who for-
ces him into a
war with Ar-
ragon.

He left his only son Don *Carlos*, who was born at *Mantes*, to be educated by his sister, who was queen dowager of *France*, and returned into his own hereditary dominions of *Navarre*, where he found all things in very good order through the care of his brother Don *Lewis*, who, with the title of lieutenant-general of the realm, had managed public affairs with great mildness and moderation^o. Don *Pedro* of *Castile* sent his ambassadors to compliment his ^f brother of *Navarre*, to assure him of his friendship, and to desire an interview with him, which was very acceptable to *Charles*, who had now fresh schemes in his head; the death of the young duke of *Burgundy* having opened a passage for him to that valuable succession, and to which he had in truth a very plausible title, in support of which the friendship of the king of *Castile* might be of some consequence. In the spring he went to *Soria*, to that conference which Don *Pedro* had so earnestly pressed; and there, after he had been magnificently entertained, Don *Pedro* informed him of his design to enter *Aragon* by surprize, and demanded

^f Histoire & Chronique du JEAN FROISSART, Contin. NANGII, Annales de France. ^g JEAN FROISSART, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, TURQUET. ^h Contin. NANGII, Annales de France, MEZERAY. ⁱ JEAN FROISSART, Contin. NANGII, P. DANIEL. ^k JEAN FROISSART, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL. ^l Contin. NANGII, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL. ^m JEAN FROISSART, Contin. NANGII, Annales de France. ⁿ JEAN FROISSART, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL. ^o Chronica del Rey Don Pedro, PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, FERR. TURQUET.

a his assistance. Don Carlos was chagrined at this proposition, which he did not expect; but he was too well acquainted with the character of Don Pedro to make any scruple of promising all that he demanded, so that they parted good friends^p; and Don Carlos did the next year appear on the frontiers of Arragon with an army, that he might seem to perform this promise. But though he took the castles of Sos and Salvaterra, and threatened Jacca with a siege, it is very possible, and the subsequent part of this history will shew that it is not improbable, the king of Arragon had reason to believe that he had not much to fear from him^q. A. D. 1362.

Don Pedro king of Arragon, perceiving clearly that the safety of his dominions must depend on his withdrawing the king of Navarre from the party of Castile, proposed an inter-^{Enters into a confederacy with Don Pedro of Arragon, and Henry count of Trastemara, against Don Pedro of Castile.} view, which the other accepted, but with a great deal of caution, as remembering the hazard he had run the year before. In this interview it was agreed, that the king of Arragon should support the monarch of Navarre against France; a point which, with all his art, he had never before been able to gain: it was also settled, that the prince Don Juan of Arragon should espouse the infanta Donna Joanna, sister to the king of Navarre: but the great point of all was the dethroning Don Pedro, and the dividing his dominions between the new confederates, which, as far as it could be done in a conference, was also concluded^r. It was, however, found necessary to have another meeting, to which Henry count of Trastemara, brother to Don Pedro, was to be admitted; and the place agreed upon for this purpose was the castle of Sos; but the count would have it put into the hands of Don Juan Ramirez, before he would consent to trust his person there. And, if we may depend upon some of the best historians, that prince was not at all to blame, since, having drawn from him all the lights they could desire, the two kings would have prevailed upon Don Juan to have suffered their troops to enter, who had orders to cut the count de Trastemara and his adherents to pieces; for which they promised Don Juan an immense sum; who answered, that he knew reputation was to be purchased, but not with money, and therefore they must excuse him for parting with it on any such consideration^s.

King John being dead in England, and his son Charles seated on the throne of France, the king of Navarre, notwithstanding the great design he had entered into nearer home, resolved to renew the war, which he did, as well by an open declaration, as by sending orders to the troops of Navarre in Normandy to begin hostilities without delay^t. The new king had annexed Burgundy, to which Charles of Navarre had as good or better title, to his crown; and not satisfied with this, had likewise united to his domain, in a more solemn manner than his predecessors, the counties of Champagne and Brie, without troubling himself about the pretensions of the king of Navarre, and this the latter could not bear. Charles sent Bertrand du Guesclin to command his forces in Normandy; and the king of Navarre sent thither John de Grailli, captal, that is, lord of Buch, with a reinforcement, to command his; but he was defeated at the Cocherel, on the sixteenth of May, and taken prisoner^u. The king, notwithstanding this, sent his brother Don Lewis, his other brother Don Philip being dead, with a new army into Auvergne, where he committed terrible disorders, and gave out that he would unite himself again more closely with the English than ever, in order to be revenged for the injuries he had received^v; for Don Carlos insisted that some places were taken from him by surprize before he declared war; that several adhered to him during the troubles at Paris, contrary to the amnesty that had been granted them; and whatever his faults were, this prince was remarkably firm to such as had risked their safety in his cause. The captal de Buch, who was extremely well treated by the French court, discovered that there was a secret negociation on the carpet with the king of Arragon; of which Don Carlos having notice, he was so much alarmed, that he sent the queen of Navarre, though big with child, to Paris, to conclude, by the advice of the captal de Buch, a solid peace with her brother; and, after much altercation, it was accordingly concluded and signed on the sixth of March^x. By this treaty the safety of his friends, and the release of the captal de Buch, were first stipulated; in the next place, the country of Evreux, and all that he still held in Normandy, were confirmed to him; and in full satisfaction of his pretensions, as well on the duchy of Burgundy as the counties of Champagne and Brie, he had Montpellier, with its dependencies, yielded to him. He not only ratified this treaty as soon as that was demanded, but likewise sent the French monarch a heart curiously wrought in gold, as a testimony of the cordiality of their reconciliation^y. The peace was proclaimed at Paris on the twentieth of June, which made way for the expedition of the disbanded troops that oppressed France, under the command of Bertrand du Guesclin, against Don Pedro of Castile, in which the crowns of France, Arragon, and Navarre concurred; and, as

^p PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA.

^q L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. TURQUET.

^r PEDRO

LOPEZ DE AYALA, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, FERR.

^s ZURITA Annal. Arragon. PEDRO LOPEZ DE

AYALA, TURQUET.

^t L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, JEAN FROISSART, MEZERAY.

^u JEAN

FROISSART, Contin. NANGII, Annales de France.

^v JEAN FROISSART, Contin. NANGII, MEZERAY.

^x JEAN FROISSART, Contin. NANGII, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

^y Histoire de C. du Guesclin.

he was deserted by his own subjects; it was without difficulty executed², as we have shewn at a large in the history of that kingdom, and in consequence of which *Henry* count of *Trastemara* was seated on that throne.

Enters into
contrary en-
gagements
with the two
kings Don
Pedro and
Don Henry,
and would
reap advanta-
ges from both.

A. D. 1367.

THE revolution in favour of *Henry* of *Trastemara* was in various respects favourable to the king of *Navarre*; for the court of *France*, taking a great share in its success, executed their promises with unusual punctuality; so that the town of *Montpellier* was delivered to the capital *de Buch*, for the use of this monarch. The queen, lately delivered at *Evreux* of the infant *Don Pedro*, was sent home with rich presents, and carried with her her eldest son. The subsidies for provisions were exactly paid; and besides all these, various restitutions were to be made¹. But *Don Pedro the Cruel*, having obtained the protection of *Edward the Black Prince*, threatened to avenge by the sword the wrongs he had received. This alarmed the king in possession, who, discerning clearly that his safety depended on the conduct of the king of *Navarre*, invited him to a conference, where a treaty was concluded between them, in which *Henry* promised to make a cession of *Logroño*, and paid him, as a great historian says, sixty thousand pistoles in gold^b, upon the king of *Navarre's* undertaking to defend the passages into his country, which he might easily have done. The archbishops of *Toledo* and *Saragossa*, with the count of *Ribagorça*, and several other persons of distinction, were witnesses to this treaty^c. *Don Pedro* and the prince of *Wales* were no sooner acquainted with it than they likewise entered into a negociation with the king of *Navarre*, and promised him not only *Logroño* but *Viçtoria*; upon which he concluded a treaty with them^d. All the world imagined that he could execute but one of these two treaties; but the monarch of *Navarre* flattered himself, notwithstanding the engagements were contradictory, that he should be able to execute both. With this view, when he heard the army of the prince of *Wales* had begun their march, he sent for *Oliver de Mauny*, the cousin of *Bertrand du Guesclin*, for whom he held the fortress of *Borja*; and having promised him the government of *Cherbourg* in *Normandy*, and the sum of three thousand franks, if he managed the design dextrously, directed him to lie in wait with a small party, and to take him prisoner as he rode a hunting, which *Oliver* performed. While the king was thus prisoner at *Borja*, *Don Pedro* and the prince of *Wales* passed thro' *Navarre* with their army, and were well supplied with provisions^e. After the battle of *Najara*, as the *Spaniards* call it, or of *Navaret*, as it is stiled by the *French*, in which *Henry* was defeated, and by which *Don Pedro* was restored, the king, whose purpose was now answered, desired *Oliver de Mauny* to set him at liberty; to which he answered, "With all his heart, provided he had a large ransom paid him in ready money." To this, without seeming at all offended, the king yielded; and leaving his son the infant *Don Pedro* with the garrison, carried *Oliver* and his brother with him to *Tudela*, where they were to be paid the money; but they were no sooner within the place than he commanded the gates to be secured, and ordered them, if they valued their lives, to send for his son. *Oliver* submitted; but his brother, making some resistance, was killed. However, the garrison of *Borja* absolutely refused to deliver the child; but the king of *Navarre*, having demanded the assistance of the king of *Arragon*, on the frontiers of whose dominions it lay, he, to preserve a good understanding with a neighbour, who, in this perilous juncture, was able to do him much good or much hurt, forced the garrison of *Borja* to part with the child; so that in this base and artificial contrivance he very effectually carried his point^f.

After Don
Henry reco-
vered the
kingdom of
Castile, a war
breaks out be-
tween him and
the king of
Navarre.

THE *French* were so much displeased with the king of *Navarre's* conduct, that they seized upon the town of *Montpellier* and its dependencies, which it was out of his power to prevent; but which having been given him as an equivalent, and a very poor one too, for his pretensions, it perhaps had been as prudent, and to the full as just, if they had suffered him to keep it². *Henry* count of *Trastemara* was to the full as eager to make a new attempt as his competitor had been; and as it was evident that things would be again left to the decision of the sword, new negociations were set on foot, and the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre* treated with both the kings of *Castile* at once, and made pretty near the same demands upon each: those of the king of *Navarre* were, that the prince for whom he acted was to make an absolute cession to him of the provinces of *Guipuscoa* and *Alava*, with all their fortresses and dependencies; *Alfaro*, *Tifero*, *Tudegen*, *Calaborra*, *Navarette*, *Logroño*, *Trifino*, *Najera*, *Briones*, *Haro*, and in a word all *Rioja*, as far as the mountains of *Oca*³. The *French* and *Spanish* historians declaim loudly upon this, without considering that all these places had, in times past, been taken from *Navarre*, in times of such confusion, and were never like to be recovered but at such a juncture. The count *Don Henry* made his passage into *Castile* thro' the kingdom of *Arra-*

² PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, FERR.

^b ZURITA Annal. Arragon.

FROISSART, PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, P. DANIEL.

MAYERNE TURQUET.

^c L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. PEDRO DE LOPEZ DE AYALA.

^d L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Histoire de Languedoc, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. DANIEL, FERR.

^f L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERR.

^g L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA,

^h PEDRO LO-

a gon, and was well received wherever he came. *Viçtoria*, *Salvaterra*, *Logrono*, and other places, were equally pressed by the troops of Don Henry on the one side, and those of the king of *Navarre* on the other; of which Don Pedro being informed, he sent the inhabitants orders to surrender rather to the count of *Trastemara* than to the king of *Navarre*: which directions, however, they did not think it expedient to obey; but, to free themselves from danger, received the king of *Navarre's* garrisons¹. Don Henry was scarce seated on the throne of *Castile* before he discovered plainly that he meant not to comply with the treaties he had made with *Arragon*; and that he was disposed to take a severe revenge upon the king of *Navarre*; in both which designs he was vigorously supported, if not excited, by *France*². For this reason, therefore, the kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon* entered into a defensive alliance; and the former continued his negociation with the *English*, in breach, say some writers, of his alliance with *France*; in revenge, say others, for the loss of *Montpellier*³. In facts of this nature one cannot decide with too much caution, or leave things too open.

A. D. 1358.

THROUGH the prudent, or, as some will call it, the artificial conduct of *Charles* the fifth, *Treaty between* *France* had in a great measure, tho' not totally, recovered the miseries of that long war, by *Edward III.* which she had been oppressed; in consequence of which he began to undermine the power *as king of* of his neighbours. By his alliance with the new king of *Castile*, he availed himself of the great *England and* naval power of that crown against the *English*, and of his numerous and victorious armies *France, with* against the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*. At the same time he encouraged the great lords, *Don Carlos of* who were feudatories to the prince of *Wales* in *Aquitaine*, to stand upon their privileges, and to oppose them in every thing, while the nobility in *Normandy* shewed a like spirit from the like hopes of support⁴. The king of *Navarre* saw thro' these designs perfectly; and, by the advice of *Eustace d'Auberticour*, a knight of great reputation, resolved to unite himself more closely than ever to *Edward* the third of *England*, as the only prince whose alliance could defend him from the mischief that he feared. In consequence of this resolution he went himself to the court of king *Edward*, tho' with great secrecy, and there laid the plan of a definitive treaty, which was afterwards signed at *Clarendon*, and ratified at *London*⁵. The scope of this treaty shews how considerable a prince *Charles* of *Navarre* was in the opinion of *Edward*; than whom there could not possibly be a better judge. By this treaty the two kings were to act, not only against those of *Castile* and *France*, but also, if necessary, against the king of *Arragon*, who it was known had begun to negotiate with these princes. On the part of *Edward*, it was stipulated, that, as soon as it was in his power, he should put the king of *Navarre* in possession of the duchy of *Burgundy*; of the countries of *Brie*, *Champagne*, *Mante-Meulan*, and *Longueville*; of the town and barony of *Montpellier*; of the county of *Mans*; and of other places upon which he had just pretensions. *Edward* farther agreed, that, in consideration of the losses he might sustain from the superior power of the king of *Castile*, he would yield him *Sauveur-le-Vicomte* in *Normandy*; and also yield to him *Briquebec* and *Coutances*, as soon as they should be taken. He farther agreed to give him the viscounty of *Limoges*, and all its dependencies, together with the county of *Angoulesme*; and to advance him four hundred thousand crowns in specie to begin the war. On the other hand, the king of *Navarre* undertook to do homage to *Edward*, as king of *England*, for all the places yielded to him within the principality of *Guienne*; and to do him likewise homage, as king of *France*, for the counties of *Brie* and *Champagne*; and he was likewise to put into king *Edward's* hands *Nogent-le Roi*, *Nonancourt*, *Anet*, and *Ivri*. In consequence of these engagements, and indeed before the treaty was concluded, *Don Carlos* passed into *Normandy*, with a view to carry it into execution; but he did not find either the troops or the money that he expected, so that he was under a necessity of observing a kind of neutrality⁶. Those who charge the king of *Navarre* with breaking this alliance should shew he was enabled to comply with it.

1370.

WHILE the king was thus employed, Don Henry of *Castile*, in consequence of his engagements with the crown of *France*, and with a view of recovering the places the king of *Navarre* had taken during the late troubles, made an irruption into his dominions, took several places of less consequence, and besieged *Logroño* and *Viçtoria*; to deliver which the queen-regent, *Donna Joanna*, by the interposition of the Pope's legate, entered into an agreement with that king to put the two places into the hands of a nobleman, who was to hold them in the name and on the behalf of the Pope, till the disputes between the two crowns should be terminated by a negociation⁷. On the other hand, the king of *Navarre* being informed of this, and perceiving that the advantages he expected from his alliance with *England* were very doubtful, he consented to an interview that was proposed with the *French* monarch at *Vernon*, where, after several conferences, in which the two kings behaved towards each other with all apparent

His treaties, disputes, and compromises, under the mediation of Pope Gregory XI. with the crown of France.

¹ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, MARIANA. AYALA, Histoire de C. de Guesclin, JEAN FROISSART.

² P. DANIEL Histoire de France.

³ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, FERR.

⁴ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, JEAN FROISSART, MEZERAY, Histoire de C. du Guesclin.

⁵ JEAN FROISSART, Annales de France, Histoire de C. du Guesclin.

marks of friendship and good-will, a peace was concluded, by which *Montpellier* was restored a
 A. D. 1371. to the king of *Navarre*, who having now nothing farther to do in *Normandy*, made a tour to
Paris; and leaving there the two young princes his sons to be educated, he returned by way
 of *Avignon* into his hereditary dominions^a. The *French* historians charge the king of *Navarre*
 with persevering in his intrigues, notwithstanding the peace^b. But it appears, from very au-
 thentic evidence, that the causes of these misunderstandings were the proceedings of the *French*
 court, who, on the declension of the *English* power, began to question Don *Carlos*'s right to
 the barony and town of *Montpellier*. These new differences were left to the arbitration of
 Pope *Gregory* the eleventh, who adjudged the possession to the king Don *Carlos* for four years;
 at the end of which space he was to accept an equivalent, and the seigniory was from thence-
 forward to be united to the crown of *France*: in consequence of which arbitration, the king of b
Navarre went thither in person, made his public entry on the twentieth of *March*, confirmed
 the people's privileges, received their oaths of homage and fealty, and set out from thence on
 the twenty-second of *July*^c for *Pampeluna*, where he was received by his subjects with great
 joy, as hoping he would redress many grievances, under which they had laboured, during his
 absence, from the bishop of *Pampeluna* and the dean of *Tudela*, in whose hands he intrusted
 the government, and whom he called to a severe account. The bishop indeed fled to *Avig-*
 non; but the dean was arrested, and all his effects confiscated^d.

1372. THE king of *Castile*, notwithstanding the treaty of pacification made with the queen of
 Henry of Ca- *Navarre*, having compromised his disputes with *Aragon* and *Portugal*, marched all his forces
 stile invades *Navarre*, and demanded *Victoria* and *Logroño* to be surrendered. Don c
 Navarre; Don *Carlos*, who had not either troops to defend, or allies to support him, desired the affair might
 Carlos con- be left to the arbitration of cardinal *Guy*, the Pope's legate: to which the king of *Castile* as-
 cludes a peace sented, desiring the cardinal might repair to his camp, which he accordingly did, and the
 with him, and king of *Navarre* with him^e. There the two kings and the legate eat at the same table; and
 endeavours to after several conferences, peace was made upon these terms; that the towns should be de-
 draw him into livered to the king of *Castile*, but that he should pay a considerable sum of money to the king
 his party, and of *Navarre* for the expence he had been at in fortifying them; and to put an end, once for
 into a league all, to the differences between the two crowns, the infant Don *Carlos* of *Navarre*, when of
 with Eng- age, should espouse the infanta Donna *Leonora* of *Castile*, and receive with her a very large
 land. portion in ready money. The two kings, having signed the treaty, and given reciprocal d
 1373. security to each other for the due performance of it, separated: but the cardinal legate, being
 sick, remained, and died there; upon which a rumour prevailed that he was poisoned by the
 king of *Navarre*'s order; into which the Pope having caused a very strict enquiry to be made,
 declared it to be absolutely false, and void of all foundation^f. The queen of *Navarre*
 had been sent by the king, in the month of *March*, to take upon her the government of his
French dominions. She resided all the summer at *Montpellier*; and departing from thence
 in *September*, went to *Evreux* in *Normandy*, where she died on the third of *November*; and
 her body, being transported to *Paris*, was interred near that of her father, in the monastery
 of *St. Dennis*^g. About the time of the queen's death Don *Carlos* made a journey to *Madrid*,
 where he represented to the king of *Castile* all the injuries that he had received from *France*, e
 and the just reasons he had to fear they would allow him to keep nothing they could take from
 him. At the same time he magnified the power of *England*, and the wisdom and courage of
John of *Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*, whose claim to *Castile*, in right of his wife Donna *Phi-*
lipa, he suggested to Don *Henry*, might be compromised for a sum of money, provided
 he entered into the general alliance against *France*, which would determine the king of *Arra-*
gon to the same measure^h. Don *Henry* answered, that he owed his crown to the assistance of
France, and would not therefore enter into any alliance to her prejudice; but in regard to
 compounding with the duke of *Lancaster* for his pretensions, it was a step to which he was
 by no means averse. He is also said to have explained his system to Don *Carlos*, and pressed
 him exceedingly to close with *France*ⁱ.

A PEACE being at length concluded between the kings of *Castile* and *Aragon*, the former
 having appointed *Soria*, on the frontiers of *Castile*, for the place where the ceremony was to
 be performed of the marriage of his heir-apparent to the princess of *Aragon*, summoned the
 king of *Navarre* to the performance of his contract, on behalf of the infant Don *Carlos*, who
 came accordingly the first to the proposed interview, where he was treated with all possible
 respect and kindness; and, having received 5000 pistoles as a marriage portion with the in-
 fanta, king *Henry* paid at the same time 20,000 more, in full satisfaction for the repairs made

^a P. DANIEL, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

Chroniques des Rois de France, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL.

^b L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. MAYERNE TURQUET.

VARIC, PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA, FERR.

MAYERNE TURQUET.

FERR. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^c PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA.

^d RAINALD,

^e DU TILLET Chron-

iques de Languedoc, de Navarre, FERR.

^f L'Histoire du Royaume de Na-

^g L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre,

^h L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre,

a to the places which had been rendered to him by the last treaty ^a. The next year Don Carlos king of *Navarre*, caused Don *Rodrigo Urriz*, one of the principal lords of his court, to be arrested, upon an information that he had embarked in a design of betraying *Tudela* and *Cammarry*, and retire into the dominions of that prince; and on this and other circumstances of the king of *Navarre* ^c. A celebrated *Spanish* historian, having reported this fairly, inclines to the former, because Don *Henry* had a fairer character than Don *Carlos* ^d, which perhaps the critics of other countries may not think this ought to be taken for granted. We come now to those transactions of this king's life which bear the hardest on his memory, and of which the *French* historians assert the most authentic testimonies are still remaining. We shall endeavour to state things clearly and concisely, without leaning to either party.

At the time of the queen of *Navarre*'s death, the infant Don *Pedro* and the infanta Donna *Maria* were left in *Normandy*, whither they had accompanied their mother. The king of *Navarre* sent his eldest son to fetch them, and withal to pay his duty to his uncle at *Paris*, and to acquaint him with his marriage ^e. There was, however a secret meaning in this journey, which regarded a treaty he had made with the king of *England*, in relation to his dominions and his pretensions in *France*. The king of *Castile* was, it seems, acquainted with the whole affair, which he opposed; but tho' Don *Carlos* frequently altered his resolutions, yet he did it rarely by the advice of his friends. The young prince of *Navarre*, amongst other persons of distinction, carried with him *James de la Rue*, his father's chamberlain; *Peter du Tertre*, his secretary; and the baron *Ortubias*. These in their passage thro' *France* were arrested, and the prince complaining of this, and desiring an audience of his uncle, was likewise seized ^f. The chamberlain being put to the torture, confessed that the king of *Navarre* had a project of causing the king to be poisoned, and with this view had corrupted one of his physicians, and had laboured to corrupt other servants of his. *Peter du Tertre*, being also tortured, discovered the treaty with the king of *England*, which seems to have been no other than that before-mentioned; but he positively denied having any knowledge of the design laid to poison the king ^g. Upon the reading their confessions in parliament the chamberlain was condemned to be hanged and broke upon the wheel, which was executed; the secretary also was condemned to be beheaded, and, as some say suffered; but others assert, that after a year's imprisonment he was set at liberty ^h. Upon this the *French* king immediately sent a great body of forces into *Normandy*, under the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bourbon*, and the constable, where they reduced, without difficulty, all the places belonging to the king of *Navarre*, *Cherbourg* only excepted; and these fortresses were dismantled as soon as they were taken. The infant Don *Pedro*, and the infanta Donna *Maria*, were also made prisoners; and the town of *Montpellier*, with its dependencies, was likewise reduced; so that Don *Carlos* was completely stripped of his estates in *France*, and this too in a manner that left him no hopes of seeing them restored ⁱ.

The king of *Navarre* avowed his having made a treaty with the crown of *England*, by which he gave up all his possessions in *Normandy* for equivalents in *Guienne*, which, lying nearer his own dominions, were more convenient, and like to be more easily kept. It may be also observed, that if he had corrupted one of the *French* king's physicians, and some of his domestics, it was a strange thing to send his eldest son and his principal ministers into *France*, where they might have been probably sacrificed if his plot had taken effect. There was another circumstance still stranger, which was, that the governors of the principal places in *Normandy* likewise accompanied the prince, were taken with him, and it was by this means those places fell so easily into the hands of the *French*. It is certain and incontestible that they were great gainers by these events, and that there are many circumstances very inconsistent in their own relations of this matter, which are perfectly well calculated to blast the character of the king of *Navarre*, and to cover this extraordinary proceeding of depriving him of his children and dominions at once ^k. We must also observe, that the *French* writers positively assert the king of *Navarre* had caused their monarch to be poisoned, while he bore only the title of dauphin; that the emperor's physician saved his life by opening, or rather keeping open, a fistula in his arm; and that after consuming for twenty years, by the effects of this venomous drug, he died of it at last ^l. Stories of this kind were more easily believed in those days than they have been since; and, whether true or false, they had a great effect in rendering the king of *Navarre* odious, and in qualifying the violent proceedings by which he was deprived

^a ZURITA Annal. Arragon, Chronique de Navarre, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

AYALA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^b FAVIN

^c L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^d FERR. Chronique de Navarre, Chronique de St. Dennis.

^e P. DANIEL, Chronique de

^f L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. DANIEL, FERR.

^g L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERR.

^h Chronique de St. Dennis, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL.

of great countries, to which he had very plausible titles, as well as, in his own opinion, to the crown itself, the declaration of which was indeed the principal cause of all his misfortunes, since it hindered the *English* monarch from supporting him powerfully, because he made the like claim, and left the kings of the house of *Valois* no other way of maintaining their own possession, than by depriving him of all means to maintain a claim, which, in the person of his mother, some of the peers of that kingdom had judged to be better than their own ^m. Such was his principal crime, and such the punishment attending it.

A new war
between the
kings of Cas-
tile and Na-
varre, which,
however, is
quickly ter-
minated.
A. D. 1379.

THESE extremities did not force the king of *Navarre*, as was expected, to an absolute submission. On the contrary, he renewed his treaty with *Richard* the second, and procured, through the friendship of *John of Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*, a considerable body of *English* troops, who served him very gallantly in his war against *Castile* ⁿ. But, notwithstanding this assistance, he found himself utterly incapable of supporting that war; and therefore applied himself by his ministers to *Don Henry*, in order to know upon what terms he might expect peace. These ministers were well received; and it was intimated to them, that notwithstanding the great advantages gained by the arms of *Castile*, the king desired nothing more than that he would detach himself entirely from the *English*, and sequester some of his principal fortresses, by way of security, for his performing duly what should be stipulated in the intended treaty. The king of *Navarre* represented, that, in the distressed circumstances of his affairs, he was willing to accept of these terms, and to quit allies to whom he could now be of no use, and who were but of very little use to him; but there was one obstacle he knew not how to get over, which was, that he was indebted to the *English* troops a large sum, which it was absolutely out of his power to pay. The king of *Castile*, desirous of completing his own scheme, or touched with compassion for this unfortunate prince, promised to advance him twenty thousand pistoles as soon as the peace was signed, which he accordingly performed; and the *English* succours returned into *Guienne* ^o. After the conclusion and ratification of this treaty, the king of *Castile* invited his brother of *Navarre* to his head-quarters, for at the time of this transaction he was in the field with a numerous army. *Don Carlos* accepted the invitation, and was received by the *Castilian* monarch, as the writers of these times, and of that nation, say, with all possible marks of kindness and esteem, which surely agrees not over well with the story of his attempt on the person of *Charles* the fifth of *France* ^p. These kings, after remaining some time together, parted in great friendship; and immediately after *Don Henry* died, with strong suspicion of poison. It fell out very happily for the king of *Navarre* that it was said to be discovered. The wicked fact was perpetrated by the orders of the king of *Granada*; for otherwise, in all probability, it had been placed to his account, notwithstanding it was visibly against his interest, as he had now all things to hope and nothing to fear on the part of that powerful prince ^q. His son and successor *Don Juan*, as soon as decency would permit, notified to him his accession, assured him of his friendship, and promised to give him marks of it, by interposing his good offices with the court of *France*, where king *Charles* the fifth, his old antagonist, was also dead; and in the minority of his son things were exceedingly altered ^r.

An insurrection
suppressed.

IN consequence of that long series of misfortunes to which this prince had been exposed, and of the temper also of the times, some of his nobility began to take great liberties with him, and aimed at mending their own fortunes at his expence, and that of the public. With something of this kind, and even with some intention against the king's person, the baron of *Agramont* charged the baron of *Affian*, who denied it, and challenged the other to single combat, according to the received doctrine of those times, that private men as well as princes might appeal to God by arms. But as this nobleman was allied to the best families in *Navarre*, they interposed with the king, and desired that some other end might be put to this matter, according to his discretion; upon which the king committed the baron of *Affian* to the castle of *Tafalla*, and sent the baron of *Agramont* prisoner to *St. Jean-pie-de-Port*, till either this matter could be thoroughly looked into, or their private quarrels some way adjusted. The garrison of *Tafalla* were *Picards*, whom the baron *de Affian* won so much to his service, that they not only set him at liberty, but revolted, and put him in possession of the place ^s. In all probability they had flattered themselves with the hopes either of a general revolt, or of a foreign assistance: but their expectations were disappointed; for the inhabitants of the adjacent country immediately invested the place, and the king refusing to listen to any terms, caused the place to be carried by storm, and the garrison to be put to the sword, except the baron *de Affian*,
who

^m L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

ⁿ FERR. MAYERNE TURQUET, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre.

^o AYALA, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre.

^p FAVIN, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, P. DANIEL, FERR. MEZERAY, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^q L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, P. DANIEL, FERR. MEZERAY, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^r L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^s L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

a who was taken and beheaded. The baron *de Agramont* was soon after set at liberty ⁱ. There is something of severity, but nothing of injustice in this proceeding, which also shews that the king was in the main respected and obeyed by his subjects. Indeed the historians of *Navarre* say, that being a great patron of learning and learned men, he had the clergy much at his devotion; yet, whatever his own vices were, he would suffer none in them, that the dignity of their order might not be lessened in the eyes of the people. In this no doubt he acted discretely; for a vicious, and consequently a contemptible clergy, could have been of no use ^u.

1381.

ABOUT this time the young king of *France* was so kind to the infant Don *Carlos* of *Navarre*, that he restored to him the lordship of *Montpellier*, and allowed him to receive the revenues of all his father's estates in *France*; and it is certain that the infant, with the consent of the duke of *Berry*, the king's uncle, took possession of *Montpellier* on the first of *November*; but it is also as certain, that before the year came about again, this barony was seized into the king's hands, and annexed to the crown; but upon what motives this was done does not so clearly appear ^w. The *Spanish* historians, and those of *Navarre*, agree, that Don *Juan*, king of *Castile*, being extremely pressed by the king of *Navarre*, and by his own sister Donna *Leonora*, to intercede with *Charles* the sixth for the discharge of the infant Don *Carlos*, he accordingly interposed by his ambassadors, and at length obtained it; upon which the infant and his consort, after his return home, went into *Castile* to visit the king their brother, and to testify the just sense they had of this application, on the behalf of Don *Carlos*, since, if what we are going to mention has any thing in it of truth, nothing but the intercession of so powerful and so necessary an ally could have procured him, though innocent, his liberty ^x.

The infant Don Carlos released.

1382.

THE *French* historians relate, though not very consistently, that the king of *Navarre*, being extremely irritated against the *French* court, had recourse to his old art; and finding, as he apprehended, an instrument very fit for his purpose, dispatched him by the way of *Bayonne* to *Paris*, with instructions to poison not only the king, but also his brother *Lewis*, count of *Valois*, afterwards the duke of *Orleans*; the dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy*, *Bourbon*, and several other great lords. This man, having furnished himself with a sufficient quantity of arsenic at *Bayonne*, came to the *French* court, with a full resolution of executing the orders he had received in their utmost extent; but being happily detected he was put into prison, and, having continued there upwards of a year, was convicted and publicly executed, as he well deserved ^y. Upon this a prosecution was commenced against the king of *Navarre*, as count of *Everux*, before the parliament; and after being summoned to appear, he was, for contumacy and for various enormous crimes committed against the king, but for the honour of the family, without any specific declaration of those crimes, declared attainted, and convicted of high-treason. But notwithstanding this is so particularly set forth, and that from the very process, yet it is subject to various objections, which are not easy to be solved; and it is very probably owing to this, that in some ancient, and in some modern histories, the whole affair, though of so remarkable a nature, is buried in oblivion ^z.

King of Navarre charged afresh with forming designs against the lives of the French king and his uncles.

THE king Don *Juan* of *Castile* having, as we have shewn in its proper place, very strong pretensions upon *Portugal*, in right of his consort, the only daughter and heiress of the deceased king, and being determined to support those pretensions by force of arms, his brother-in-law, the infant Don *Carlos* of *Navarre*, out of gratitude as well as affection, thought himself obliged to march to his assistance with a considerable body of forces. He joined the army of *Castile* at the siege of *Lisbon*, and was received with all possible testimonies of esteem by the king, and of joy and satisfaction by the whole army. The next year he made an inroad into *Portugal*, under that monarch's orders, but was not in the fatal battle of *Aljubarrota*, which gave him an opportunity of saving several small corps of the *Castilian* army, that in their escape from that disaster would otherwise have been surrounded and cut to pieces by the *Portuguese* ^a. He went afterwards to *Seville* to console that prince under his misfortunes; and having accompanied him to *Valladolid*, where he held an assembly of the states, the infant Don *Carlos* returned from thence into his father's dominions ^b. About this time his sister Donna *Joanna* espoused *John de Montfort*, duke of *Brittany*, which was an alliance, in all respects, very favourable to the family, and contributed not a little to its support. The news of the duke of *Lancaster's* sailing to *Portugal*, with a numerous fleet, and a powerful army on board, with a view not only to support the master of *Avis*, who had now taken the title of king of *Portugal*, but to assert his own right to *Castile*, so much alarmed the king Don *Juan*, that he applied himself to the Pope, *Charles* the sixth of *France*, and his other allies, for assistance; upon which the

The infant Don Carlos goes to the assistance of his brother-in-law the king of Castile.

1384.

1385.

ⁱ Chronique de Navarre.

^u GARIBAY, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^w Histoire de

Languedoc.

^x GARIBAY, FERR. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^y P. DANIEL, Proces MS. du Roy

de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^z DU TILLET Chroniques des Rois de France, Nouvelle Histoire

de France, par M. LE GENDRE, MEZERAY.

^a L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, AYALA.

^b GA-

RIBAY, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

infant Don Carlos of Navarre put himself once more at the head of his father's forces, marched a
 A. D. 1386. them to the relief of his brother-in-law, and remained with the king of Castile all this
 year^c.

Death of the
 king of Na-
 varre.

WE are assured, by the historians of Navarre, that the king Don Carlos was become miser-
 ably infirm thro' a leprosy, or some other grievous distemper, brought upon him by his de-
 bauches, which disabled him from appearing in public, and inclined him to bend all his
 thoughts towards preparing himself for his last hour; for notwithstanding the detestable cha-
 racter given him by the French writers, he certainly affected to be thought religious, and did
 every thing that might contribute to impose upon the world in that particular^d. But while the
 king was thus in some measure confined, one Andrew de Torellas, a person of mean rank, ex-
 cited a sedition in Pampeluna, under colour that the city was not sufficiently supplied with corn, b
 and the public revenue but indifferently managed: but the king, feeble and infirm as he was,
 exerted himself in such a manner, that the tumult was quickly suppressed, Andrew Torellas ap-
 prehended and hanged, and some of his principal associates severely punished^e. This was the
 last effort of his authority, for soon after he fell into a low and languishing state, and having
 prepared himself for death, with all the exterior marks at least of a deep and sincere repent-
 ance, breathed his last on the first day of the new year, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and
 in the thirty-eighth of his reign, and was buried in the cathedral church of Pampeluna, with
 the usual ceremonies^f.

Strange stories
 in ventioned about
 it.

BUT historians are as much divided about the manner of his death, as in regard to the prin-
 cipal events of his life; and it may be justly expected, that, out of regard to truth, we should say c
 something of these. The common story which we find usually inserted in the French chronicles
 is this. The king having, in a great measure, dissipated and extinguished the natural heat
 of his body, by the vices to which he was addicted, was wont to be wrapped up in large
 sheets, or scar-cloths, dipped in aqua vitæ, and powdered over with sulphur, in which being
 sewed up as usual, one of his pages, instead of cutting the thread with a pair of scissors, went
 to burn it with a wax-candle, by which the wrappers about the king's body took fire, and be-
 fore it could be extinguished his bowels were so burnt, that, after lying three days in excruciating
 torment, he expired^g. The inferences that are copiously drawn from hence, as to its being
 an apparent judgment upon him for his horrible crimes, make this fact and those crimes equally
 suspicious. The historians of Navarre have shewn this story to be a fable, tho' there was a d
 circumstance thrown in to make the judgment lean a little on their side, by alleging that he
 had imposed a tax of two hundred thousand florins upon his dominions, against which the de-
 puties from several provinces being sent to Pampeluna to remonstrate, he had ordered them all
 to be put to death, from which they were saved only by his ending his life suddenly in this
 manner^h. Froissart, who at this very time was in the county of Foix, and consequently very
 near Pampeluna, relates the matter, as he had it from persons belonging to the court of Navarre,
 very differently. He says, that the king used to have a globe of metal filled with hot water, and
 other things, to put on his bed to keep him warm, and that by means of this the bed-cloaths
 some way or other took fire, by which he was so much injured that it proved the cause of
 his death, tho' he survived a fortnightⁱ. Bed-cloaths set on fire by hot water is certainly very e
 extraordinary, and unless we are disposed to take it for a judgment, will hardly be believed.
 But in a very ancient history, composed when these things were fresh in memory, there is pre-
 served a letter from the bishop of Acqs, who was prime minister to this prince, written to his
 sister queen Blanch, dowager of Philip de Valois; in which he acquaints her, that the king
 his master died of a most painful and tormenting disease, in which he gave the strongest marks
 of sincere penitence, and supported the misery he endured with invincible patience, and the
 most perfect resignation to the will of God^k. Not a word here of the flaming winding-sheet,
 or the scalding water setting the bed on fire; upon which a modern historian very candidly
 observes, that it is very likely the extreme hatred the French bore to this monarch induced the
 French writers to invent those stories, that his death might have the more in it of a judgment f
 from heaven^l. We may venture to add, that they might also propose giving an air of justice
 to their own proceedings; and at the same time stamp the character of authenticity on all the
 horrid stories told by them of this monarch, of whom Ferreras says truly, that he was far
 from being a saint, but that he was as far from wanting good qualities; and that we ought not to
 believe all that is said of him by those who were bound in interest to blacken him, that they might
 acquit themselves.

^c FAVIN, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.
 aume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.
 L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ^e Annales de France.
 FAVIN, MAYERNE TURQUET. ⁱ Histoire & Chronique de JEAN FROISSART.
 Dennis. ^l P. DANIEL, MEZERAY, Nouvelle Histoire de France, par. M. LE GENDRE.

^d FERR.

^e L'Histoire du Roy-

^f Chronique de Navarre, FAVIN,

^h L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre,

^k Chronique de St.

a Don Carlos the third, at the time of his father's demise, was, with the queen his consort and their children, at *Penafiel* in *Castile*, with her brother the king Don Juan. He immediately prepared for his departure to his own dominions, where his presence was absolutely necessary; and the *Castilian* monarch, to shew how grateful a sense he had of the friendship shewn, and assistance given him by this prince, not only remitted the castles and fortresses which had been sequestered for the debt due to his father, but also forgave that debt, and the sum of two thousand pounds sterling, which he had engaged himself to pay, as a ransom for an *English* nobleman, who was prisoner in *Castile*. He was received on his arrival at *Pampeluna* with all possible marks of joy and satisfaction, and with much solemnity proclaimed on the 28th of *January*; but for various reasons his coronation was deferred^m. He was at this time about twenty-five years of age, possessing, as the *Spanish* writers say, all the great qualities of his father; and, as the *French* writers own, without any tincture of his defects. In a word, if we may depend upon any thing in the histories of those times, we may conclude that this young king was a most accomplished prince; as the strongest proof of which we may allege, that he was stiled *Charles the Noble* by his neighbours, and *Don Carlos the Liberal* by his own subjects. The first public act of his reign was acknowledging *Clement* the seventh, who resided at *Avignon*, for the true Pope, notwithstanding the claim of *Urban* the sixth, who had fixed his residence at *Rome*ⁿ. This was contrary to his father's maxim, who, tho' he had always shewn a great respect for the church, kept an exact neutrality, and would acknowledge neither, alleging very prudently that it did not become a layman, tho' a king, to decide who was the successor of *St. Peter*; but till this could be determined by a proper authority, he affirmed the supremacy in all causes to be in him. His son, indeed, did it with this restriction, that his acknowledgement was subject to the decision of a general council. This, however, was a very strong measure, as it plainly proved to the world, that he embraced a new system, and was gone over to the *French* side, since the *English* and their allies were zealous partizans of Pope *Urban*^o.

He took care to notify his accession, and to send ambassadors to the principal powers in *Europe*, particularly to those of *France* and *England*^p. He demanded from the former the restitution of the estates belonging to his family; but in mild and modest terms, so as to shew at once that he was determined not to part from his claims, and that he was by no means averse to the receiving a suitable satisfaction. He represented to the latter, that several places in *Normandy* belonged to him, that were in their hands, and that he made no doubt of their being restored to him. He had a conference with Don Juan king of *Aragon*, in reference to a marriage between their families, and to the maintaining a strict correspondence between the two crowns, as the surest means of supporting the splendour and independency of them both^q. He regulated the march of the *French* succours, under the duke of *Bourbon*, to *Logrogno*, where they received the subsidies that had been stipulated, and the orders of the king of *Castile* to advance no farther. He contributed not a little to the treaty of pacification between that monarch and *John* of *Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*; and when it was in some degree settled, he had an interview with his brother-in-law, to regulate with him the measures that in so critical a juncture were fittest to be taken. While his mind was thus intent on these great objects of government, he was alarmed by the indisposition of the queen, and the more so, when she intimated to him, that she had no hopes of recovery but from returning to and remaining some time in her native country. He resolved to comply with her desires; and having conducted her and the princesses his daughters to *Navarete*, where he had another conference with the king of *Castile*, he left them behind, and returned to his own capital of *Pampeluna*^r.

THE situation of affairs in *Europe* was at this time so embarrassed, that Don Carlos saw plainly his endeavours to obtain the restitution of his estates ought to be reserved for a more favourable opportunity. He applied himself, therefore, with great industry, to rectify whatever might be amiss in the civil œconomy of his dominions. He reviewed the grants of his ancestors; he examined into the state of the principal cities and great towns; he had an eye on the affairs of the church: but he acted with such moderation in all things, and shewed so strong an inclination to render all ranks of people easy, that the reformation, which would have been attended with murmurs at least, if not with an insurrection, under any other prince, not only passed quietly under him, but even rendered him more beloved. However, the clergy and nobility pressed him very much on the head of his coronation, which they would not have suffered another king to have delayed so long, because hitherto he had taken no oath to maintain the immunities of the church, the privileges of the nobility, and the liberties of the people^s. The king thereupon sent his ambassadors to the court

Accession of
Don Carlos
III. the
Noble.

His care to live
on good terms
with his neigh-
bours, and to
compromise
amicably all
disputes.

A. D. 1388.

Fruitless en-
deavours to
prevail on his
queen Leonora
to return out
of Castile.

^m L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, FERR.

ⁿ GARIBAY, MARIANA, MAYERNE TUR-

QUET. ^o L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^p FAVIN, L'Histoire

du Royaume de Navarre, FERR.

^q ZURITA Annal. Arragon, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^r GARIBAY, FERR. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^s L'Histoire du Royaume

de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

of *Castile* to desire his consort might return, that they might be crowned together. Donna *Leonora* would by no means consent to this: she insisted upon her brother's protection; complained that she was very ill used in *Navarre*, where the people were wanting in their respects to her, or at least to her attendants; that the revenue assigned her was ill paid; and that her distemper was owing to certain dangerous drugs given her by a *Jew* physician, whom the king had refused to disgrace. Don *Carlos*, being informed of this, acquainted the king of *Castile*, that his subjects indeed were not accustomed to act so submissively towards their sovereigns as in *Castile*; that his dominions were very much impoverished during his father's reign, but that his finances were now in good order; and that, as to the affair of the *Jew* physician, he was willing to submit the examination of it to such as the king of *Castile* shall appoint; when it would appear, as indeed it did, that the queen, and not the doctor, was to blame, who prescribed what was proper enough for the queen's indisposition, if it had been such as she gave out; but as it was only a fiction, she had only herself to blame^a. The truth of the matter was, the queen was mightily pleased with the honours paid her in *Castile*, and with the splendour of that court; and therefore insisted, that her husband should engage the Pope and the king of *France*, to guaranty her being well used: to which Don *Carlos* answered, that the *French* king should never interfere in his affairs; and having sent for his two eldest daughters, he proceeded to the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed with great solemnity, in the cathedral at *Pampeluna*, on the twenty-fifth of *July*, when the Pope, to shew his respect to the king, promoted Don *Martin de Zalva*, bishop of *Pampeluna*, to the rank of a cardinal^b.

A. D. 1390.

Obtains the
restitution of
Cherbourg
from the En-
glish, but fails
in his applica-
tion to the
court of
France.

THE death of king *John* of *Castile*, and the accession of his son Don *Henry*, a minor, created a great change in the face of affairs at that court, where Donna *Leonora*, queen of *Navarre*, in quality of aunt to the reigning prince, entered deeply into the intrigues of the court; and, as we have shewn in its proper place, contributed greatly to pacify those factious heats that would otherwise have thrown all things into confusion. It was in vain, therefore, that the king Don *Carlos* solicited her return, and represented to her how injurious her absence was to him, how displeasing to his subjects, and how destructive to their family. But Donna *Leonora* loved pomp and power; and, while her faction prevailed, was sure of preserving both; whereas in *Navarre*, the king lived equally in great familiarity with his nobility, and administered public affairs by the sole advice of his council^c. His eyes were continually turned on the vast possessions which had been torn from his family in *France*; and, in order to make some effort for their recovery, he sent Don *Carlos de Beaumont*, standard-bearer of *Navarre*, and Don *Martin Henriquez de Lacarra*, his ambassadors, to *Richard* the second of *England*, in order to obtain the restitution of *Cherbourg*, and some other places, which the king held by no other title than that of his grandfather's troops being admitted into them, as the auxiliaries of the deceased king of *Navarre*. This point being strenuously insisted upon by the ambassadors, and several great lords of the court of *England* knowing the thing to be really as they stated it, a resolution was at last taken to do him that justice which he required; and accordingly *Cherbourg*, and the rest of the places, were actually restored^d. Upon this he renewed his application to the *French* court, representing, that it would be very hard to treat a prince of the blood royal worse than strangers had done; but the disorders in *France* were so great, and those in power were so little pleased at seeing Don *Martin Henriquez de Lacarra* established in the government of *Cherbourg*, that he found himself obliged to postpone his expectations on that side, till the state of their affairs should wear another aspect.

1393.

Donna Leo-
nora returns to
Navarre.

HE was more successful in his negociation with the king of *Arragon*, who amicably regulated the frontiers of their respective dominions, and entered into all his views with regard to a perpetual defensive alliance between the two crowns. But his applications to persuade his queen to return were as ineffectual as ever; neither could she be persuaded to send her two younger daughters back into *Navarre*, though her nephew, king *Henry* the third, joined his solicitations to those of the king her husband; for, upon his taking the government into his own hands, he found it requisite to recal some, and to reduce all the pensions that were paid out of the public revenue; and as his aunt's was not excepted, this had created a misunderstanding between them. By degrees these differences rose higher; for the queen, taking part with the malecontents, and presuming so far as to refuse the king entrance into *Roa*, which was one of the places assigned for her subsistence, he came before it with a body of troops: upon which the inhabitants, who had no share at all in the quarrel, opened their gates, and the queen was constrained to submit herself; and, tho' received with much seeming favour and complaisance, yet the king told her plainly, that as Don *Carlos* had offered all that she could possibly demand, she must absolutely think of returning with the princesses her daughters, and content herself with acting the queen in her own dominions. Yet, that every thing might be transacted in a

^a GARIBAY, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.
TURQUET.
de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^w FAVIN, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^b L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE
^x L'Histoire du Royaume

a manner suitable to the rank of the parties concerned, the king with his whole court attended the queen to *Alfaro*; and Don *Carlos*, having sent the archbishop of *Saragossa*, with the principal lords of his kingdom, to *Tudela* to receive her, she was accordingly conducted thither, and soon after met by the king himself, who received her with all possible demonstrations of joy and satisfaction, which, with the improved state of the country, reconciled her entirely to *Navarre*; and the sense she had, that a new retreat into *Castile* was impracticable, made her so affable and obliging to her subjects, that she met with every testimony of respect and submission she could desire¹. The next year the king held an assembly of the states at *Pampeluna*, in which the succession to the crown was regulated in favour of his daughters, in the order of their respective births, to prevent any disputes, if the king should die without male issue². A. . 1396.

THE cathedral at *Pampeluna* had, for some years, lain in ruins, with the sight of which the citizens, and indeed all the inhabitants of *Navarre*, were very deeply affected; but the expence of rebuilding it was so high, that, however well-inclined, their circumstances rendered them unable to undertake it. The king saw this, and, after mature deliberation, assigned the fortieth part of his revenues for this service, which agreeably surprised the people, and rendered them less uneasy at his departure for *France*, upon the very eve of which he did this pious and generous action³. The queen was not long after delivered of a son, who at his baptism received his father's name; and this was another very acceptable event. But in *France* the king found his ambassadors had represented things to him very truly; for tho' Charles the sixth had some lucid intervals, yet being then entirely in the hands of his ministers, who represented his affairs to him in what light they pleased, the king of *Navarre* chose to return home without doing any thing, rather than make any bargain with those who held their authority by so uncertain a tenure as the will of a distracted prince⁴. After he came back to *Pampeluna*, he obliged the clergy, nobility, and people, to take an oath of fidelity to his son Don *Carlos*, as heir-apparent to the kingdom, though he was at that time scarce a year old. The next year he renewed the treaties subsisting with the crown of *Arragon* upon the accession of Don *Martin*; and interposed his good offices for composing the disputes subsisting between that monarch and *Archambaud de Grailli*, count of *Foix*, which was at length effected, much to the satisfaction of both parties⁵. This negotiation produced another of yet greater consequence; for the king married his eldest daughter, Donna *Joanna*, to John de *Grailli*, son of the count of *Foix*⁶. In a short time after he married his third daughter, the princess *Blanch*, to Don *Martin* king of *Sicily*, son to the king of *Arragon*; but very soon after this marriage took effect, the infant Don *Carlos* died, as also his younger brother Don *Louis*; upon which Donna *Joanna* was acknowledged for the presumptive heir of *Navarre*; which, tho' it could not be pleasing to the king, yet since it appeared to be the will of Providence, the king submitted without repining, and his example quieted the minds of the nation, tho' they had the disagreeable prospect of a foreign successor in view⁷. 1399.

THE king, desirous of having his claims settled in *France*, and being invited thither by the princes of the blood, resolved to make another tour into that kingdom, and declared the queen regent in his absence; and at the same time made his testament, that, as far in him lay, he might remove all sources of intestine troubles, in case he should not live to return. On his arrival at *Paris*, he found things in great disorder; the king's health rather more unsettled than ever, and a war with *England* in a manner inevitable. This dismal prospect induced him to use all his interest, in order to conclude a treaty without loss of time, which was accordingly signed on the fourth of *June*, and to which his brother Don *Pedro*, earl of *Mortain*, acceded. By this agreement he relinquished all his pretensions to the counties of *Champagne*, *Brie*, and *Evreux*, as also to the rest of the places which his ancestors had held in *Normandy*; and also gave up *Cherbourg*, in consideration of the town and district of *Nemours*, which was erected into a duchy in his favour, together with an annual pension of twelve thousand livres, and the farther sum of two hundred thousand crowns, by way of indemnification for the revenues of which he had been deprived⁸. A great *Spanish* historian says truly, that this was a poor compensation for such vast estates; but there is great reason to doubt whether, in the situation of their affairs, he could have obtained even these from the princes who governed *France*, if he had not rendered services to some, and made presents to others, that some end might be made of a controversy that had subsisted so long, and had cost both parties so dear⁹. The troubles which broke out on the death of *Philip the Hardy*, duke of *Burgundy*, obliged 1402.

¹ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET. ² FERRERAS, FAVIN, Chronique de Navarre. ³ Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET. ⁴ P. DANIEL, FERR. Chronique de Navarre. ⁵ ZURITA Annal. Arragon. ⁶ FERR. FAVIN, MAYERNE TURQUET, MARIANA. ⁷ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ⁸ P. DANIEL, Chronique de Navarre, FERR. ⁹ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, DU TILLET Caroniques des Rois de France, MARIANA.

A. D. 1405. him to remain in *France* longer than he intended ; and it was in virtue of his decree, in conjunction with the king of *Sicily* his son-in-law, and the dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon*, dated the 17th of *October*, that the pacification took place between the dukes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*. At length, having contributed all in his power to restore the public peace, and having concluded a marriage for his fourth by birth, but his third surviving daughter, with *Jaques de Bourbon*, count *de la Marche*, one of the most accomplished princes of that age, he set out on his return into his own dominions^b, leaving an high opinion of him in the *French* court.

Pursues his
true interests
at his return.

At the request of *Don Martin*, king of *Arragon*, *Don Carlos* passed thro' *Catalonia*, and was received by him at *Lerida* with all possible marks of affection and respect. From thence the two monarchs went together to *Saragossa*, and after a short stay there, they parted perfectly well satisfied with each other, and *Don Carlos* returned to *Pampeluna*, where his subjects received him with the most sincere transports of joy and affection. In the beginning of the month of *September* arrived *Jaques de Bourbon*, count of *Marche* and of *Castro*, attended by a great train of *French* lords and gentlemen ; and there his marriage with *Donna Beatrix* of *Navarre* was celebrated with the utmost magnificence^c. As *Don Carlos* brought with him a great mass of money from *France*, he began to consider with himself what course was best for him to take, in order to distribute it amongst his subjects ; and, after mature deliberation, he determined to build two palaces, one at *Olita*, and the other at *Tafalla*, each in a very pleasant situation, and at no more than a league's distance. By this project the money was very speedily dispersed into the hands of the industrious, and artists of every kind were encouraged and employed^d ; for with all the qualities of a hero and a statesman, *Don Carlos* had likewise the talents and the taste of a splendid and magnificent prince, corrected by a due regard to œconomy, and directed, as all his measures were, to the general welfare of his subjects. It was a full persuasion of this that rendered him, in a country where liberty was idolized, almost an absolute prince. *Pampeluna* had been more than once on the very brink of destruction, from its being divided into three parts, each under a distinct government ; from whence, for the most part, there were in this city three factions, hating and thwarting each other as much as lay in their power. Former monarchs had seen and deplored this ; but durst not attempt the removal of an evil, for fear of uniting against themselves those who never could agree in any other measure. *Don Carlos* proposed and accomplished it at once, in consequence of his never having shewn the least partiality for any of them, and by his offering to their acceptance a new constitution, more favourable than the old one to them all. He knew that factions was the bane of all limited governments, and therefore removed all supports of it to the utmost of his power^e.

Obliged to
make a new
tour to France.

THE war between the crown of *Castile* and the *Moors* of *Granada* gave the king of *Navarre* an opportunity of sending some of the most accomplished knights in his court to the assistance of his neighbour, under the command of the count *de la Marche*, his son-in-law, who carried with him into *Andalusia* a chosen corps of illustrious cavaliers ; for which he is highly commended by the *Spanish* historians, who are pleased to allow him the character of one of the bravest and most accomplished princes that age produced^f. It is not likely that *Don Carlos* ever thought of making another journey into *France* ; but the barbarous assassination of the duke of *Orleans*, by the order of *John* duke of *Burgundy*, excited such convulsions in the court and kingdom, that the queen and the rest of the princes of the blood sent a pressing invitation to the king of *Navarre* to come and assist them with his advice, as well as to add weight to their authority by his presence. He could not well refuse this ; and, therefore, leaving the queen again regent, he went to *Paris*, where he was received with the utmost kindness and respect, and where he exerted his utmost abilities in support of the unfortunate *Charles* the sixth, and his family. He was very instrumental in bringing about the two pacifications of *Chartres* and *Biceffre* ; and in this last, when it was stipulated that all the princes of the blood should remain at a proper distance from the court, his brother *Peter*, earl of *Mortain*, was excepted^g. One reason, probably, why such respect was paid to *Don Carlos* and *Don Pedro*, in *France*, might be from their close alliance with *England*, where *Henry* the fourth had married *Donna Joanna*, duchess-dowager of *Brittany*, their sister ; yet they did not avail themselves at all of that alliance, otherwise than to promote the peace and safety of the kingdom. At length, understanding that his daughter *Donna Blanch*, queen of *Sicily*, was besieged by some seditious barons in a castle in that kingdom, he returned speedily into his own dominions, but so as to take *Barcelona* in his way, where he found an assembly of the states sitting, who paid him great honours, and promised to exert themselves powerfully on the behalf of his daughter^h. He conferred also with *Don Martin*, king of *Arragon*, their sovereign, who even then was

^b MAYERNE TURQUET.

^c Chronique de Navarre, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS.

^d FAVIN, MAYERNE TURQUET, Chronique de Navarre.

^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

^f GARIBAY, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, FERRERAS.

^g CONTIN. NANGII, P. DANIEL, LE GENDRE.

^h L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, FERR.

- a apprehensive of troubles in his dominions, and to whom he promised powerful succours, if ever they should be demanded, which he very honourably performed. After his return to *Pampeluna*, the duke of *Benavente*, who had been long a state-prisoner in *Castile*, made his escape, and took shelter in his dominions, where the king caused him to be arrested; but directed that he should be treated at the same time with great lenity and respect. This great man had been of queen *Leonora's* faction, which might induce him to hope the countenance of the court of *Navarre*; but Don *Carlos*, well acquainted with his turbulent behaviour, would not trouble the peace of his dominions for the sake of such a person^p. He promised, therefore, that Don *Frederic*, duke of *Benavente*, should be forthcoming, and delivered up to the king of *Castile*; which, however, was not performed till three years afterwards, and then upon certain assurances
- b that he should not be harshly used, or questioned for this escape.

It was in a great measure owing to his care, that the neighbouring kingdom of *Arragon* was preserved in some tolerable degree quiet, during the interregnum, which happened on the death of the king Don *Martin*; and it was due to his friendly assistance, that the infant Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile* came so peaceably as he did to the crown. Indeed the attention and respect of Don *Carlos* was so great, not only to the affairs of his own country, but of all the kingdoms round him, and his justice and moderation so apparent, that tho' he interfered in many, if not most of their quarrels, yet he took part in none, but by his good offices and authority composed them all^q. The long peace he had procured to *Navarre*, and the many amiable qualities of this prince, had so enriched, improved, and peopled his dominions, that

c he was far more powerful, and had a much more extensive influence, than any of his predecessors. One great and singular instance of his excellent temper was, the harmony in which he lived with queen *Leonora*, notwithstanding the reluctance she had shewn in returning to him from the court of *Castile*; and this happy union continued to the time of her death, which fell out on the twenty-seventh of *February*, in the year one thousand four hundred and fifteen, at the new palace of *Olita*, from whence her corpse was carried to *Pampeluna*, and there interred, in the choir of the cathedral, with all possible demonstrations of sorrow in the king, and the nation in general^r. Many expected, as he had no sons, the king would not have continued long a widower: but he was so good a father, and thought the succession so well settled, that it does not appear he thought of a second marriage.

The death of queen Leonora.

Relieves the count de Foix.

- d JOHN DE GRAILLI, count *de Foix*, who had married the eldest daughter of the king Don *Carlos*, was at this time a widower, and without issue, which rendered him very desirous of marrying her sister Donna *Blanch*, queen-dowager of *Sicily*. It might possibly be with this view, that, in making his pilgrimage to *Campostella*, he took *Olita* in his way, and spent some time there with the king of *Navarre*, with whom he judged this business of the marriage to be so far advanced, that he had procured a dispensation from the Pope; but while he was intent on his devotions at the tomb of St. *James*, his neighbour (but at the same time his enemy) the count *de Armagnac*, invaded his dominions, and laid them waste with fire and sword^s. He no sooner received advice of this, than he returned with all speed into *Navarre*, and solicited the king for his assistance, who generously assembled a body of forces, which, under the command of his natural son, *Godfrey* count *de Cortes*, he sent to the relief of the count; and having afterwards drawn together a superior army, he marched in person to join the count *de Foix*, and with him marched into the county of *Armagnac*, where, by way of reprisals, they committed great devastations, and returned afterwards in triumph^t. One great reason of doing this was to prevent excursions of this kind in the neighbourhood of his dominions; and indeed the readiness with which he afforded succours to his allies, and the efficacy of those succours when afforded, contributed not a little to his spending, as he did, the best part of his reign in peace. In the present case, this correction had so good an effect, that John count of *Armagnac* entered immediately into a negociation, and some years after married Donna *Isabella*, one of the king of *Navarre's* daughters, with whom he had a fortune of one hundred thousand crowns, which in those days was looked upon as an immense sum^u, and much beyond what, in the like cases, was ever done by any of his predecessors.

A. D. 1418.

In all disputes between the king Don *Juan* of *Castile*, and the king and infants of *Arragon*, Donna *Blanch* who were also princes of his own house, the king of *Navarre* observed an exact neutrality, and interposed no otherwise than by his good offices. He acted with the like circumspection when the emperor *Sigismund* made a tour to *Perpignan*, sending thither his son *Godfrey*, count of *Cortes*, to compliment him; but would not enter into his scheme of settling the papacy, far-

Donna Blanch espouses Don Juan of Castile, who becomes thereby the presumptive heir of Navarre.

^p MARIANA, FERR. MAYERNE TURQUET. Chronique de Navarre.

^q FAVIN, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MARIANA, FERR.

^r L'Histoire de Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA, Chronique de Navarre.

^s L'Histoire du

^t L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^u Chronique de Navarre, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAY-

ther than as it should prove consistent with the decree of a general council, being very attentive a to prevent, as far as possible, any ecclesiastical or civil disputes from arising amongst his subjects. It was with this view that he acted with so great caution in the marriage of the queen of Sicily, who was to be his heiress; and whom he disposed of at length to the infant Don Juan of Arragon, the son of Don Ferdinand, and the brother of Don Alonso, kings of Arragon. By the contract of marriage this princess had four hundred and twenty thousand crowns by way of dowry; and it was farther stipulated, that in case he survived her, he should enjoy the crown during his life. These points settled, and a dispensation obtained from Pope Martin the fifth, the infant Don Juan sent Don Diego Gomez de Sandoval, and the bishop of Calaborra, with his full powers to conclude the marriage; which was accordingly celebrated at Olita, on the fifth of November, to the entire satisfaction of the courts of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre. b But the consequences of this marriage by no means answered the hopes excited from it.

A. D. 1419.

The death of
Don Carlos
the noble.

THIS great point once settled, he began to indulge the natural bent of his inclination to magnificence, and the cultivation of the arts of peace; in which he succeeded so much the better, as all the kingdoms round him were in a state of confusion; so that men of abilities in all professions retired into Navarre, and became the ornaments of a court, where politeness might be said to reign. On the nineteenth, or, as others say, on the twenty-ninth of May, the queen Donna Blanch was delivered, at Arevalo, of a son, who was named Carlos, in honour of his grandfather, and whose sponsors were Don Juan king of Castile, and at his request Don Alvaro de Luna *, who was so intoxicated with this honour, that he seemed unacquainted c with moderation ever after. As soon as the young prince was weaned, the good old monarch sent for him to his court; and having erected that seigniorship into a principality, declared him prince of Viana, and heir of Navarre, with great solemnity, and by a law, published the twentieth of January, invested the heir-apparent of the crown of Navarre with that title, and with the lands annexed to it for ever. About five months after he obliged the states of the kingdom to acknowledge the young Don Carlos in that quality. He had the satisfaction, on the ninth of June, in the year following, to see his daughter delivered of the infantia Donna Blanch. d; but he was not so fortunate as he expected in his endeavours to prevent a rupture between the crowns of Arragon and Castile, which did not hinder him from pursuing, with indefatigable diligence, so good a design. On Saturday the eighth of September, one thousand four hundred and twenty-five, he was seized with a fainting fit, in his palace at Olita, which was followed by an apoplexy that removed him from this life the same day. e His daughter Donna Blanch was then with him, and caused his body to be buried in the cathedral church of Pampeluna, with all possible solemnity. He was, says Ferreras, a prince equally illustrious by the nobleness of his sentiments and of his actions, and enjoyed the true felicity of a great king, that of being tenderly beloved by his subjects. He died in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the thirty-ninth of his reign; and by his own order his body was interred, by that of his deceased queen Leonora. His daughter, the queen Donna Blanch, after three days mourning, sent the royal standard of Navarre to the camp of the king of Arragon, where it was displayed for the infant Don Juan her husband, which brings us to the end of this section.

1423.

* L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, FERNAN. PEREZ de GUZMAN, MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.
 Chronique de Navarre, FERR. MAYERNE TURQUET.
 y P. MORET.
 L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FAVIN, MAYERNE TURQUET.
 Chronique de Navarre, GARRIBAY, ZURITA, FERNAN. PEREZ de GUZMAN, MARIANA.
 L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FAVIN, MAYERNE TURQUET.
 ZURITA Annal. Arragon, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

S E C T. V.

From the accession of Don Juan and Donna Blanch of Navarre and Arragon, to the union of the crowns of France and Navarre, in the person of Henry of Bourbon.

^a **T**HE very beginning of the new reign was disturbed with suspicions. The nobility and the clergy were not well pleased with sending the royal standard out of the kingdom. ^{Accession of Donna Blanch, and in her right Don Juan of Castile, to the kingdom of Navarre.} or being constrained to acknowledge a foreign prince for their sovereign, before he had sworn to respect their privileges, and to maintain the liberties of the people, who speedily caught the same spirit of uneasiness; and when a nation is once generally indisposed, they are seldom and with great difficulty recovered. Queen *Blanch* quickly perceived this; and therefore pressed the king, as soon as the peace was made with *Castile*, to make a tour to *Navarre*, which he did; but he neither staid long nor took much pains to render himself agreeable ². He had great estates in *Castile*, where himself and his brethren enjoyed vast power; and, in consequence of their cabals, held the king as it were in leading strings. In *Arragon* he met with the same kind of respect, being the brother and presumptive heir of one of the most generous kings that ever reigned, himself very brave, much attached to his countrymen, and procuring them great establishments in *Castile*, sometimes by interest, and sometimes by force ^b. He went therefore but by starts into *Navarre*; where, finding himself more restrained, and his authority bounded by limits which he would not give himself the trouble to understand, he conceived a notion that he was great as a prince and little as a king, which rendered him so cool and untentive to their concerns, that it was near four years before he was crowned. At length this ceremony was performed on the fifteenth of *May* at *Pampeluna*, when himself and his consort took the usual oaths; and, according to a custom that had prevailed from the time of the *Goths*, the king and the queen were exposed to the public view of their subjects, each of them seated on a buckler, supported by the deputies from the principal towns in their dominions ^c.

A. D. 1429.

THE king of *Arragon* and his brother, in conjunction with the malecontents of *Castile*, ^{The death of the queen Donna Blanch.} having renewed the war against the king, that monarch, in revenge, commanded the people of *Bisay*, and the adjacent provinces, to make irruptions into *Navarre*, which they did, and committed terrible devastations. He likewise declared the king of *Navarre*, his brother the infant *Don Henry*, and their adherents, rebels; confiscated all their estates; and, as the surest way to reduce them, distributed those estates amongst the most potent of the nobility in *Castile*, which had its effect, and at the same time mortified the people of *Navarre* extremely ^d. The conventions and treaties made from time to time between the princes of *Arragon* and *Don Juan* of *Castile*, subsisted no longer than either their own or the interests of their respective favourites directed. It was in pursuance of this maxim that the king of *Navarre* contracted his younger daughter *Donna Leonora* to *Gaston de Foix*; and we have an indubitable mark of the declension of this kingdom, in the fortune he gave her, which was fifty thousand crowns ^e. The desire of aggrandizing his family induced the king of *Navarre* to accompany his brother into *Italy*, where he was taken prisoner in an engagement at sea, to the great grief of the queen his consort, and the astonishment of his subjects ^f. He was released either at the close of that, or the beginning of the next year, when he returned into *Spain*, with his head filled with new projects; in seeking to execute which, he exhausted the forces and the treasure of *Navarre* and *Arragon*. The hopes of his subjects in the first-mentioned kingdom rested entirely on his son *Don Carlos*, prince of *Viana*; and it was to gratify their desires that he negotiated and concluded a marriage for him with the princess *Anne*, daughter to the duke of *Cleves*, and niece to the duke of *Burgundy* ^g. He had before engaged his eldest daughter, *Donna Blanch*, to *Don Henry*, prince of *Asturias*; and being summoned to complete this marriage, he carried her, with the queen his consort, and the greatest part of the nobility, to *Valladolid*, where, on the fifteenth of *September*, she was married to the infant *Don Henry* ^h, with such pomp and rejoicings, as till then had not been seen in *Spain*; notwithstanding which, this alliance began and ended in sorrow, *Don Henry* proving impotent, which the strict honour and modesty of that princess induced her to conceal, till his own folly and fury exposed it. The ceremony was scarce over, before, thro' the intrigues of the king of *Navarre*, the prince

1433.

1435.

1439.

^a ZURITA Annal. Arragon. GARIBAY, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ^b FAVIN Chronique de Navarre, MARIANA, TURQUET ZURITA. ^c L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, ZURITA. ^d FERNAN. PEREZ DE GUZMAN, Chronique de Navarre, MARIANA, ZURITA. ^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, JUAN DE MENA, FERNAN. PEREZ DE GUZMAN. ^f Chronique de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^g FAVIN, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ^h FERNAN. PEREZ DE GUZMAN, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ALONSO DE PALENCIA, GARIBAY, MARIANA.

put himself at the head of a party against his father ; and the sense of these misfortunes, joined a to the foresight of the consequences that were like to attend them, broke the heart of queen *Blanch*, who had remained in *Castile* from the time of the marriage, and who left all to her son *Don Carlos* ; but with an express command not to assume the title of king, without the leave of his father. She deceased at *Santa-Maria de Nieva*, April the third, one thousand four hundred and forty-one, in the sixteenth year of her reign, leaving her son about the age of twenty-one, and her daughter *Donna Blanch* about seventeen ⁱ.

The death of
the princess of
Viana.

A. D. 1543.

THE king, after the decease of his consort, tho' he retained that title, yet left the affairs of *Navarre* to be administered by the prince of *Viana*, who was very justly considered as the most amiable person of his rank in that age ^k. He had a fine person, excellent parts, and having been educated by those great men, whom the virtues of his grandfather had invited to his court, b he had a thorough tincture of all polite literature. He disapproved his father's measures in fomenting the troubles of *Castile*, more especially after his marriage with *Donna Joanna*, daughter of *Don Frederic Enriquez*, constable of *Castile*, purely with a view to unite him and the rest of the malecontent lords more closely to his party. He also disliked the seducing the prince of *Asturias*, his brother-in-law, from the duty he owed to the king his father ; and it was upon these principles, that when the king *Don Juan* of *Navarre* had caused some inroads to be made on the side of *Navarre* into *Castile*, chiefly by the *Gascons* in his pay, by whom some places were taken, the prince *Don Carlos* caused them immediately to be restored. He opposed, from the same motive, though he had a singular regard for the governor, his father's marching to the relief of the castle of *Mauleon de Soule*, in which he acted c as an auxiliary to the crown of *England* against the *French*, being desirous, if it had been possible, to maintain a strict tranquillity in *Navarre*, which he perceived to be the secret his grandfather used to render his dominions rich and flourishing, while a contrary conduct weakened and impoverished those of his neighbours. The king his father did not relish his advice ; but, on the contrary, instigated by his mother-in-law, began to look with an eye of suspicion on all his actions. About this time, that is, on the sixth of April, died his consort the princess *Anne* of *Cleves*, at the castle of *Olita*, from whence her corpse was transferred to *Pampeluna*, and buried in the cathedral with all suitable ceremony, the king being present ^l.

Disputes be-
tween the king
and his son.

THE king of *Navarre*, partly from his own aversion to the king of *Castile*, and partly thro' the instigation of his queen, tho' she was also of the blood royal, as descending in a direct d line from *Don Frederic*, brother to the count of *Trastemara* and *Don Pedro the Cruel*, continued to practise every method possible to disturb the peace of that country, and to augment the misunderstandings in the royal family, which, in the end, turned every way to his own disadvantage ; his sisters, the queen dowager of *Portugal* and the reigning queen of *Castile*, being removed by poison, his brother *Don Henry* slain in the field, himself beaten, and, which he resented most of all, after being amused with a fallacious treaty, his son-in-law, the prince of *Asturias*, taken entirely out of his hands, and reconciled to the king his father by the constable *Don Alvaro de Luna*, who so far merited his master's favour, as that by these expedients he delivered him from his difficulties, and put it in his power to revenge the injuries he had received from the king of *Navarre*, by sending his son, the prince of *Asturias*, to e invade his dominions, and following him with a superior army. We have already touched this matter in the histories of *Castile* and *Aragon* ; but there is a necessity of retouching it here, not only to preserve the thread of the history, but also to set right some facts which *Mariana* and other *Spanish* historians have misrepresented ; for they suggest, that this war was undertaken by the crown of *Castile*, in support of *Don Carlos*, prince of *Viana*, against his father : whereas, in truth, their differences were so far from causing the commencement of the war, that they sprung only out of the conclusion of it. The prince of *Asturias* inclined at first to besiege *Viana* ; but finding that place well provided, he amused himself with taking some towns of less importance, till, upon joining his father, they concluded to invest *Estella*. If the prince of *Viana* had been a wicked man, and a thorough politician, he would certainly have remained f quiet at *Pampeluna* ; more especially if he had had any intelligence with the *Castilians*, since the queen his mother-in-law was in the place, and if taken must have fallen into their hands : but he, as soon as the news reached them, demanded a safe-conduct, went to the camp of the king of *Castile*, and having concluded with him a treaty of neutrality for *Navarre*, engaged him and the prince his son to raise the siege, and to retire into their own dominions. The king of *Navarre* refusing to ratify this treaty, and with a body of troops from *Aragon* committing, on the side of *Navarre*, hostilities against *Castile*, occasioned the breach between them, the prince of *Viana* thinking himself obliged to adhere to that treaty, which his father disapproved ^m.

ⁱ ALONSO DE PALENCIA, Chronique de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.
du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.
de Navarre, FERRERAS.

^m MARIANA, ZURITA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^k L'Histoire
^l FAVIN ZURITA, Chronique

a BUT the great source of the war was the state of the kingdom itself. Wealth, ease, and luxury, *The prince de-*
had revived and nourished that spirit of faction always too common in that country. The *Beau-*
monts, at the head of whom was the constable of *Navarre*, adhered to Don Carlos : they *seated and ta-*
persuaded him that he had an immediate right to the kingdom ; that it was his duty to main- *ken prisoner.*
tain and exercise this right for the preservation of his subjects, since the activity and intrigues
of his father would otherwise exhaust and ruin it. The *Gramonts*, on the other hand, who
had at their head the marquis *de Cortes*, a bastard of the royal blood, made their court to the
king, by assuring him that he had a clear right to the crown during his natural life ; that his
measures were perfectly prudent, and would certainly be attended with success, if not counteracted
by his son ; and that the people of *Navarre* in general were very desirous of espousing his
b quarrel against *Castile*. Don Juan and Don Carlos were both princes of good qualities and
shining abilities, and yet were both imposed upon and misled by the insinuations of persons
much inferior to them in all respects. This brought on a battle, in which the king's life was
in the utmost danger ; and at the close of which the prince of *Viana* was taken prisoner by
the king's natural son Don *Alonso* ^a, who, notwithstanding, had a great affection for him ;
and *Mariana* assures us the prince was so sensible of it, and so much afraid of his mother-in-
law's sinister designs, that he would take no food during the time of his confinement A. D. 1452.
but from his brother ^a, which precaution, well or ill founded, rendered her universally
detested.

THE king Don Juan took great pains to secure the person of his son, sending him first to
c the castle of *Tafalla*, then to the fortress of *Mallen*, and from thence to that of *Monroy* ^b. *Released, but*
These precautions served only to heighten suspicions, and to increase the jealousies of his sub- *never truly re-*
jects. The states of *Navarre* were the open partizans of the prince : his uncle the king of *conceded.*
Arragon interposed in his behalf ; and the states of that kingdom interceded for him with
great warmth ^c. In *Castile* the prince of *Asturias*, who had long maltreated his wife, the
king of *Navarre*'s daughter, now, to shew his hatred of him, procured a divorce, and sent
home the princess *Blanch* ^d, who being as ill treated by her mother-in-law as the prince Don
Carlos, it served to heighten the ill opinion the world entertained of that queen, which was
but too strong before. At length Don Juan, to satisfy the desires of all *Spain*, admitted of
a treaty, by which his own revenues were to be restored to Don Carlos, those of the kingdom
d to be divided between them, and the prince restored to his liberty ; which last article was execut-
ed after many delays, and with such reluctance as shewed that the peace would not continue
long ^e. It would require some time and space to point out the pretences on which the troubles
of *Navarre* were renewed. It is sufficient for our purpose to say, that they were no better
than pretences ; and that the severity of the father on one side, the ambition of the son on the
other, and the determined opinion of both that they were in the right, were the real motives
which frustrated all negotiations for a solid peace, and rendered them, after every conference, less
disposed to a reconciliation than they were before it. Besides, the prince Don Carlos relied upon
the affections of the people, who were in reality much attached to him, upon the good-will
of the king of *Castile*, tho' in truth that proceeded only from hatred to his father, and the
e hopes that the states of *Arragon* and *Catalonia* would interpose in his favour. On the other
hand, the king Don Juan piqued himself upon his authority and experience ; his military skill,
as indeed he was a great captain ; and his ability in managing political intrigues, in
which he always took, and often followed, the advice of his queen, who was a princess of great
address. 1453.

AT length the civil war broke out again in *Navarre*, where it had never been thoroughly
composed. Those of the prince's party began it, by surprising St. *Jean de Pie de Port*, the *Progress, of*
king being then at a distance, which gave him an opportunity of subduing the best part of *these disputes.*
Navarre, the princess *Blanch* giving her brother all the assistance she could ^f. This provoked
Don Juan to such a degree, that losing all sense of paternal tenderness, he established such a
commission as declared, upon the evidence he produced to them, that both the prince Don
Carlos and the infanta Donna *Blanch* were guilty of high-treason, and incapable of succeeding.
This step once taken, he disinherited both in the most solemn manner ; and declared his younger
daughter, and in her right the count *de Foix*, to whom she was married, his heirs, appointing
him general of his forces, and directing him to reduce *Navarre* ^g. To secure the utmost
success to this plan, he entered into a treaty with the *French* king, *Charles* the seventh, and pro-
cured his approbation of his conduct towards his son, which, perhaps, he might not have done,
if *Charles* had not been at this time upon very bad terms with the dauphin his heir-apparent ^h.

^a L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA Annal. Arragon, Chronique de Navarre.
general de Espana.

^b Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^c ALONSO DE PALENCIA, FERNAN. PEREZ DE GUZMAN, MARIANA,

^d L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA Annal. Arragon. FERRERAS.

^e L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^f RITA, P. DANIEL, MEZERAY, FERRERAS.

^g Historia

^h ZURITA

ⁱ L'Histoire

^j ZU-

The next spring the count *de Foix*, having joined a corps of *French* and *Arragonefe* troops to his own, entered *Navarre*, and, by dint of superior force, defeated and dissipated the troops of *Don Carlos*; so that having put sufficient garrisons into *Pampeluna*, and other fortresses, which he committed to the principal lords of his party, and having recommended them to the protection of the king of *Castile*, he resolved to make a tour himself into *France*, and pass from thence into *Italy*. It is somewhat uncertain whether he had an audience of *Charles* the seventh or not; but there is no doubt that he continued his journey to *Rome*, where he was treated with great kindness and respect by the Pope; from whence he proceeded to *Naples*, in order to pay his respects to his uncle *. While he was thus employed, the king his father summoned the deputies of all the towns he held in *Navarre* to meet at *Estella*, where they confirmed the disposition the king had made, and declared his daughter *Donna Leonora* heiress of the kingdom ^b. On the other hand, the inhabitants of *Pampeluna*, and other places in the interest of *Don Carlos*, proclaimed him king; which measure he did not at all approve, as not having force to support it. In this state of things, *Don Alonso* king of *Arragon* interposed, and prevented the count *de Foix* from subduing the kingdom, by engaging *Don Juan* to leave his concerns to the determination of his brother, as the prince of *Viana* had already done; on which *Don Alonso* declared all the proceedings against the prince and the infanta null and void ^c. It is very probable that thro' the prudence and probity of this monarch these disputes might have been composed; but before he was able to effect this, *Don Alonso* himself died, not in the most perfect terms of friendship with his nephew, on account of the offers that had been made him of the crown of *Naples*, by some malecontent lords, to the prejudice of his natural son *Don Ferdinand*, for whom he had the highest tenderness. On this account it was that he intimated to his nephew, that it would be prudent for him to retire into *Sicily*, where he remained some time, much to the mortification of his father, to whom that kingdom devolved, with the rest of the dominions of *Arragon*, from an apprehension that he would seize it as an equivalent for *Navarre*, of which he had declared *Donna Leonora*, countess of *Foix*, vice-queen, to the no small dissatisfaction of his subjects. But the prince freed him from these perplexities, by assuring him that he was ready to go into any part of his dominions he pleased, and reside there as a private person for the future ^a. A resolution that would have been highly advantageous to both parties, could either have been sincere.

We have related elsewhere the manner and motives of his return into his father's dominions, and the transactions that followed thereupon; the two negotiations for his marriage with a princess of *Portugal*, and the infanta *Donna Isabella* of *Castile*; his being arrested, after all the exterior marks of a thorough reconciliation with his father at *Lerida*; his being restored to his liberty by the insurrection of the *Catalans* in his favour; the cession of that principality, which his father was obliged to make; and his death in a short space after, on the twenty-third of *December*, in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and sixty-one, in the forty-first year of his age, whether of melancholy or of poison is very uncertain. He left behind him three natural children, two sons and a daughter; the eldest, *Don Philip*, applied himself to arms, and was preferred and caressed by his uncle *Don Ferdinand*, afterwards surnamed *the Catholic*; the younger, *Don Juan Alonso*, became an ecclesiastic. As for the daughter, *Donna Agnes de Navarre*, she espoused the duke of *Medina Celi*, who in her right would have laid claim to the kingdom of *Navarre*, pretending that the deceased prince had espoused her mother; which, however, is not at all probable, since it is very certain the prince, by his last testament, called to the succession of *Navarre* his sister *Donna Blanch*, to whom of right it belonged ^b. His death was far from extinguishing the disturbances that had been raised on his account. In *Catalonia* the people seemed disposed to obey any sovereign but their own in *Navarre*. The *Castilians*, under pretence of revenging the death of *Don Carlos*, committed horrid devastations; and the count *de Foix*, and his *Gascous*, who pretended to be in arms for *Don Juan*, did as much mischief as they could to all whom they stiled rebels. Thus the country was depopulated and destroyed on every side; so that most of the improvements made by *Don Carlos the Noble* were buried in their own ruins; and *Don Juan*, who had received this crown in its greatest lustre, and when the territories belonging to it were in the most flourishing state, saw it now in the most low and languishing condition, and, which was an additional mortification, heard his subjects almost universally ascribe his misfortunes and their own to his ambitious and unquiet disposition; to the unjust treatment his son had met with; and, above all, to the intrigues of his queen, who was said to have poisoned her son-in-law; to have been struck with a cancer as a judgment from heaven; and to have confessed this crime upon her death-bed ^c, at which the king was so much shocked,

The deplorable death of the prince.

* L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, GARIBAY, MAYERNE TURQUET.
L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, GARIBAY, MAYERNE TURQUET.
du Royaume de Navarre, AURITA Annal. Arragon, ABARCA.
TURQUET, ZURITA.

Y ZURITA Annal Arragon,
ZURITA, ABARCA, MAYERNE TURQUET.
L'Histoire.
Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE

^a that he instantly quitted the room, and could never be prevailed upon to visit her afterwards. But the *Spanish* historians say nothing of this, for very obvious reasons.

BUT Don Carlos was not the only victim of these intrigues; for the king Don Juan, finding himself so embarrassed on all sides, resolved to deliver up the unfortunate Donna Blanch, his eldest daughter, into the power of her younger sister; and under pretence of marrying her to Charles duke of Berry, he carried her by force over the Pyrenees. In her passage she wrote so moving a letter to Don Henry, king of Castile, that it can scarce be read by any person of common humanity at this day with dry eyes^d. She afterwards made a solemn protest, that in case she was obliged to renounce her just rights to the succession in favour of her sister, or of her brother Don Ferdinand, such renunciation should be null and void, as being directly opposite to her intention, and extorted from her by violence. Some few days after she made a full and free cession of all her rights to the kingdom of Navarre, in favour of Henry, king of Castile, and his heirs, in consideration of that constant protection which he had at all times afforded to her deceased brother and herself. After she was delivered up, she was sent to the castle of Orthes in Bearn, and there kept in close custody as a prisoner of state by those who ought to have considered her as their sovereign^e. This wicked proceeding being attended with the most disagreeable events, the king, either forced by the exigency of his affairs, or beginning to have a true sense of the cruel usage of his daughter, concluded a new treaty with the Beaumonts, who had always adhered to her and her brother's interest, restored them to their estates and dignities, and undertook that his daughter Donna Blanch should return into Navarre, and that the whole affair of the succession should be regulated in an assembly of the states, to which the count of Foix was to give his consent. But, to prevent the effects of this treaty, the countess of Foix caused her sister to be poisoned in the place of her confinement, where she expired December the second, one thousand four hundred and sixty-four^f.

And of his sister Donna Blanch.

A. D. 1462.

By this melancholy event the treaty before-mentioned was entirely defeated, and things still remained in a very unsettled condition in this kingdom, while the rest of the dominions of Don Juan laboured under all the miseries of a civil war. However, Don Juan still kept the title, and in some measure the possession; which at length provoked the count de Foix to such a degree, that, with the assistance of the Beaumonts, he endeavoured to make himself master of Navarre by force of arms; but the Gramonts, taking up arms on the behalf of the king, and receiving seasonable succours from him, soon brought the count to listen to an accommodation^g. His son Don Gaston de Foix, for whose sake all these struggles were made, and who had married the princess Magdalen, sister to the king of France, went, about this time, to Bourdeaux, in order to assist at the marriage of the duke of Berry, where, in a tournament, the splinter of a lance struck him in the eye, of which he quickly died^h. He left behind him a son, Francis Phébus, and a daughter whose name was Katherine. The same year Donna Leonora, countess of Foix, held an assembly of the states at Tafalla; where a quarrel arose between the constable of Navarre and the bishop of Pampeluna, whose great familiarity with the countess had excited some indecent reports. The bishop, to prevent things from coming to extremity, retired to a convent; but the countess, importuning him to make her a visit, and sending some persons of distinction to accompany him, he was so imprudent as to venture out of his retreat, and was by the constable killed in his passage, which threw the whole kingdom into disorder, notwithstanding the author of this murder retired immediately into Arragonⁱ: from whence, however, it was not long before he returned again in triumph.

New troubles in Navarre.

1469.

THE countess Leonora had a very high spirit, and would willingly have shewn it, by punishing severely such as had contemned her authority, which in a free country is never acceptable, the people being unwilling to hear of any authority, but that of the law, which punishes indeed, but with justice and in moderation. Finding it impracticable to execute her desires by force, she pressed the king her father to put an end to these disorders, by consenting that the government should be entirely regulated at the will of the states, supposing that if she was once invested with the executive power, her designs might be easily accomplished. King John, who was exceedingly embarrassed at this time by the Catalans, supported by the French, accepted readily of this expedient; and the states being assembled at Olita, a regulation was settled, which consisted of thirteen articles; the title and the administration, when present, being reserved to the old king, and in his absence invested in the countess Leonora, who is styled heiress of Navarre, and infanta of Arragon and Sicily^k. Provision was likewise made for the pacification and gradual extinction of those feuds which had so long distracted the kingdom. By degrees things might have been reduced into good order, but the countess Leonora was too much in haste; and having drawn the marshal of Navarre to her party, she attempted to surprise Pampeluna, which had been always in the hands of the Beaumonts, but in which the

Death of the count de Foix.

^d L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA, ALONSO DE PALENCIA, MARIANA. ^e ZURITA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^f ABARCA, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, GARIBAY.

^g L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^h ALONSO DE PALENCIA, FERRERAS: ⁱ GARIBAY, FERRERAS, ZURITA.

marshal of *Navarre* had some correspondence. The scheme succeeded so far, that the marshal found admittance with 50 or 60 young gentlemen of family; but they discovered themselves too soon, and the inhabitants taking arms, they were reduced in the place to which they fled for shelter, and, contrary to the capitulation they had made, were massacred to a man¹. This added fresh fuel to the countess's resentment, who began to raise forces with great diligence; and pressing her husband to come and assume the command, he passed the *Pyrenees* with a considerable force: but what the event of this irruption might have been we cannot say, since the count died of a fever before he undertook any thing, and was buried in the church of *Orthes* in *Bearn*, in the month of *August*, one thousand four hundred and seventy-two^m. The unexpected death of her husband so much disturbed Donna *Leonora*'s projects, that she was unable to do any thing this year, which gave the faction of the *Beaumonts* time to fortify all the places that were in their hands; and this opportunity they took care not to lose.

And of the king
Don Juan.

THE countess, still bent on establishing her authority, and punishing those who had last offended her, turned herself on every side, and solicited succours from every quarter; but this manner of proceeding, instead of quieting, increased the distractions of *Navarre*, and made the weakness of the government still more apparent. At length, when she had few places remaining, when all her power depended upon a military force, which she was unable to pay, and which had so wasted the country that it could not pay herself, and that her revenue was come to nothing, she applied herself to her father king *John* of *Arragon*, and her brother Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, who interposed to no great purpose; but who at length had a meeting with her at *Vittoria*, on purpose to discuss these matters thoroughly. There Don *Ferdinand* insisted, that the only possible method of putting an end to these quarrels, was to reconcile the parties, and grant an indemnity to all; which had always been the opinion of his father, and which at length prevailed. The countess Donna *Leonora* was very little satisfied with this interview, notwithstanding her own administration was supported, and the succession of her children securedⁿ. She knew the count *de Lerin* had married Donna *Leonora* of *Arragon*, her natural sister. She apprehended that the *Beaumonts* had demanded and obtained the protection of Don *Ferdinand*; and that, in consequence of this pacification, her views would be for ever defeated, her favourites remain unrewarded, and those who had opposed her unpunished, which was what she could not bear. The violence of her temper, and her inability to conceal it, as it caused, so it increased her misfortunes; for the distaste she shewed to her brother hindered her receiving any longer the pension paid her from the treasury of *Castile*, which brought her so low, that she was obliged to sell part of her jewels to subsist the household, rather than the court, she kept in the castle of *Tafalla*. In this situation her affairs stood, when her father, worn out with years and infirmities, breathed his last at *Barcelona*, on *Tuesday* the nineteenth of *January*, one thousand four hundred and seventy-nine^o. His circumstances were yet worse than hers, since the very moveables of his palace were sold to discharge the expences of his funeral, which were far from being considerable. In the midst of this poverty, he directed many foundations, and other works of cost, by his will, which were punctually performed by his son Don *Ferdinand* and the Catholic, to whom he left all the rest of his dominions, except the kingdom of *Navarre*, which indeed was not his to leave, and which had suffered more under his reign, who either was or might have been the most puissant of its kings, than under the feeblest of its monarchs. So little does the happiness of a people depend on the grandeur, or even on the abilities of their prince, unless both are directed by a good intention.

Short reign of
queen Leo-
nora.

A. D. 1479.

LEONORA, countess of *Foix*, was immediately proclaimed queen on the certain advice of her father's death. It was an event she had long and earnestly expected, and which she flattered herself would have put an end to all the inconveniencies to which she had been for so many years exposed. But it came too late; for chagrin had made so great an impression, that this disease, which her grief had produced, removed her out of this life, after a reign of two and twenty days^p. She expired on the tenth of *February*; and by her will recommended the care of her grandchildren to their father's relations; that is, in effect, to the crown of *France*, without mentioning her brother Don *Ferdinand*. This princess had a numerous posterity, of whom it is necessary to speak, as it will throw light on various parts of our history. Of these there were four sons and five daughters. Don *Gaston* bore the title of prince of *Viana*, slain at a tournament, as we have before mentioned, as some say by the hand of *Charles* duke of *Berry*, in honour of whose marriage it was celebrated. *John de Foix*, lord of *Narbonne*, which his father purchased for him. He left two children, the famous *Gaston de Foix*, who was killed

¹ L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, Chronique de Navarre, MAYERNE, TURQUET.

FERRERAS.

^m MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^o ZURITA Annal. Arragon, HERNANDO DE PULGAR, GARIBAY, FERRERAS, MIGUEL CARBONELL.

MARIANA.

^p ZURITA Annal. Arragon, GARIBAY, ABARCA, Chronique de Navarre,

a at the battle of *Ravenha* where he was generalissimo of the army of *Lewis* the twelfth; and *Germana de Foix*, who became the consort of *Ferdinand the Catholic*. *Peter de Foix*, the third son of this princess, was an ecclesiastic, and honoured by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth with the purple. *James*, the youngest, bore the title of count *de Cortes*, distinguished himself in the profession of arms, and was esteemed one of the bravest men, and one of the greatest captains of his age. The princess *Mary* espoused *William* marquis of *Montferrat*. *Joanna* married *John* count of *Armagnac*. *Margaret* became the consort of *Francis* the second, duke of *Bretagne*, by whom she had two daughters, *Anne* and *Isabel*; the former shared the bed of *Charles* the eighth and *Lewis* the twelfth, kings of *France*. The princess *Katherine* married *Gaston de Foix*, count of *Candale*, by whom she had two sons and a daughter, *Anne*, who married *Ladislaus*, king of *Hungary*; the youngest, *Leonora*, who was promised to the duke *de Medina Cæli*, but died unmarried. It has been remarked that there were four queens of this house, cousin-germans to each other, living at a time; viz. *Katherine* of *Navarre*, *Germana* of *Castile* and *Arragon*, *Anne* of *France*, and *Anne* of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; but this at a juncture when it was far from being happy.

FRANCIS PHOEBUS, count of *Foix*, lord of *Bearn*, and of various other places, was immediately acknowledged sovereign of *Navarre*, upon the decease of his grandmother^a. He was just entered into the twelfth year of his age; and as he had received the name of *Phœbus* from his exquisite beauty, so he might be said to deserve it no less for the qualities of his mind, since all writers agree that he was the most capable and best educated prince of that age, his mother the princess *Magdalen* of *France* having been extremely attentive to whatever concerned his health, and his uncle the cardinal having caused him to be constantly instructed in his presence: but notwithstanding the clearness of his right, and the lustre of his birth, as being nephew to the monarch of *France*, and grand-nephew to the king of *Castile* and *Arragon*, he had nothing more than the title of king of *Navarre*, the *Beaumonts* and the *Gramonts* being in full possession of all the places of any strength or consequence in that country, except those in the hands of king *Ferdinand*, who held them by no better title^c. But this monarch coming to *Saragossa*, in order to receive the homage of his hereditary subjects, the cardinal of *Foix* and his brother prince *James* came thither to confer with him, and to intreat his interposition for calming those troubles that had so long distracted a kingdom in which he had so great an interest. The king received them with great civility, and treated them with much candour. He observed, that severity could only render things worse; that where all were equally to blame, and none could well be punished, a general pardon was the safest and the speediest means of reducing things to order; that having published this, they would do well to go into *Navarre*, and try to the utmost what fair means would do, promising to give them all the countenance he could, and if this failed to assist them with his forces^d. They went accordingly into *Navarre*, and held an assembly of the states, where they met with a better reception than they expected. The deputies from the cities and towns told them plainly, that the source of their misfortunes was the absence of their sovereigns, which rendered some men very considerable, who were otherwise of no great account; that even now the friends of mutiny and faction were but few; and that tho' the great lords withheld the cities from each other, yet none of them could withhold them from the king, as to whose title there was no question. Upon this the two princes returned, and demanded once more the sentiments of *Don Ferdinand*, who approved entirely the advice given them by the states, adding, the young king ought to bring with him a good force, to act with spirit, but to speak with mildness. All things were quickly regulated after their return to *Bearn*; from whence the young king, in company with his mother, his uncles, and a small but well appointed army, entered his hereditary dominions. It is said, and very probably with truth, that the count *de Lerin* was far from being well pleased at his arrival: however, he went to meet him, and found him so well accompanied, that he held it expedient to deliver up *Pampeluna*, which he did with great expressions of loyalty; and the king having made his public entry into it on the third, was crowned on the sixth of *November*, with the universal acclamation of all his subjects^e, who were far from apprehending this ceremony would be but once more seen in *Navarre*. A.D. 1481.

As soon as this ceremony was performed, he visited all the considerable places in the kingdom, accompanied by such a force as hindered any difficulty of his obtaining possession. He likewise made a strict enquiry into the government, and how the laws were carried into execution: all which he performed with a gravity so much superior to his age, that the great lords were astonished, and people received him as a king sent from heaven. This conduct was very unusual in a minority, the king acting in person, while all the grants and other instruments ran in the

^a L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, GARIBAY, MAYERNE TURQUET. DE PULGAR, ZURITA, ABARCA, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. MARIANA, FERRENAS.

^c GARIBAY. ^d HERNANDO ZURITA Annal. Arragon.

name of his mother, who stiled herself *Magdalen*, sister and daughter of *France*, princess of *a* *Viana*, and tutoress to her well-beloved son *Francis Phœbus*, by the grace of God, king of *Navarre*. This bright scene was but of short duration. This excellent young monarch was under the eye of two of the most artful and subtle monarchs that perhaps ever reigned, *Lewis* the eleventh of *France*, and *Don Ferdinand the Catholic*. Family and inclination bound his mother blindly to the former; whereas his interest, and consequently hers, should have swayed them to the latter. *Don Ferdinand* proposed to him, or rather to his mother, the marriage of *Donna Joanna*, who was afterwards the heiress of all his dominions; and at the same time proposed to contract the princess *Katherine* to his son the infant *Don Juan*. If this had taken effect *Navarre* had been absolutely secure, and the young king might have availed himself of the wisdom and power of their Catholic majesties, and of the prosperity which they derived b from both. On the other hand, the *French* monarch proposed a match with the unfortunate *Donna Joanna*, daughter to *Henry the Impotent*, king of *Castile*, then in *Portugal*, which must have been attended with a long war, to which the force of *Navarre* was by no means equal; tho' the young king, by threatening death to any who attempted to revive the factions of *Beaumont* and *Gramont*, and the like punishment for the founding a trumpet, or exciting a tumult, had brought his dominions into a surprizing degree of order and obedience^u.

Sudden and unexpected death.

A D. 1483.

THE principal nobility of *Navarre*, and more especially the count *de Lerin*, who it was found absolutely necessary to confirm in the office of constable, which he had taken upon himself, and was the most considerable in the kingdom, pressed the marriage with great warmth, probably from a motive of interest: but from whatever motive it was, they offered unanswerable reasons in its favour. On the other hand, the *French* ambassador, and all who were of his faction, amused the princess-regent with the visionary hopes of raising her son to the throne of *Castile*, by a confederacy then upon the carpet between *Lewis* the eleventh of *France*, the king of *Portugal*, and other princes. To rid herself, therefore, from these importunities, or perhaps that she might have the young king and his sister more immediately in her power, she resolved to carry them back into *Bearn*; and this, tho' dissuaded from it by all the old and wife counsellors of *Navarre*, she performed. Immediately after their return to *Pau*, the usual residence of the court, the king began to decline; and on the thirtieth of *January*, one thousand four hundred and eighty-three, breathed his last, and was buried in the cathedral church of *Lescar*^v. All historians agree that there were very strong suspicions of poison; and some relate, that being much addicted to music, the young king complained that he was never well after putting a new flute to his mouth; yet the physicians could determine nothing as to his disease, which consisted altogether in an inward wasting, without any exterior symptoms; but what contributed most to the report was, that he said often to those about him, my kingdom is not of this world. He was sincerely regretted by his subjects, and with great reason; for as they had the most pleasing expectations from his genius, capacity, and strong sense of justice, so they foresaw very clearly that by his death their former troubles would be revived: in which they were far from being mistaken; for the count *de Lerin* had no sooner informed their Catholic majesties of this melancholy event, than *Don Juan de Ribeyra* was sent with a strong corps of troops to support the count who had repossessed himself of *Pampeluna* and other places^w.

Katherine queen of Navarre.

DONNA Katherine de Foix was immediately declared queen of *Navarre*, upon the decease of her brother; but the princess *Magdalen* her mother quickly found that the perplexities which she before thought intolerable were now increased. Doctor *Maldonado* was sent from their Catholic majesties to condole with her on the death of her son, and to press the marriage of her daughter with the infant *Don Juan*, heir-apparent of their Catholic majesties, as the only means to extinguish the factions which were again revived in *Navarre*; and to protect the young queen against the viscount *de Narbonne*, who pretended to be the heir male of the family of *Foix*^x. The princess, determined to support the interests of *France*, at the expence of her daughter as well as her son, after professing a deep sense of the honour done her, told him that *Navarre* was a country which must be governed by men; that this compelled her to think of marrying her daughter without delay, and would not suffer her to have any thoughts of their Catholic majesties heir, who was but an infant. The *Spanish* minister, who was both an able and an honest man, told her plainly what he thought of her measures, and of her reasoning; remarked the change of affairs in *France* by the death of her brother; the certainty of keeping of all things quiet till the prince of *Asturias* was of age, if she consented to the marriage; and the great risk she must run in disposing of the queen her daughter without the consent of the states of *Navarre*, purely to gratify the court of *France*, who, tho' they might promise, would find it difficult to grant her sufficient assistance^y.

^u HERNANDO DE PULGAR, Chronique de Navarre, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, GARIBAY, ZURITA, ABARCA. ^w HERNANDO DE PULGAR, MARIANA, GARIBAY, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^x ZURITA, Annal. Aragon, GARIBAY, MARIANA, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ^y HERNANDO DE PULGAR, GARIBAY, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^z PULGAR, MARIANA, FERRERAS.

- a ALL this had no effect on the princess *Magdalen*, any more than the viscount of *Narbonne's* Jean d' Al. entering by force into the county of *Foix*, of which he reduced the greatest part. It only ^{best king in her} taught her to see the necessity of marrying the young queen without delay, which operated ^{right.} upon her so strongly, that, at the instance of the court of *France*, she concluded a marriage for that young princess in the month of *January*, with *Jean d' Albert*, son to *Alan d' Albert*, count of *Perigord*, *Limoges*, *Dreux*, &c. and, notwithstanding the town of *Tudela* declared they would put themselves under the protection of their Catholic majesties, in case she married her daughter without the consent of the states, it was celebrated at *Orthes* on the fourteenth of *June* following ^a; and the lord of *Abenas*, uncle to the new-married prince, was declared viceroy of *Navarre*, where the faction of the *Gramonts* professed themselves extremely loyal A. D. 1481.
- b to their queen. By their assistance he governed so much of that country as acknowledged the queen's authority, with much prudence and moderation: the rest the count of *Lerin* governed with almost as great authority as if he had been king, under the protection of their Catholic majesties, who justified this behaviour chiefly from political motives, alleging that *Navarre* was the gate of *Spain*; and that in common prudence they were bound to keep it shut against the *French*, who withheld from them the county of *Rousillon*, and were disposed to let no opportunity slip of giving them trouble ^b. It was not long before *Jean d' Albert* and his consort found themselves under a necessity of seeking the friendship of Don *Ferdinand*. Their affairs on both sides the *Pyrenees* were so miserably distressed, and during the nonage of *Charles* the eighth the government was so little disposed in their favour, or rather shewed such a
- c visible partiality for the male line of the house of *Foix*, that, how unwillingly soever they were constrained to apply themselves to the Catholic king, who might have found many pretences, either to complete the conquest of their kingdom, or have abandoned it to the ambition of a few great lords; who, dividing it as their influence and alliance directed, would have held it under his protection. Don *Ferdinand* received these applications very civilly, and, kindly assured them he was by no means desirous of giving any countenance to their enemies, or of depriving them of their dominions; that, on the contrary, he would do for them whatever they could reasonably desire, as having nothing more at heart than to see them peaceably in possession of their hereditary dominions, and freed from all the difficulties to which their family had been so long exposed. In a small time after they renewed their addresses, by
- d *Alan d' Albert*, father-in-law to the queen, who was at this time in arms against the *French* king, and who came to *Valencia* to demand succours for himself and his confederates, the duke of *Bretagne* and the duke of *Orleans*, and protection for his son. Don *Ferdinand* told him that he was about to undertake the war of *Granada*, which hindered him from doing all he asked; but that he was ready to assist him to the utmost of his power. To shew he was in earnest, he directed a squadron to be fitted out in *Biscay* for his service; ordered Don *Juan de Ribeyra* to restore all the places he had taken in *Navarre*, and at the same time declared that kingdom under his protection ^e, which was of very great consequence at this juncture. 1488.

- e THE kingdom of *Navarre*, though secured from foreign invasions by this compromise ^{Differences} with *Castile*, was not entirely free from domestic discord; the factions that had torn it so ^{with Don} long continuing to tear it still, though not with so great violence as in times past. At length the queen and her consort were prevailed upon, by the earnest solicitation of the states, to pass the mountains, and fix their residence at *Pampeluna*, where they were received with great pomp, proclaimed, and, after taking the usual oaths, crowned king and queen of *Navarre*, on the tenth of *January*, in the presence of many prelates and great lords, and of Don *Juan* and Don *Pedro de Silva*, their Catholic majesties ambassadors ^f. In the month of *April* they sent the baron of *Lautrec*, and other deputies, to renew the alliance made with the king of *Castile*; by which the king and queen of *Navarre* promised to keep the entrances of *Navarre* in such a manner that no troops might be able to pass, and not to give
- f any assistance whatever to the enemies of his Catholic majesty. On the other hand Don *Ferdinand* took them for his true friends and allies, and swore, in the presence of the ambassadors, that no injury should be offered to their subjects, either in the kingdom of *Navarre* or lordship of *Bearn* ^g. The next year the war breaking out between the crowns of *France* and *Castile*, the queen of *Navarre* went to *Alfaro* on the frontiers, where she had an interview with their Catholic majesties, where these promises were on both sides renewed. In virtue of this agreement, the kingdom of *Navarre* did not suffer in the least during the course of that war; and after the peace the harmony between the crowns seemed to subsist in the same cordial manner ^h: however, some persons having suggested to the king and queen, that this

^a ZURITA Annal. Arragon, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, GARIBAY.

^b HERNANDO DE

PULGAR, Chronique de Navarre, MARIANA.

TURQUET.

^c GARIBAY, ZURITA, Annal. Arragon, MAYERNE

^d L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^e HERNANDO DE PULGAR, Chronique de Navarre, FERRERAS.

^f ZURITA Annal. Arragon, GARIBAY, MARIANA.

^g ZURITA Annal. Arragon, GARIBAY,

neutrality had been of so great consequence to their Catholic majesties that they had reason to expect some ample gratification, they were prevailed upon to send two ecclesiastics ambassadors into *Castile*, to demand that all the lordships and estates that had been possessed by the king Don Juan, as infant of *Castile*, should be restored to them. Don Ferdinand heard this very calmly, and returned them for answer, that those estates had been justly forfeited, and long ago united to the crown², and afterwards granted to other subjects, so that the restitution was impossible; but that, if it had been otherwise, himself, and not they, was intitled to all the estates in *Castile* belonging to that prince. This and their forcing the count *de Lerin* to quit *Navarre*, occasioned such a misunderstanding, as induced king *Jean d'Albert*, who perceived he had pushed this matter too far, to make a step on the other side, which was still more extraordinary; for he went in person to *Seville*, to assure Don Ferdinand, that, notwithstanding his reconciliation to the *French* court, his intentions were intirely upright with regard to the crown of *Castile*. The catholic king treated him with great magnificence³; endeavoured to reconcile him to his brother-in-law the count *de Lerin*, or, in case that was impracticable, offered to give that nobleman, whom he had created marquis of *Heusca*, an equivalent for his lands in *Andalusia*, and a large sum to the king of *Navarre* to consent to this bargain. At his first arrival this prince had lodgings assigned him in the royal palace; and, to prevent giving him umbrage, the count *de Lerin* was forbid to enter it; yet knowing him to be a very wise man, the king of *Navarre* upon this proposition desired he might take his advice. At this interview the constable count *de Lerin* told him, that lands and fortresses could have no price; for that whatever sum he received would in time be spent, while the places remaining to the crown of *Castile* would prove a perpetual curb to him and his successors. The king not only took his advice, but received him into favour, invited him to return into *Navarre*, which not long after he accepted of, the peace being renewed⁴; but their broils, as we shall have occasion to shew, broke out again, and ended, as might have been easily foreseen, in the ruin of both parties.

A. D. 1500.

Renewed un-
seasonably by
the king of
Navarre.

ABOUT four years after the king and queen of *Navarre* sent the governor of *Pampeluna* into *Castile*, to renew their pretensions to the estates of their ancestor, as having been settled by the marriage-contract with queen *Blanch*, on the issue of that marriage. Don Ferdinand gave them a general answer; and, as a proof of his regard for their interest, offered them his grand-daughter Donna *Isabella* for their son *Henry*, prince of *Viana*, which they accepted with joy; but from which they afterwards disengaged themselves⁵. When the archduke *Philip* took the title of king of *Castile* the king of *Navarre* entered into an alliance with him, and upon his demise opposed to the utmost the recalling Don Ferdinand to the regency. When he discovered this to be ineffectual he solicited the emperor *Maximilian* to bring Don Carlos into *Spain*, and offered him a passage with his army thro' his dominions⁶. To shew how much he was in earnest, and to render himself entirely master at home, he raised an army; and, after a brisk war, having dispossessed the count *de Lerin* of every fortress he had in the kingdom, he drove him to take shelter in *Arragon*; and after this success began to fortify his frontiers, to increase the number of his forces, and to enter into negotiations with *Lewis* the twelfth of *France*, that he might not only be in a condition to defend himself, but also become formidable to his neighbours, believing that the fatigues and infirmities of Don Ferdinand, and the many arduous affairs he had upon his hands, would hinder his giving him any disturbance. He was the more confirmed in this, by reason that his old antagonist *Lewis de Beaumont*, count *de Lerin*, constable of the kingdom, was dead in *Arragon*, and his countess also, who was sister to Don Ferdinand⁷; but he did not consider that the son of the constable, and many other persons of distinction, who adhered to the faction of the *Beaumonts*, were received and caressed by the Catholic king. He also promised himself much from that affability and familiarity with which he lived, in respect to the nobility and persons of distinction of *Pampeluna*, which produced indeed, so long as fortune seemed to favour him, an appearance of general and deep affection; but in reality, as his queen told him, lessened him so much in their opinions, that they looked upon him rather as plain *Jean d'Albert*, than as king of *Navarre*, as he soon felt to his cost. Condescension can seldom be so tempered as to be commendable in kings.

Who is by him
dispossessed of
his dominions
in the space of
a few days.

THE success of Don Ferdinand's arms in *Italy*, his alliance with *England*, and the obligation he had thereby laid himself under of transferring the war into *France*, all pointed to the great design which he had been long meditating, of conquering, or, in plain terms, usurping, the kingdom of *Navarre*, for which he made all the necessary preparations, almost without suspicion. As soon as this was accomplished, he acquainted the king of *Navarre*, that, in-

² L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, ZURITA, MAYERNE TURQUET.
PULGAR, ZURITA.

³ MARIANA, Chronique de Navarre, GARIBAY.

⁴ GARIBAY, L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, MARIANA.

⁵ P. DANIEL, MEZERAY, MAYERNE TURQUET.

⁶ GARIBAY, HERNANDO DE

⁷ ZURITA Annal. Ara-

⁸ ZURITA,

- a tending to pass through his dominions with an army into *France*, he expected that *Estella*, *St. Jean Pie de Port*, and some other places, should be put into his hands^a; which proposition the king rejected, but endeavoured several times to enter into a negotiation on milder terms, in which Don *Ferdinand* soothed him till his general Don *Frederic de Toledo*, duke of *Alba*, in the month of *July*, entered his dominions with a numerous army, well provided with all things, advancing directly towards *Pampeluna*. The king, being informed that *Lewis de Beaumont*, son to the old constable, commanded the vanguard, and perceiving that he had a strong party among the inhabitants, altered the resolution he had formed of defending that place to the last extremity, determining to quit *Navarre*, and retire into *France*, with which, though very unwillingly, queen *Katherine* was forced to comply^b. *Pampeluna* and several other strong places opened their gates; and, upon a promise that their privileges should be preserved, submitted. The king, being informed of this, sent to the duke of *Alba* to demand conditions. His answer was, that, upon delivering up his kingdom till Don *Ferdinand* should think fit to restore it, and sending the prince of *Viana* as a hostage, he might make his peace. The king rejected this, in which he was certainly right; but Don *Ferdinand* sending a minister to confer with him, he arrested and delivered him up to the *French*, which was apparently wrong: he quickly saw it, and procured him to be set at liberty; but then it was too late, and Don *Ferdinand* took occasion from thence to refuse to treat with him at all^c. His queen is also said to have told him, that, if she had been *John*, and he *Katherine*, they had lived and died king and queen of *Navarre*. The unfortunate are always upbraided.
- c On the other hand the *French*, amazed at this sudden conquest, suspected, or pretended to suspect, that the king of *Navarre* acted in concert with the *Spaniards*, and had betrayed his country instead of losing it, which obliged that unfortunate king to go to *Paris*, where having convinced king *Lewis* that his only crime consisted in his confidence in the justice of his Catholic majesty, and the loyalty of his own subjects, the *French* army that was then assembling on the frontiers was ordered to proceed, and the duke de *Valois*, afterwards king *Francis* the first, was directed to place king *John* again upon the throne^d. That monarch himself, with a body of six thousand of his own troops, forced a passage through the vallies, and entered *Navarre*, where a great part of the country revolted in his favour, and he actually laid siege to *Pampeluna*, though at length he was constrained to raise it^e. The advanced season of the year, want of provisions, the superior capacity of the duke of *Alba*, the misunderstandings between the dukes of *Bourbon* and *Longueville*, and king *Ferdinand*'s sending a fresh army into *Navarre*, under the command of the duke de *Najara*, were the causes that obliged king *John* to retreat, and not any want either of courage or capacity in him, for he gave great marks of both in the course of this campaign. The next year he was in a great measure left to himself, the *French* finding it requisite for their affairs to make a truce; and, as a mark of their punctuality and good faith, ordered the forces that king *John* had raised in their territories to disband, by which he lost the fortress of *Moya*, the only place of consequence that held out for him in his dominions; and the death of *Lewis* the twelfth, which happened on the first day of the next year, hindered him from being able to make any considerable effort, though he made the best preparations for it in his power, and held some correspondencies in *Navarre*, tho' the far greater part of the nobility had been flattered, or forced to yield obedience to Don *Ferdinand* the Catholic, and his daughter Donna *Joanna*, upon a promise that the rights of the kingdom should be secured, and their particular privileges preserved^f, which, in their circumstances, was as much as they could expect.
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- f the Catholic, and his daughter Donna *Joanna*, upon a promise that the rights of the kingdom should be secured, and their particular privileges preserved^f, which, in their circumstances, was as much as they could expect.

An unsuccessful attempt by king John.

The annexing Navarre to Castile.

ONE of the last actions of the Catholic monarch's life was, to engage the states of *Castile* to annex or incorporate *Navarre*, so as to remain for ever indivisible from their crown, without the specification of any save the ancient rights^g. He pretended however various titles, and applied them variously as his occasions required. Sometimes he derived his title from his wife *Germana de Foix*, which title must have been of very quick growth, since it arose from the death of her brother *Gaston de Foix*, duke of *Nemours*, slain in the month of *April*, the invasion being made in the month of *July*. But the truth was, that *Katherine* queen of *Navarre* had very large estates in *Catalonia*; these king *Ferdinand* seized, and gave to his wife *Germana*, who, as he said, was the sole heiress of the house of *Foix*; but if it was true that she could be heiress to her brother Don *Gaston*, then that rule would hold with respect to the queen of *Navarre*; and her brother *Francis Phœbus* and *Katherine* sole heiress of the house of *Foix*, upon *Ferdinand*'s own shewing. Sometimes the Pope's sentence^h, by which *John* and *Katherine* were deprived of their dominions, was pleaded for a just ground of conquest; but then this bull of deprivation was never seen, and, if it ever existed, was granted

^a GARIBAY, MARIANA.

^b ZURITA Annal. Arragon. P. DANIEL, MERERAY.

^c GARIBAY,

PET. MARTYR. ANGLER. ANTONIO DE NEBRIJA, ZURITA, MARIANA, TURQUET.

^d L'Histoire du

Royaume de Navarre, P. DANIEL, MEZERAY.

^e ZURITA Annal. Arragon. GARIBAY, MARIANA.

^f P. DANIEL, MEZERAY, GARIBAY, FERR.

^g MARIANA, ZURITA, FERR. TURQUET.

^h NE-

BRIJA, GARIBAY, ZURITA, MARIANA.

after the conquest was made ; but the truth is, that *Ferdinand* had two irresistible titles, a long a head, and a long sword ; and if justice will not admit of these, then the seizing and keeping the kingdom of *Navarre* is a plain and flagrant usurpation ; and indeed in that light it has been generally and justly considered.

Death of the
king and queen
in exile.

AFTER the death of Don *Ferdinand the Catholic*, the unfortunate king of *Navarre* made another attempt ; but the marshal of *Navarre*, who was at the head of it, was surpris'd, and several other persons of distinction taken prisoners ; and this defeat is said to have afflicted the king so much, that he died chiefly of chagrin, in the month of *June*, one thousand five hundred and sixteen^w. His queen survived him about eight months ; but the exact time of her death does not appear. They had in all fourteen children, of which it will be necessary only to mention four. *Henry* succeeded them in all their claims, as well as in their estates ; *Charles* b died in *Italy* a youth ; *Anne* espoused the count of *Candale* ; and *Isabel* became the consort of the count *de Roban*, in *Bretagne*. Both directed that their bodies should be deposited only in the cathedral of *Lescar*, in order to their being afterwards removed to *Pampeluna*, when it should be recovered by their posterity, to whom, notwithstanding their misfortunes, they left a great patrimony, composed of the estates belonging to the two ancient families of *Foix* and *Albert*, what was left of the equivalents given for the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, and some fragments of the realm of *Navarre*^x. Here in strictness we might end this history, since the kingdom of *Navarre* has ever since remained, and still remains, to the descendents of *Ferdinand the Catholic* ; and those who afterwards preserved the title, and were stiled kings of *Navarre* in *France*, ought to be regarded as princes of that kingdom of which they are now c become sovereigns ; but for the sake of perspicuity, and that the reader may see in the same place, and at the same time, all that can be said on the same subject, we will continue, though very succinctly, the history of these princes, till they were seated on the throne of *France*.

Henry II. king
of Navarre.

HENRY the second, king of *Navarre*, as he is stiled, was about fourteen, when, upon the death of his mother, he assumed that title, under the protection of *Francis* the first, who, by the conclusion of the treaty of *Nojon* with the archduke *Charles*, apprehended he had laid a good foundation for the restitution of that realm to the house of *Albert* ; but after *Charles* became king of *Spain*, and was solicited to the performance of it by a solemn embassy from king *Francis*, he returned only general answers, which served to keep the *French* in suspense, and himself in security^y. We have shewn in the history of that regency, which took d place on the death of Don *Ferdinand*, what method was taken for the preservation of *Navarre*, and upon what motives all the famous fortresses in that kingdom were dismantled and demolished, excepting *Pampeluna*, and one or two more. This was certainly a very wise course for preventing insurrections in a country where every town, and almost every village was divided into factions ; but it laid the kingdom open to foreign invasions, more especially in the situation things were in ; and they had a prince at the back of the *Pyrenees*, who, in the opinion of all the world, had a just claim to the crown. When, therefore, the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Arragon* were perplexed by the insurrection of the commons, *Andrew de Foix*, lord of *Esparre*, having made himself master of St. *Jean de Pie de Port*, entered *Navarre* e with a *French* army, and finding the people well affected towards their natural sovereign, advanced directly to *Pampeluna*, which opened its gates, and in the space of a very few days the best part of the kingdom was recovered, and the army of the lord *de Esparre* augmented in such a manner, that he vented to invest *Logroño*^z. But the duke of *Najara*, the *Spanish* viceroy, having by this time received reinforcements of old troops from different parts of the kingdom, obliged the *French* to raise the siege. They continued their retreat into the neighbourhood of *Pampeluna*, where, upon some intelligence of a disorder in the *Spanish* army, the *French* general took a resolution to fight ; and though he behaved himself with great courage, and was well seconded by his troops, yet the superiority of numbers carried it, and his army being intirely defeated, and himself, as some writers say, taken prisoner, *Pampeluna* and the rest of *Navarre* was recovered in as short a time as it was lost, and the hopes of king *Henry* f intirely disappointed^a. He attended king *Francis* into *Italy*, and was taken prisoner with him at the battle of *Pavia*, but found means to make his escape^b. He espoused, the year following, the princess *Margaret*, widow of *Charles* count of *Alençon*, and the only sister of *Francis* the first, by whom he became the father of the princess *Joanna*, who in his life-time espoused *Anthony Bourbon* duke of *Vendosme*^c. King *Henry* survived to the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-five, and then deceased in his palace of *Pau* in *Bearn*, in the fifty-third

A. D. 1521.

^w PET. MARTYR ANGLER. PRUDENCIO DE SANDOVAL, GARIBAY.

^y P. DANIEL, MEZER.

^z L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, P. DANIEL, PET. MARTYR ANGLER. PRUDENCIO DE SANDOVAL, PET. MEXIA.

^c P. DAN. MEZER.

^x L'Histoire du Royaume de

Navarre, DU TILLET, LE

^a OCHOA ULLOA, SANDOVAL, PET. MARTYR ANGLER. DUPLÉIX.

a year of his age^d (A). The emperor *Charles* the fifth had tried every method to obtain from him a resignation of his title to *Navarre*, but without effect, though he did him the justice to own he merited that title as well as any prince of that age.

JOANNA D'ALBERT, and in her right *Anthony* duke of *Vendosme*, assumed the titles of king and queen of *Navarre*, and we shall have occasion to speak of them at large in the next chapter. As for the king, he was esteemed a gentle and a good prince; and the queen was justly admired for her strong parts and masculine understanding, as well as for her steadiness in support of the Protestant religion. The king was wounded at the siege of *Rouen*, and died at *Andely on the Seine*, in his way to *Paris*, November the seventeenth, one thousand five hundred and sixty-two, in the forty-fifth year of his age^e. The queen survived him almost ten years; and is generally supposed to have been poisoned by the artifice of the queen mother of *France*, at the marriage of her son, June the ninth, one thousand five hundred and seventy-two, in the forty-fourth year of her age^f. They had five children, three sons and two daughters; but of these only two survived, *Henry*, and *Katherine*, who became duchess of *Lorraine*, often solicited to become a Catholic, which, it is said, she sometimes promised, but died a zealous Protestant at last (B).

Joanna queen of Navarre.

^d L'Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

^e P. DANIEL, TURQUET.

^f DUPLEIX, MEZERAY.

(A) The design of this note is to let the reader into certain circumstances regarding the personal history of *Henry d'Albert*, king of *Navarre*, which may facilitate the understanding some of the principal events that are mentioned in this and the next chapter. *Henry* had a mind truly royal, and so much of the spirit and majesty of a monarch, under all the weight of his misfortunes, that he appeared, in the eyes of the best judges, more worthy of wearing a crown than if he had actually wore it. An irreproachable witness of this was the emperor *Charles* the fifth, who, after he had passed through *France*, declared publicly, that he had but seen one man in that kingdom, and he was the king of *Navarre* (1). *Henry* applied himself, with great diligence, to regulate, in the best manner, the government in those provinces he had still left. He established a supreme court of justice at *Pau*. He constructed a regular fortress, called *Navarreins*, on an extensive plain, in which he kept always a strong garrison; and, in times of public danger, incamped a good corps of horse and foot under its walls (2). He encouraged both inland and foreign trade, to the utmost of his power; and, which was of the greatest consequence to his family, he educated *Henry* the young prince of *Bearn*, afterwards *Henry the Great*, while a boy, in a manner that qualified him for greatness. He suffered him to be ill clad and ill shod; made him fare coarsely, and lie hard, not by the exertion of his parental authority, but by his own example, and by persuading him, that he who is to command men ought to be equal, if not superior, to mankind in general, in those things especially which men with most difficulty sustain. He took care that he should be learned; but he would have his learning taught him by conversation rather than by books, obliging him to fix certain Latin and Greek maxims firmly in his memory; and taught him the use and application of them in the conduct of life (3). He made no attempts to recover his dominions, after that mentioned in the text; but he held a constant intelligence in *Navarre*, knew the state and forces in that kingdom exactly; and, it is said, if he had lived a month longer, would have made himself master of it (4). His personal character was the great point in this matter; the nobility of *Navarre* knew and confided in him; his successor was, in some measure, a stranger to them; and therefore, though he endeavoured to take up the enterprize where his father-in-law had left it, yet it was to no purpose; and from this period the recovery of the kingdom of *Navarre* became altogether

impracticable, the persons of its lawful princes being very little known, and their interests gradually divided from those of their subjects; that is, in the same proportion they grew connected with those of *France*.

(B) *Anthony*, duke of *Vendosme*, was the heir-general of the house of *Bourbon*, and had great estates of his own, which might probably contribute to the first umbrage taken at court. The French king, *Henry* the second, was very unwilling, on the death of his father-in-law, to permit him to go to *Bearn*. He thought there ought not to be two sovereigns in one country; and proposed, therefore, the exchange of all that he had acquired by his marriage with the heiress of *Navarre*, for other lands in *France*; and when he could not succeed in this, he shewed his resentment by separating *Languedoc* from the government of *Guienne*, which his father *Henry d'Albert* had enjoyed (5). This *Anthony* of *Bourbon* was of so amorous a complexion, that it occasioned many quarrels between him and his queen, from whom, notwithstanding, he would never be divorced; though, after she became a widow, there was once a project for procuring for him *Mary* queen of *Scots* (6). In the end, it is said, this passion for women cost him his life, by his slighting the advice of his physicians, while he was under their cure for his wound (7). *Joan* of *Albert* was in all respects a very extraordinary woman. Her father would have married her to *Philip* the second, in the life-time of the emperor *Charles* the sixth; but the French monarch, *Francis* the first, her uncle, would not suffer it: on the contrary, he actually contracted, and even celebrated the marriage, July the 15th, 1540, between her and *William* duke of *Cleves*, whom the emperor *Charles* the fifth had deprived of his dominions, and with whom he made his peace, by deserting this princess; and upon this *Francis* married her to the duke of *Vendosme*, first prince of the blood of *France* (8). She was at first averse to what was called the new doctrines; but became afterwards a most zealous Protestant. After the death of her husband, and of his queen *Elizabeth*, *Philip* the second renewed his propositions of marriage; to which the queen prudently answered, that she thought herself sufficiently honoured by his esteem (9). With all her good qualities, she had one great defect, for she was insupportably haughty; and to this the hatred of queen *Mary de Medicis* has been attributed by such as allege she was poisoned by her direction, though that is a fact positively denied by authors. She was the seventh heiress and queen of *Navarre* in her own right.

(1) Cayet Chronologie Navennaire.

(2) D'Audiffret Histoire & Geographie Ancienne & Moderne, L'Histoire

du Royaume de Navarre, Mayerne Turquet.

(3) Cayet Chronologie Navennaire.

(4) L'Histoire du

Royaume de Navarre, P. Daniel, Mayerne Turquet.

(5) Cayet Chronologie Navennaire.

(6) Thuan.

lib. xxviii. (7) Davila Historia delle guerre civile.

(8) Histoire des derniers Troubles de France sous les

regnes d'Henry III. & Henry IV. par Pierre Matthieu.

(9) Cayet Chronologie Navennaire.

Henry III. of Navarre, IV. of France. HENRY the third of *Navarre* was born at *Pau*, *December* the thirteenth, one thousand five hundred and fifty-three. He was stiled in his mother's life-time the prince of *Bearn*. He espoused the princess *Margaret*, sister to *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, successively kings of *France*; and by the demise of the duke of *Anjou* became presumptive heir to the crown of *France*; to which he succeeded on the murder of the last mentioned prince, on the second of *August*, one thousand five hundred and eighty-nine, and united thereby the titles of *France* and *Navarre*.

Present state of this kingdom. BEFORE we conclude this section, it may not be amiss to make a few remarks, which, we flatter ourselves, will not be disagreeable to our readers. *Charles* the fifth, as we before observed, engaged by treaty to restore this kingdom, and was so little pleased with his title, that amongst other hardships put upon the *French* monarch *Francis* the first, one was, that he should oblige his brother-in-law *Henry* to renounce in favour of *Charles*. That device failing, he recommended it to *Philip* the second to marry if possible the princess *Joan*, or to restore the kingdom; but *Philip* the second having, as he said, been so occupied during his whole reign as not to have time to examine this question maturely, devolved that care upon *Philip* the third, who, it may be thought, by his ancestors possessing it, had sufficient right. In process of time this has been settled by a superior power, since not only *Navarre* but all the dominions of *Spain* are at this day in the possession of a descendent from the house of *Albert*. But with respect to the people of *Navarre*, it is extremely worthy of notice, that they have preserved their laws and liberties intire; and though the king of *Spain* sends a viceroy, while the *French* king keeps the title, yet they are alike benefited in point of revenue, not a single crown passing out of *Navarre*, except it may be what a viceroy can save, whose salary is but six thousand pieces of eight; and the whole revenue amounts but to forty thousand, which is about a piece of eight for every family.

C H A P. IV.

The history of France, from the reign of Clovis to that of Lewis the Fifteenth.

S E C T. I.

The first or Merovingian race of kings to their extinction.

- ^a **T**HE rise or origin of all nations is naturally obscure; that of the *Franks* is particularly so; all that can be said of it is founded chiefly in conjecture, and deriving its credit from a comparison, or concurrence of circumstances, falls short of certainty, and is at most but probable^a. What can be said worth considering, upon this perplexed subject, the reader has seen in the former part of this work very clearly and correctly stated^b. There, likewise, may be found what has been transmitted to posterity, with the greatest appearance of truth, concerning their four first kings, under whom they contested the dominion of *Gaul* with the *Romans*, who were then possessed of it, viz. *Pharamond*, *Clodio*, *Mérovée* and *Childéric*^c. It is very doubtful, whether the third of these princes was brother, or son, or kinsman, or of quite another family from his predecessor. The last has been held most probable, because the first line of the kings of the *Franks* in *Gallia* were from him stiled *Merovingian*, which looks as if he was the founder of a new family at least, if not of the monarchy^d. This indeed has by some learned men been bestowed on his son, while other learned critics, with a great modern historian^e, ascribe this honour wholly to *Clovis*, and affirm, that to him the honour is due, of laying the foundation of that empire, which has subsisted so long, and been extended so far. It is for this reason, that the reign of *Clovis* is also to be found in the former part of this work; so that we might enter on this section with the division of his dominions amongst his four sons: but as in this there would be something very abrupt, and as we must be frequently referring to what passed under the reign of their father, we are persuaded it will be more for the reader's ease, as well as our own, to enter upon our task by a very succinct recapitulation of his history.
- ^c **C**LODOVEUS, as he is called by *Gregory of Tours*, *Clovis*, as he is usually stiled, or *Louis*, for it is the same name differently written, succeeded his father *Childéric*, at the age of fifteen. The first five years of his government, for any thing we know, were spent in peace; but, at the expiration of that time, he had perfected all his preparations for attacking the *Romans* in *Gaul*. They were then governed by *Syagrius*, whom the *Franks*, at least, stiled their king, and he had fixed his residence at *Soissons*. *Sigebert*, one of the chiefs or kings of the *Franks*, made himself master of *Cologne*, where it is probable that *Clovis* passed the *Rhine*, and, thro' the forest of *Ardennes*, marched directly towards *Soissons*. *Syagrius*, having a numerous army under his command, gave him battle, in which *Chararic*, one of the chiefs of the *Franks*, and nearly related to *Clovis*, is said to have kept his troops entire, till he saw the *Romans* begin to break, whom he charged with great vivacity in their retreat; so that being totally defeated and dispersed, *Syagrius* fled to *Toulouse*, and put himself under the protection of *Alaric*, king of the *Visigoths*^f; who, apprehensive of the spirit and success of *Clovis*, some time after delivered him up; and the monarch of the *Franks*, keeping him some time in prison, where, by giving him false hopes, he wrought upon him to facilitate his conquest, when he was of no farther use in that respect, caused him to be privately beheaded^g. This was followed by the entire reduction of his dominions, which put an end to the power of the *Romans* in *Gaul*, and left the *Franks* in full possession of all the countries between the *Rhine* and the *Loire*. The power he had gained by the sword, he laboured to establish by a mild and equitable govern-

^a Preface Pere DANIEL sur l'Histoire de France. Histoire & Geographie ancienne & moderne par M. D'AUDIFFRET, tom. ii. p. 13. Nouvelle Histoire de France, par M. LOUIS LE GENDRE, p. 4, 5. ^b Universal History, b. iv. c. xiv. sect. v.

^c Historiæ Francorum Ecclesiasticæ lib. x. auctore S. FL. GREGORIO Ep. Turonensis. FREDEGARII Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon. HADRIANI VALESII gesta Francorum. Histoire Critique l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Francoise, par l'Abbe DU BOS. ^d HADRIANI VALESII gesta Francorum, p. 144, 145. ^e Hist. de France, par le P. G. DANIEL, tom. i. p. 4. ^f GREGOR. Turon. lib. ii. c. 27. ^g FREDEGARII Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon, lib. ii.

A. D. 489. ment, in which his subjects of all nations might find their account; and, at this time, as some
 492. very able judges believe, he caused the salique law to be made public^b (A). While *Clovis* was thus employed, *Basin*, king of *Thuringia*, attacked the country of the *Franks* on the other side of the *Rhine*, and treated the people with extreme cruelty; of which *Clovis* was no sooner informed, than he marched against him with a great force, defeated his army, and reduced his subjects to submit to become tributaries¹.

Esposes Clo- THE situation of his dominions, and the circumstances of his affairs, obliged him to have
tildis, becomes an ambassador almost constantly in the court of *Gondebaud*, king of *Burgundy*, and this
a Christian, brought to his knowledge the fame of his niece, who, in point of beauty, virtue, and other
receives the accomplishments, was esteemed the most illustrious princess of that age, whom, not without

^b HADRIANI VALESII gesta Francorum lib. iii.

¹ GREG. Tur. l. ii. cap. 27.

(A) There is no part of the modern history that stands more in need of explanatory remarks than this which lies before us, and therefore we conceive it our duty to afford the reader all the assistance we can in this way; but, at the same time, we must intreat him to bear in memory, that we write notes, not dissertations, which must excuse our being very succinct; that we propose what appears to us most probable; and that we pretend not to dictate, but to leave all to his own judgment and better information. And lastly, that the personal history of these monarchs of the first race, their marriages and posterity, are thrown into the notes, that the thread of the narrative might remain as uniform as possible. These points premised, we propose in this note to speak of the Salique law. The *Franks*, before their irruption into *Gaul*, inhabited a part of *Germany*, which, in the old geographical tables, is from thence denominated *Francia*; and, by some authors, is called *Old France*, and, by others, the *Germanic France*, to distinguish it from the country which now bears the same name (1). The *Franks* were composed of several tribes or clans, each of which had its particular chief. Thus, at the same time that *Clovis* was king of the *Salians*, *Sigebert* reigned in the same quality over the *Ripuarians*, and other princes over other tribes (2). Each of these tribes had their particular customs, which being collected and reduced to writing, formed the code of their laws; and hence it is most probable, that what is stiled the Salique Law received that name, from being the code of the customs that prevailed amongst the *Salians* (3). What we have now is not, strictly speaking, the Salique law, because it is not the entire code, but an abstract of it. There are two editions, the first printed from a manuscript in the abbey of *Fulde*, by the care of *John Basil*, herald, in 1557, and the other later, as comprehending the alterations and additions made by several kings; but they agree very well in the main, and shew very clearly, that they were the customs which prevailed amongst a barbarous and warlike people, in order to keep some kind of interior order, and to prevent their turning their swords, at every turn, against each other. This abstract is divided into seventy-one titles, heads, or articles, penned in miserable *Latin*, full of barbarous words, borrowed from different languages, but which proves its authenticity, from their being found in the most antient charters, chronicles, and records (4). They prescribe punishment for murder, theft, injuries, and all the various kinds of violence to which such fierce and rude nations are commonly addicted. There is not so much as a single word of priests, sacrifices, or any thing that respects religion, either Christian or Pagan. It is not easy, or rather it is impossible, to fix their origin: some attribute them to *Pharamond*, others believe them still more ancient; however, it seems to be generally agreed, that *Clovis* published them in the state they now stand

in, or rather gave his sanction to that code from which this abstract is made (5). They are become chiefly famous from a few lines in the sixty-second title, which we will give the reader as they stand there: "De Terra
 "vero Salica nulla portio hæreditatis transit in mulierem, sed hoc virilis sexus acquirit hoc est filii
 "in ipsa hæreditate succedant." i. e. In respect to Salic Lands, no part of it shall ever be inherited by a woman, but being acquired by the males, males only shall be capable of the succession (6). It has been urged, that this law disabled the daughters from inheriting the crown of *France*; in which, if there be any truth, it must be by construction. Our business, at present, shall be to inquire into and explain what these Salique lands were. The *Salians*, as we before observed, were only one tribe or clan of the *Franks*; and, at the time *Clovis* invaded *Gaul*, their whole force consisted of but three thousand fighting men, and the whole strength of the associated clans did not exceed twenty or twenty-four thousand at most. When they were fixed in their conquests, the king rewarded eminent services by a grant of lands, but subject to military aids. These lands thus granted, were the lands mentioned in the law, and such an estate was stiled, *Terra Salica*, *Terre Salique*, or land held according to the Salic custom: these estates were opposed to another kind of estates, which were stiled allodial, and might be acquired by descent, by marriage, or by purchase. It is to these estates that the article which we have just cited properly belongs, as appears from the very title *Alode*, *de l'Alcu*, or of *Allodials*. This law consists of six short paragraphs, five of which regard the succession to such estates, and in them the females are to the full as much favoured as the males, and then comes the sixth paragraph by way of exception. "But in respect to Salic land, no part of it shall ever be inherited by a woman, but being acquired by the males, males only shall be capable of the succession." The *English* reader is now in a condition to judge for himself of the meaning of this law, and how far it may be extended by construction (7). We will only add two remarks; the first is, that the *Roman* emperor *Alexander Severus* had made grants of the very same nature to his soldiers, which custom had been followed by his successors: and some of the *French* lawyers are of opinion, that as these lands fell in, they were granted out again by *Clovis* and his successors to *Salians* (8). Our second remark is, that the subjects of these princes being of different descents, such as *Gauls*, *Burgundians*, as well as *Franks*, they lived under their separate laws, and hence, in the old writers, there is a distinction between nation and people; the former word being restrained to the *Franks*, and the latter implying subjects in general (9).

(1) *Histoire critique de l'établissement de la Monarchie François*, par l'Abbe Du Bos. gesta Francorum lib. iii.

(2) *Hadriani Valesii gesta Francorum lib. iii.*

(3) *Dissertation sur l'Origine des Loix Saliques*, par M. l'Abbe Vertot. *Histoire de France*, par le P. G. Daniel.

(4) *In Editione Lindenbruchii & Pieræana.*

(5) P. Daniel, tom. i. p. 12.

(6) *Passus Leg. Sal. Eccardæ*, p. 107.

(7) *Dissertation sur l'Origine des Loix Saliques*, par Vertot.

(8) *Lampridius in Alexandro*, p. 202.

(9) *Histoire critique de l'établissement de la Monarchie François* par l'Abbe Du Bos.

- a difficulty, he obtained ^k(B). St. Gregory of Tours calls her *Chrotildis*, but by modern writers she is called *Clotilde*, or *Clotildis*, and was a zealous Christian. Her endeavours to convert the king were not at first very successful; on the contrary, the death of her eldest son *Ingomer*, soon after he was baptized, made an untoward impression on the mind of *Clovis*, which was heightened by the dangerous sickness of *Clodomir* his second son, soon after he was initiated into the Christian faith, from which however he recovered ¹. The *Allemands*, a numerous and potent nation, passing the *Rhine*, suddenly wasted the country about *Cologne* in a most barbarous manner. *Sigebert* demanded the assistance of *Clovis*, who marched with a great army to his relief, and, as soon as he had joined his forces, gave the enemy battle at a place called *Tolbiac*, where, on the point of being defeated, *Clovis* made a vow, that if Providence granted him the victory, he would become a Christian. His prayers being heard, the king caused himself to be instructed in the faith, and was, at length, baptized by St. *Remy*, bishop of *Rheims*, which gave great satisfaction to the *Gauls*, and at *Rome*, as most of the princes in *Europe* were at that time *Arians* ^m. As for the miracles that are said to have attended this ceremony, we find no hints of it in the more ancient authors (C). Some time after, *Clovis* reduced
- b

ensigns of max-
gistry, and
defeats Alaric.
A. D. 493.

496.

^k HINCMAR in vit. S. Remig.

¹ GREGOR. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 28. Du Bos Histoire Critique, p. 365.

^m Gesta Francorum, cap. xv. GREG. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 31.

(B) *Gundiac*, king of the *Burgundians*, married the sister of the famous *Ricimer*, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention, in the former part of this history, and had by her *Gondebald*, *Godegisles*, *Chilperic*, called also *Hilperic*, and *Godemar* (1). They divided among them the country subject to the *Burgundians*; for *Chilperic* is styled by *Sidonius*, tetrarch; and by *Jornandes*, king. *Chilperic* and *Godemar* joining against *Gondebald* drove him out, and seized on his dominions; but *Gondebald* having in the end recovered them, found means to dispatch his two brothers, with their issue male (2). He likewise extended his cruelties so far, as to cause his brother *Chilperic's* queen to be bound with a heavy stone about her neck, and thrown into a well (3). This princess, as *Sidonius* tells us, was a woman of great prudence, and had such an influence over her husband, that, al- luding to the *Roman* history, he styles her another *Tanaguil*. By her wisdom, and affable behaviour, she qualified the natural severity and ruggedness of her husband's disposition, by which she preserved the lives of many innocent persons, and was from thence generally re- spected and beloved (4). By this princess, *Chilperic* left two daughters, who were both banished by *Gondebald*, or rather kept under confinement, in a castle, at some distance from the court. *Mercuruna* the elder, embraced the state of virginity, the other was *Clotildis*, of whom we are to speak in this note (5). It is probable, that not being able to resist the power of the *Franks*, and suspect- ing that his niece would omit nothing to inspire *Clovis* with her resentment against himself and his family, *Gon- debald*, or *Gondebald*, might be very averse to the mar- riage. But the stories we are told of the methods taken by *Clovis* to solicit her affection, and the rings exchanged between them, carry in them the air of romance (6). We might say the same thing of *Gondebald* sending horsemen after his niece when on the road to the court of *Clovis*, her apprehension of this, and her quitting the coach she was in, to make her escape more securely on horseback, but that it seems to be countenanced by the most authentic historian we have (7); and that the improbability of these facts arises solely from the contrariety between the manners of that age and our own, which, in the reason of things, ought to have no great weight (8). These are particulars in themselves of such

a nature, and of so little moment, that we should not have given them a place here, if we had not been per- suaded, that they are in some measure a key to this history; for *Clotildis* resembled her mother, and by her prudence and complaisance came to have a great in- fluence over *Clovis*, and for some years after his death, in a great measure, commanded the *Franks*, in the name of her sons, whom she irritated against her own family, and at length brought both that and her country to de- struction (9).

(C) We have a very circumstantial account of the baptizing of *Clovis*, by St. Gregory of Tours, who lived near his time; we have a letter written to him by the bishop of *Vienne*, to felicitate him upon his conversion; and we have another long letter of a bishop, concern- ing the miracles wrought by St. *Remy*, or *Remigius*, bi- shop of *Rheims*; in all which there is not one syllable of the holy phial (1). The story was first broached, in the ninth century, by *Hincmar*, archbishop of *Rheims*, in his life of that saint; and what he relates is this: the holy prelate not finding the oil when he was to use it, had recourse to heaven, begging, with a short but fervent prayer, that the want of what was necessary, to accom- plish the ceremony, might, by some means or other, be supplied. He had scarce done, when a dove, ex- ceeding the very snow in whiteness, was seen carrying a phial filled with oil, which the bishop had no sooner received than the dove disappeared, and was never afterwards seen. With this oil *Remigius* anointed the king, and the odour it spread was sweet, beyond ima- gination or expression (2). All that can be said in sup- port of this relation, is, that *Hincmar* took it from an ancient life of that holy person, or rather might have taken it from thence. But the misfortune is, that this life had been read by Gregory of Tours, and yet he says nothing of this amazing miracle, though he magnifies the sanctity of *Remigius*, and tells us, that he wrought miracles, and even raised a person from the dead (3). It is in vain to cite a crowd of authors, or even of offices and liturgies of later date (4), since all we find therein must depend upon the authority of *Hincmar*, and what sort of an authority his is may in a few words be shewn. That he was very inaccurate ap- pears from hence, that he places the baptism of *Clovis*

(1) *Historiæ Francorum Ecclesiasticæ, libri x. auctore S. Fl. Gregorio, Ep. Turonensi, lib. ii. cap. 28.* (2) *Solii*

Apollinaris Sidonii Episcopi Avernorum Epistolæ, p. 55. Jornandes Episcop. Rerum Goth. cap. xlv. (3) *Gregor.*

Turon. lib. ii. cap. 28. (4) *Sidon. lib. v. epist. vii.* (5) *Gregor. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 28.* (6) *Fredegarii*

Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon. cap. xix. xx. Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. xi. (7) *Gregor. Turon. lib. ii.*

cap. 28. (8) *Hist. critique Monarchie Francoise, par Du Bos.* (9) See the subsequent part of the

history, and all the ancient historians already cited. (1) *Greg. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 31. epist. Auit. ad Clod. Du*

Chefne, tom. i. p. 834. Epist. Nicet. ad Clodowinth, ibid. p. 855. (2) *Hincmar. vita Remigii ap. Du Chefne,*

tom. i. p. 524. (3) *Greg. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 31.* (4) *Aimoini Monachi inclyti Cænobii S. Germani libri*

quinque de gestis Francorum, lib. i. cap. 16. Gregor. magn. lib. v. epist. 6. Matth. Paris. ad Ann. 1254, 1257.

Flod. Hist. Eccl. Rhem. lib. i. cap. 13.

- reduced *Armorica*, or *Brittany*, and afterwards made war against the *Burgundians*, in which
 A. D. 500. he had for his ally *Theodoric*, king of the *Ostrogoths*^a; *Alaric* taking umbrage at the great
 501. power of *Clovis*, and finding a disposition in his own subjects, who were Catholics, to revolt
 509. to him, engaged in a war, the fate of which was decided by a general battle in the plains of
Vouillé near *Poitiers*, where his forces were totally defeated, and himself killed in the field.
 His ambition led *Clovis* to push his success a little too far; in consequence of which the *Franks*
 were soundly beaten before *Arles* by the forces of *Theodoric*; soon after which a general peace
 was made, in which the *Burgundians* and the *Visigoths* were included^b.

His ambition
 prompts him to
 destroy all the
 little kings and
 chieftains of
 the Franks.

510.

THE fame of his victories having penetrated as far as *Constantinople*, the emperor *Anastasius*
 sent him a diadem and a purple robe, with the title of *Patrician*, *Consul*, or *Augustus*, it does
 not clearly appear which^c. However, it was very kindly accepted, and the king caused him-
 self to be invested with these pompous ornaments in a very solemn manner: it may be both
 princes had their views, and that these were very different. The emperor might propose pre-
 serving a title to the *Gauls*, now the possession was lost, by the conferring, and the acceptance
 of these honours; whereas the monarch of the *Franks* might consider this as an association in
 the empire, or at least desire it should be so considered by the inhabitants of the conquered
 countries. When he perceived that this had taken effect, he began to undermine the chiefs of
 other tribes, that he might leave all the *Franks* possessed to his own posterity. He began with
Sigebert, king of *Cologne*, by hinting to his son *Chlodoric*, that he spun the thread of his life a
 little too long; upon which *Chlodoric* caused him to be put to death; but as he was busy in
 taking possession of his treasures, he was stabbed by one of his own retinue, and *Clovis*
 appearing immediately after with an army, left no room to doubt, that he directed the last
 murder, and was not ignorant of the first^d. He seized by treachery *Chararic*, king of
Cambray, and his son, caused them both to be shaved, the old man to be ordained a priest,
 and the young one a deacon. This is the first instance of rendering a prince incapable of
 wearing a crown by taking off his hair; and the son having intimated to his father that it
 would grow again, and then they might take their revenge, *Clovis*, to prevent that, ordered
 that they should lose their heads^e. He engaged, by great promises, the ministers and captains
 of *Ragnacharius* to deliver both him and his brother *Richarius* into his hands; and after
 reproaching them for suffering themselves to be chained, he dispatched them with his battle-
 axe. Those who had betrayed them, complaining, that the money or presents he gave them
 was only copper gilt, he told them, that he always paid traitors in that coin^f.

His death and
 character.

HE removed the seat of his government first from *Tournay* to *Soissons*, and from thence
 to *Paris*, which he made the seat of his empire. He held a council at *Orleans*, at which

^a FREDEGARII Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon, cap. xxv. GREG. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 33. ^o ISIDOR.
 Chron. GREG. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 37. ^p MARIUS in Chron. JORNANDES Episcop. de Regnorum ac temporum
 successionibus M. Aurelii Cassiodori variarum, lib. xii. ^q GREG. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 38. ^r AIMOINI
 Monachi inclyti Cœnobii S. Germani libri quinque de gestis Francorum, cap. xvii. xviii. GREG. Tur. lib. ii. cap.
 40. HADRIANI VALESII gesta Francorum. ^s GREG. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 41. ^t Ibid. cap. 42.

on the *Saturday* before *Easter*, whereas it is certain, that
 he was baptized at *Christmas* (5). He was so credu-
 lous, that he tells us of another miracle wrought by
 the same prelate, in favour of the same king, which
 would be still more wonderful, if it was not absolutely
 ridiculous. He affirms, that *St. Remy* gave to *Clovis*
 a bottle of wine, which served him and all his family,
 nay, and all his army too; and which had this ad-
 mirable property, that it would never diminish, but
 when Providence meant to restrain the success of his
 arms; so that it was not only an inexhaustible cordial,
 but a kind of prophetic barometer (6). This is but
 one instance out of many absurd and idle stories re-
 ported by this single champion of the holy phial; but
 it is such an instance as will certainly destroy his credit
 with every reasonable man, and oblige us to pity
 those who, after reading such things, will pretend to
 believe them. It is surprising, that, in the midst of
 so many miracles, we have not one word said of this
 holy bishop remonstrating to *Clovis* against those num-
 berless acts of injustice and cruelty which he was conti-
 nually committing. Miracles wrought in favour of
 such a man was but confirming him in his vices, by
 strengthening his power; and *St. Remy* would have
 done infinitely more for his subjects and himself, if

he had wrought one miracle to restrain him, and con-
 vince him, that whatever authority he might have on
 earth, he was to answer for the abuse of it to him
 by whom it was bestowed. It is far from being im-
 possible, on the contrary it is highly probable, that
 this good bishop might not be negligent in his duty,
 but might admonish the king on various occasions (7),
 of which however the monks have preserved us no re-
 membrance, as being entirely bent on supporting and
 extending the power of the church, which they pre-
 ferred to the honour and welfare of religion. This
 those who admire them most readily admit; for a very
 learned and judicious writer, who would notwith-
 standing be thought to believe the miracle of the holy
 phial, in order to answer the objection drawn from
 the silence of *Gregory of Tours*, hints, that he might be
 induced to let it pass in silence, to avoid raising the
 credit and supremacy of the see of *Rheims*, and giving
 it thereby an advantage over his own church of *Tours* (8).
 We say nothing of the banner covered with *fleurs de*
lis, or, as we write them, *fleur de lucas*, put into
Clovis's own hand by angels, or of the *orri flame*
 brought by the same conveyance, because these are
 given up by the *French* historians, and indeed some make
 no scruple of giving up the phial at *Rheims* (9).

(5) *Hincmar vita Remigii*, Avit epist. xii. Edit. Sirmondi, p. 94.
 tom. i. p. 527.

(7) GREG. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 31.

(6) *Hincmar vita Remigii*, Du Chesne,

(8) *Dissertation sur l'Origine des Loix Saliques*, par

M. l'Abbe Vertot.

(9) *Nouvelle Histoire de France*, par M. Louis le Gendre, tom. i. p. 31, 32, 33. *Histoire*
de France, par M. Chalons, tom. i. p. 9, 10.

a several bishops were present, and a letter written by them to the king, on that occasion, is still extant^u. He founded several monasteries, and built some churches; for these reasons, and because he professed the Catholic religion, the prelates were strongly attached to him, which was one great instrument of his success. He deceased in the month of *November*, in the year of our LORD five hundred and eleven, and was interred in the church of *St. Peter and Paul* at *Paris*, which now bears the name of *St. Genevieve*, where his tomb is still to be seen^v. He lived forty-five, and reigned thirty years. Authors are much divided as to his character: some admire him as a great captain; others commend him as a consummate politician; and some have been so complaisant as to stile him a saint^x. A late writer comes nearer to the truth: he says, he was a very great prince, and a very wicked man^y. His courage and his abilities, no doubt, were very remarkable, and his good fortune rather more conspicuous; but his morals were certainly detestable: to excuse these, is not the business of an historian; to dwell upon them would be invidious; but, without incurring this censure, we may affirm, that his boundless ambition, and the desire of securing to his own family the sovereignty of the *Franks*, which hitherto had been shared with the chiefs of their several tribes, was the source of those vices which tarnish his character, and leave other nations no great reason to regret the glory some writers would assume from having this prince for the founder of their empire.

THE sons of *Clovis* were four, amongst whom were divided all the dominions which their father had acquired. The eldest, whose name was *Thieri*, or *Theodoric*, was about twenty-six years of age, born before his father's marriage with *Clotildis*; whence some modern writers stile him a bastard, of which there is no proof. He had the eastern part of his father's dominions for his share, and, because that was his capital, had the title of king of *Metz*. *Clodomir*, the eldest son of *Clovis* by his queen, was about sixteen, and he had the kingdom of *Orleans*. *Childebert* and *Clotaire* were infants; the former had the kingdom of *Paris*, and the latter that of *Soissons*, under the tutelage of their mother. But though *Gregory of Tours* says this was a very equal division, yet it is not easy to assign the manner in which it was made, or the provinces of which each of their shares consisted^z. The authority of *Clotildis*, founded chiefly in her prudence, preserved the dominions of the *Franks* in peace for the first seven years after the death of *Clovis*, if we except a small dispute between *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths*, and *Thieri* king of *Metz*, which was compromised upon terms not very advantageous to the latter: for this some conjectural reasons have been given, which we have not room to mention, and which are not of importance enough to create any obscurity in the course of our narration. It is however probable from thence, that the having so formidable a neighbour as *Theodoric* might contribute not a little to the tranquility of this new empire.

A NUMEROUS fleet, with a potent army of *Danes* on board, arrived at the mouth of the *Meuse*, and their king *Cochiliac*, having landed his forces, began to waste all the adjacent country with fire and sword; upon which *Thieri* sent an army against him, under the command of his son *Theodobert*, who had likewise the direction of a fleet that was also appointed to act against the *Danes*. In this expedition he acquitted himself with great reputation, defeated these cruel invaders on shore, beat their navy at sea, killed their king, compelled them to dismiss their prisoners, and to retire with the utmost precipitation^a. His father engaged soon after in a war less honourable, and, though attended with success, less advantageous. *Hermanfroi*, king of *Thuringia*, had, by the persuasion of his wife *Amalberga*, destroyed his brother *Berthaire*, and seized his part of their father's territories; and by her persuasion he meditated the like treatment towards *Balderic*, his only surviving brother, who was apprized of his intentions, and kept upon his guard. *Hermanfroi*, thereupon, applied himself to the king of *Metz*, and offered him half his brother's dominions, if he would join in this enterprize. He consented to this, and, in conjunction with his new ally, gave battle to *Balderic*, whose army being defeated, and himself killed on the spot, his brother seized all, and left *Thieri* no other recompence than the consciousness of having embarked in so foul an action. A prince of his spirit and temper could not help feeling and resenting this usage; but perceiving *Hermanfroi* in full possession of *Thuringia*, whereas he had only a part of his father's kingdoms, he stifled his indignation, till an opportunity should offer of indulging it in its full extent^b.

GONDEBAUD, king of *Burgundy*, who had murdered *Chilperic* his brother, and the father of queen *Clotildis*, being dead, left his dominions to his sons *Sigismund* and *Godemar*, against whom, her sons being now grown up, the widow of *Clovis* engaged them to make war. There was a circumstance which rendered *Sigismund* odious to his own subjects; of which a full account being given in another place, there is no need to repeat it here^c. The dispute

^u SIRMOND Concil Gall, t. i.

^v GREG. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 43.

^x De la Sainteté du Roi

Clovis, avec les preuves & les autorités, & un abrégé de sa vie, par JEAN SAVARON, lieutenant general de CLERMONT, Paris, Fol. 1621.

^y Histoire de France, par M. CHALONS, vol. i. p. 15.

^z GREG. Tur.

lib. iii. cap. 1. Agathiaz Scholastici de Imperatoris Justiniani rebus libri v. lib. 1.

^a GREG. Tur. lib. iii. cap.

3. Gesta Reg. Francorum, cap. 19.

^b GREG. Tur. lib. iii. cap. 4. Authore vitæ Theod. Abb. Rhemens.

^c Gesta Reg. Francorum, cap. 20. Universal History, Book IV. chap. xiv. sect 6.

murder Sigismund his monarch.

was very unequal, and the forces of *Sigismund* quickly beat. The *Franks* plundering the country without mercy, the people, partly out of spite to the author of their misfortunes, and partly in hopes of pacifying the victors, seized upon the unfortunate *Sigismund*, who had cut off his long hair, and put on the dress of a hermit, and delivered him, together with his queen, and the two princes his sons, into the hands of *Clodomir*. He, after detaining them some time in prison at *Orleans*, upon the report of *Godemar's* being proclaimed king of the *Burgundians*, resolved to put them to death^a. *Avitus*, abbot of *Mici*, interposed in their behalf, and went so far as to promise the king victory, if he spared these miserable creatures; but in vain; they were thrown into a deep pit, by way of retaliation, *Chilperic* having suffered the same treatment from his brother *Gondebaud*. The universal pity that followed this outrageous act of cruelty procured *Sigismund*, who in other respects did not deserve it, the reputation of a saint^c. *Clodomir*, for it does not appear that his brethren took any share in this second war, entered the country of the *Burgundians* with his army, and gave battle to *Godemar*, in which he was defeated. But *Clodomir* pursuing indiscreetly, was surrounded and slain, and his head fixed on a pike, and carried about in triumph by his enemies, who believed that this would have struck the *Franks* with despair; but, on the contrary, it inspired them with so great fury, that, after destroying the greatest part of his army, they obliged *Godemar* to quit the field of battle^f. *Clodomir* left behind him three sons, notwithstanding which his brethren took possession of his dominions, under the specious pretence of being guardians to his children; and how honourably they discharged that trust will hereafter appear.

A. D. 524.

Thieri king of Metz reduces the country of Thuringia, and causes Hermanfroi to be murdered.

531.

Thieri, king of *Metz*, seeing the power of the *Ostrogoths* much lessened by the death of king *Theodoric*, thought it a proper time to make *Hermanfroi* feel the weight of his vengeance; and having engaged his brother *Clotaire*, king of *Soissons*, to assist him, they, at the time agreed upon between them, entered the country of *Thuringia*, with two potent armies. They joined soon after they had passed the *Rhine*, and their force was quickly augmented by another powerful corps of troops under *Theodobert*^g. However, *Hermanfroi* had time enough to assemble the whole force of his dominions, and to dispose all things in the best manner for their reception. The allies found him, therefore, with his army ranged in order of battle, with a spacious plain in front, and a steep and rapid river in his rear. They formed with all the diligence possible, expecting they should have been attacked, but perceiving the *Thuringians* remained firm, they advanced to charge them. *Hermanfroi* had caused several large pits to be made in the front of his army, which were covered again with turf, and numbers of the *Franks* falling into them, were miserably slain. *Clotaire*, as soon as he perceived this, gave a signal to halt, and soon after passing with his cavalry through the spaces between the pits, pushed the *Thuringians* with such vigour that they soon fell into confusion. *Theodobert* followed his uncle's example with the infantry, and *Thieri* taking them in flank with his forces, the route became general, and the river behind them preventing their retreat, the far greater part of them were either killed or drowned^h. The queen *Amalberga* was conveyed to a place of safety by her brother *Theodad*; and *Hermanfroi* having with difficulty made his escape, fled from place to place in disguise. In consequence of this defeat, the capital was taken, and the country in general destroyed without mercy. Soon after this victory, *Thieri* invited his brother to a private conference; but *Clotaire*, as he entered the hall, perceiving mens feet behind a piece of tapestry, suspected, not without reason, a design to murder him; and stopping a little, made a signal for his attendants to advance, which they did in good time. *Thieri* caressed him extremely, presented him with a large silver basin, and proposed to him many things for their common benefit, to which he listened with great complaisance, but retired from the audience with a full resolution never to run a hazard of the like kind againⁱ. *Thieri*, at the close of the campaign, declared, that having avenged his breach of faith, *Hermanfroi* might meet him with safety at *Tolbiac*, in order to treat of peace. Thither he accordingly came, was kindly received, and the king walking with him upon the ramparts, advanced a little before him, when a person placed behind, for that purpose, threw him over into the ditch, where he was smothered. Thus his spacious territories became feudatory to *Thieri*^k.

Childebert invades the dominions of the Visigoths, in the quarrel of his sister Clotilda.

CHILDEBERT, king of *Paris*, while his brothers were thus employed, was embarked in another war, of the cause and event of which having given a full account in the last chapter, we shall be as brief as possible here. His sister *Clotilda* had espoused *Amalaric*, king of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, and being a zealous Catholic, and he an obstinate *Arian*, they were quickly upon such bad terms as induced *Childebert* to take up arms for her deliverance. In his march towards *Septimania*, or that district of *Gaul* still in the possession of the *Goths*, a false report

^a *MARIUS* Aventii in Chron. Regum Francorum, cap. 21.

^g *GREG.* Tur. lib. iii. cap. 7.

^c *GREG.* Tur. lib. iii. cap. 6. Passio S. Sigismundi.

^h *GREG.* Tur. lib. iii. cap. vi.

^k *PROCOPII* Casariensis de Gothico Bello.

^f *Gesta*

Regum Francorum, cap.

- a reached his ear, of his brother *Tbieri*'s being defeated, and killed in *Tburingia*, which tempted him to make a short turn into *Auvergne*, a country belonging to his brother; and the capital being betrayed into his hands, he took possession of it, and had just received the oaths of the inhabitants¹, when he was informed of the truth, and that, instead of being defeated and dead, *Tbieri* was alive and victorious: he quitted his new conquest, therefore, with silence and shame; and, to efface the memory of it, recurred to his first expedition, in which he was as prosperous as he could desire; for having routed *Amalaric* in battle, and made himself master of *Narbonne*, the king of the *Visigoths* being slain by a conspiracy of his own subjects, his sister was restored to him, but died in her way to *Paris*, whither *Childebert* returned in triumph, his army loaded with plunder, amongst which was a great quantity of rich church plate, that, by his command, was distributed to the cathedrals in his dominions; by which he gained the love of the clergy, and the esteem of the prelates^m. His brother *Clotaire* congratulated him on the success of his enterprize, and the two brothers entered into a close alliance, being equally afraid of *Tbieri*, to whom notwithstanding they proposed a reconciliation, provided he would assist them in a war against the *Burgundians*, which they had now more than ever at heart. As this did not suit his scheme of policy, he refused to comply with their demand; upon which, to secure themselves from any disturbance, they excited a sedition amongst his troops by their intrigues, and fomented a rebellion against him in *Auvergne*, into which country he was thereby constrained to send the flower of his forces under the command of his son *Theodobert*. Having thus provided sufficient employment for him, they continued with all possible diligence their preparations against *Godemar*, who, while they were embarked in other expeditions, had gradually recovered his whole country, and was, at this instant, assembling all his forces to defend itⁿ.

- THE two brothers, *Childebert* and *Clotaire*, entered the country of their enemies with a superior army, and laid siege to *Autun*; of which, after a gallant defence, they made themselves masters, and proceeded next to reduce *Vienne*: which they found a work of greater difficulty, but which notwithstanding they accomplished at last; and being determined to keep what had cost them so dear, they put an end to the campaign, by taking winter quarters in the country adjacent^o. *Tbieri*, in the mean time, finding the war of *Auvergne* would prove a dangerous and troublesome business, went thither in person, as believing that his own temper and experience would suit better with an employment of such a nature, than the youth, and perhaps the gentleness and generosity, of his son's disposition. At first, he acted with great roughness and severity, which, on a sudden, under pretence of a dream, or vision, he relaxed, and by a tender of mercy to his subjects in despair, brought them to a submission, into which they would not have been so easily forced^p. Yet when he thought this arduous affair in a manner over, as having made his entry into *Auvergne*, where he contented himself with punishing the family of the senator *Arcadius*, who had betrayed it to *Childebert*, he found his work was to be begun again. A great lord of that country, whose name was *Munderic*, pretending that he was of the royal family of *Clovis*, not only took up arms, but assumed likewise the title of king, and quickly drew together an army, composed chiefly of those who had been ruined by the licentiousness of the king's troops^q. *Tbieri* attempted first to get him into his power by negotiation, but that failed him, for his character was too well known; he blocked him up in *Vitri*, which was then a strong place. The garrison being numerous, and composed of men absolutely desperate, the defence was obstinate, as might be expected. Upon this, the king sent a domestic of his, a man of great cunning, whose name was *Argesile*, to practise once more upon *Munderic*; and he having first represented his danger in very strong terms, and afterwards swearing at the high altar that he should have a free pardon, prevailed on him to render the place^r. As they came out together, with a few of *Munderic*'s attendants, some of *Tbieri*'s soldiers half-armed gathered about them; upon which *Argesile* cried out in an angry tone, "Who do you stare at? did you never see *Munderic* before?" At which signal they attacked him. *Munderic*, who had a short spear in his hand, turning on his guide, "Perjured traitor, said he, I know I shall die, but lead thou the way;" and so pinned him to the earth; but being surrounded, himself and his servants were quickly cut to pieces^s. *Tbieri* having reduced *Auvergne* a second time, left *Theodobert* with a competent number of forces to settle the country, and returned himself to *Metz*, having in his mind still greater projects, and burning with a desire to expel the *Ostrogoths* and *Visigoths* out of the provinces they still possessed in *Gaul*, esteeming, according to the maxim of his family, that they possessed nothing where they did not possess all.

¹ GREG. Tur. lib. iii. cap. 9. PROCOPII Cæsariensis de Gothico Bello, lib. i. cap. 13. ^m ISIDOR. Hispal. GREG. Tur. M. AURELII CASSIODORI variarum. ^o GREG. Tur. lib. iii. cap. xi. ^p M. AURELII CASSIODORI variarum, lib. ii. GREG. Tur. lib. iii. cap. xi. ^q HADRIANI VALESII gesta ^r AIMOINI Monachi inclyti Cænobii S. Germani libri quinque de ^s gestis Francorum, l. ii. c. 8. ^t GREG. Turon. l. iii. c. 13. tom. i. vers la Fin. ^u Histoire de la Maison d'Auvergne, par M. BALUZ.

Clotaire, by the advice of Childebert, murders their nephews, and shares their dominions.

A. D. 533.

The queen-dowager *Clotildis*, being at *Paris* with her grandsons, *Gunthaire*, *Theodobald*, and *Clodoalde*, the sons of *Clodomir*, and having pressed her son *Childebert* to do these orphans justice, he, seeming to acquiesce in her demand, sent for his brother *Clotaire* to regulate the method of putting them in possession of their dominions. After this interview, the two brothers sent to demand the young princes, whom the grandmother delivered without the least suspicion, saying, that she should forget the loss of her sons, in seeing them reign^a. Her surprize was great, at hearing they were put under a guard; but her apprehensions were still more heightened, when *Arcadius*, the senator of *Auvergne*, who betrayed that city to *Childebert*, brought her from that prince a pair of scissars and a sword, and bid her chuse which instrument she pleased. Confused at so horrid a message, she answered, "I had rather see my childred dead, than shaved;" which being reported to the two kings, *Clotaire* immediately dispatched *Theodobald*, who was about ten years old, with his dagger^b. *Gunthaire*, who was about seven, embraced the knees of his uncle *Childebert*, who was so much moved thereat, as to intreat *Clotaire* to spare him; but the brutal prince cried out, "It was by thy instigation that I entered upon this bloody scene, die thyself, or let me finish what I have begun." *Childebert*, affrighted, stepped out of his way, and he instantly dispatched the child. But during this short dispute, the attendants of *Childebert* conveyed away *Clodoalde*; at which the furious *Clotaire* was so provoked, that he caused all the tutors and domestics who attended the children to be destroyed^c. As to *Clodoalde*, he became a monk, and for his innocent life being reputed a saint, left his name to the village of *St. Cloud*, near *Paris*^d. It might be imagined that *Thieri*, who had no hand in these murders, would have revenged them, but having his share of their dominions, he was reconciled to his brethren, and entered into an alliance with *Clotaire* for driving the *Ostrogoths* out of *Gaul*, in order to share the countries they held between them^e.

While *Thieri* is acting against the Visigoths, Childebert and Clotaire complete the conquest of Burgundy.

A. D. 534.

In order to execute this great design, *Clotaire* ordered his son *Gunthier* to march with an army on the side of *Rodez*, while *Theodobert*, with his father *Thieri*'s forces, acted from that of *Auvergne*. But, as soon as the war was begun, *Gunthier*, without any apparent cause, retired, and left *Theodobert* to carry it on as he could^f. This young prince, in the progress of his expedition, met with a lady, whose name was *Deuteria*, a married woman, but who had beauty and wit, tho' not youth to recommend her; and of her he was so enamoured, that, after a campaign not very active, he retired into *Auvergne*, and put his troops into winter quarters^g. His father *Thieri* had committed the civil administration of this province, after its reduction, to *Sigivalde*; who believing the people were not like to obtain much redress at court, had oppressed them in the most grievous manner; of which *Thieri* being informed, caused him to be seized and sent to court, where, upon full proof, he was beheaded. But believing that his son *Givalde* might, some time or other, endeavour to revenge his father's death, an order was dispatched to *Theodobert* to seize and execute him also. The prince, who had been this young man's godfather, sent for him, and, having shewed him his father's orders, advised him to withdraw, and not to venture into his own country again, so long as the king lived^h. In the mean time, *Childebert* and *Clotaire* finished the reduction of *Burgundy*, in which some say *Godemar* was killed, and others affirm that he retired into *Spain*, and from thence into *Africa*ⁱ. The necessity of employing their troops in this war, might be one reason for recalling *Gunthier*; but there was another; *Thieri* king of *Metz* was fallen into a declining state of health, and the two brothers had such intelligence in his dominions, that they had hopes of supplanting their nephew, to which they thought his being embarrassed in the war with the *Ostrogoths* might very probably contribute. But *Theodobert* being informed in time of their contrivances, returned so speedily that he disappointed them, and, upon his father's death, was proclaimed, and put into possession of all his dominions^j. He was not a little chagrined at the usage he met with, and the danger he had escaped, but was prudent enough to dissemble it.

Childebert finds it necessary to reconcile himself to Theodobert the successor of Thieri.

536.

CHILDEBERT, who was naturally a timorous prince, fearing the resentment of his nephew, and at the same time hating his brother, resolved to reconcile himself to the former, and to make him forget, if possible, the attempt he had made to his prejudice; *Theodobert* came readily into all this, and obtained a share in the division of *Burgundy*. He afterwards accepted an invitation to *Paris*, where he was both kindly and magnificently treated; and, at the same time, *Childebert* declared him his heir^k. In *Italy*, *Amalazunta*, the daughter of *Theodoric*, after the death of her first husband, espoused *Theodad* her cousin, who, through jealousy and ingratitude, imprisoned and put her to death, which gave a colourable pretence to the emperor *Justinian* to undertake the expulsion of the *Ostrogoths* out of *Italy*^l. To facilitate

^a GREG. TUR. l. iii. c. 18.

^b FREDEGARII Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon.

^c GREG. TURON.

l. iii. c. 18.

^d FREDEGARII Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon.

^e GREG. TUR. ubi supra.

^f ADON.

Breviar. Chron.

^g GREG. TURON. l. iii.

^h M. AURELIJ CASSIOD. variar. libri xii. l. ii. ep. 1.

ⁱ HARMAR. Contractus in Chron.

^j GREG. TUR. l. iv. c. 7.

^k ADON. Breviar. Chron.

^l PROCOPII

Cæsariensis de Gothico Bello l. ii.

a this, he set on foot a negotiation with the three monarchs of the *Franks*, in order to obtain their assistance, and, by a dexterous management of this negotiation, they drew to themselves immense treasures in subsidies and presents; but this did not hinder their negotiating at the same time privately with *Theodad*, who offered them the provinces^a his nation still retained in *Gaul*. His conduct was so bad that his people revolted and killed him, bestowing the crown upon *Witiges*, whose only title was being a brave man and an experienced officer; but to fortify this, he married the princess *Matazunta*, the daughter of the deceased queen, and by him the negotiation was perfected, in consequence of which *Provence* was delivered up to the *Franks*^b. *Childebert* had *Arles* for his share; *Marseilles* fell to that of *Clotaire*. *Theodobert*, after the treaty was concluded, set up a demand for himself. He pretended, that b his family having subdued the *Allemands* in *Germany*, derived from thence a title to the countries those people had conquered and possessed on the frontiers of *Gaul*, and, upon this pretence, the *Rhetian Alps*, or the country of the *Grisons*, was yielded to him^c. At the very time this agreement was concluded and executed, *Justinian* depending on his promises, had adopted him, as a mark of his affection and esteem^d. We may have leave to treat this double-dealing as base and scandalous, since these and even harsher epithets are bestowed by a *French* historian, who with great spirit and impartiality has given a just representation of these reigns^e; which remark it was necessary to make, in order to prevent any suspicion of our having misrepresented them.

To push this matter to the utmost, *Theodobert*, by affording new hopes to *Justinian*, c obtained a concession from him of the same provinces that had been yielded by the *Ostrogoths*; so that now all claims of the emperors to any part of *Gaul* being extinct, it was universally considered as the patrimony of the *Franks*^f. *Belizarius* having managed the war in *Italy* very successfully, and brought the power of the *Goths*, notwithstanding the courage and conduct of *Witiges*, to the very last gasp, saw with amazement *Theodobert* pass the *Alps* with an army of one hundred thousand men, with which he traversed *Italy*, ruining and plundering the country wherever he came. He had before sent a corps of some thousand *Burgundians*, as auxiliaries to the *Goths*; and though they did them little service, yet they flattered themselves that he was come in person, with this potent army, to rescue them from destruction; while, on the other hand, *Belizarius* grounding his expectations on the late treaty, flattered himself d that the *Franks* would act as auxiliaries to the empire^g. *Theodobert* disappointed both; he attacked and cut to pieces the *Goths*, who received him as friends, and immediately after defeated a part of the imperial forces. It is difficult to conceive what his design was, except loading his army with plunder; with which view he made himself master of *Genoa*, ransacked it, and then finding his forces much diminished by sickness he quitted *Italy*, leaving one of his generals, with a sufficient body of forces, to secure the passes^h. *Belizarius* having shut up *Witiges* in the city of *Ravenna*, and held him there closely besieged, the monarchs of the *Franks* sent him the strongest assurances of relief, and *Theodobert* made preparations for entering *Italy* again, with a great army, for that purpose. But *Witiges* prevented this, by surrendering the city and his person to *Belizarius*, who sent him to *Constantinople*, where, e with the title of *Patrician*, he spent the remainder of his days in quietⁱ. This shews, however, that he had conceived a just diffidence of the *Franks*, and would not trust them in any treaty.

As they had no longer any foreign war to employ them, the *Franks*, unable to remain quiet, fell out among themselves; *Clotaire*, as some writers say, was the aggressor, by making an irruption into the territories of *Childebert* with a small body of forces. His brother, being supported by *Theodobert*, marched against him with such diligence, that they surprized him, at the entrance of the forests of *Bretone*, on the banks of the river *Seine*. He cut down the trees on every side, in order to embarrass his enemies, and to form a kind of hasty fortification about his camp^j. *Childebert* and *Theodobert*, much superior to him in numbers, disposed f all things for attacking him by break of day, when there arose so violent a storm of thunder, lightning and rain, that *Childebert*, who was naturally mild, regarding it as a miracle, sent to offer his brother peace, which was quickly concluded on equal terms^k. Some time after a council was held at *Orleans*, and from several of the canons made therein it clearly appears, that many of the *Franks* remained to this time *Pagans*, and that many more had a kind of mixed religion, professing the faith of Christians, and yet practising many *Pagan* ceremonies and superstitions: the body of the *Salique Law* was also reviewed, reformed, and augmented.

^a MARIUS Aventic in Chron.^b AGATHIÆ Scholastici de Imperatoris Justiniani rebus, libri v. lib. i.^c PROCOPII Cæsariensis de Gothico Bello, l. ii.^d LE GENDRE, tom. i.^e ADON. Brev. Chron.^f PROCOPII Cæs. de Gothico Bello, l. ii. c. 23.^g PAUL LONGOBARD, l. ii. c. 11.^h PROCOPII Cæs.

de Gothico Bello, l. ii.

ⁱ Gest. Reg. Franc. c. 25.^j GREG Turon. l. iii. c. 28.

FREDEGARII Scho-

lastici Epitome & Chronicon.

Childebert
and Clotaire
make an irrup-
tion into Spain
and are tho-
roughly beaten
by the Visi-
goths.

A. D. 543.

To give an evident testimony of the sincerity of their reconciliation, and, at the same time, to find some employment for a nation unable to remain long at rest, the two brothers Childebert and Clotaire determined to attack the *Visigoths*, as being desirous to have the *Pyrenees* as well as the *Alps* for the boundaries of their dominions^r. While they were employed in this expedition, Theodobert directed his attention to the affairs of *Italy*. Childebert and Clotaire penetrated as far as *Saragossa* almost without resistance, and their army having enriched themselves with the pillage of those opulent countries, they determined to return: most of the *French* writers speak of this retreat as performed with great courage and conduct; but the *Spanish* writers assert, with much more appearance of truth, that the two brothers did not retire till their forces were totally defeated by the *Gothic* general *Tudiscles*, and that few or none of them had found their way home, if avarice, which is the growth of all climes and all nations, had not induced an eminent officer among the *Goths* to leave open one of the passages of the *Pyrenees* a day and a night, in consideration of an immense reward, notwithstanding which the rear of their army was cut to pieces^s. It is however said, that the *Franks* had, in some measure, their revenge, in defeating with considerable slaughter, a *Spanish* army that had been transported into *Languedoc* by sea; but as this point has been elsewhere explained, there is no need of detaining the reader any longer upon it here, more especially as both parties seemed now to be at least weary of the war, if not inclined to peace^t; and the affairs of *Italy* drew once more their most serious attention, upon the old principle of fishing in troubled waters, and aggrandizing themselves at the expence of others. A maxim which rendered them equally formidable and detestable to their neighbours, who have not failed to set out the ill usage they met with from them in peace, as well as war, in the strongest colours.

Theodobert
becomes an ir-
reconcilable
enemy to Justi-
nian, and dies
in the midst of
his military
preparations.

548.

THEODOBERT began with negotiating again with the emperor *Justinian*, from whom he procured the most authentic renunciations of the rights of the empire to those provinces and places, which, in the depth of their distress, the *Ostrogoths* had been forced to yield, and which he had also ceded, though not with an express demission of the sovereignty; and thus the claim on one side, and the possession on the other being relinquished, the *Franks* became the legal masters of those maritime parts of *Gaul*, which the power of *Theodoric* had protected against the ambition of *Clovis*. But Theodobert's views went farther; he negotiated likewise with *Totila*, who had in some measure restored the affairs of the *Goths* in *Italy*, and was willing to try what could be had from him^u. But this brave and generous prince, tho' he sought the friendship of the *Franks*, sought it in an honourable and noble way, and demanded the daughter of Theodobert in marriage, which that monarch rejected with an air of contempt; for as the *Ostrogoths* proposed to expell the *Imperialists*, and to preserve by arms the countries which by arms had been acquired; and as, on the other hand, the *Imperialists* proposed the extirpation of the *Ostrogoths*, that the emperors might enter again into the exercise of their authority in *Italy*; so Theodobert aimed at the destruction of both, that he might substitute the empire of the *Franks* in *Italy*, as his ancestors had done in *Gaul*^v. His lieutenant *Bucelin* proceeded to the execution of this design, by extending his conquest through the country of *Liguria*, along the sea coast, while Theodobert projected a diversion by an irruption into the dominions of *Justinian*, that might have brought his forces, and those of his allies, into the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*^w. Princes of his character seldom want pretences; from being the friend and ally, he was become the mortal enemy, of *Justinian*; interest dictated the measure, which was to be covered by a pretended zeal for glory. The emperor, elated by the victories which his generals had obtained, assumed, after the ancient *Roman* manner, a variety of surnames, and amongst them inserted *Francicus*, as if he had been the conqueror of the *Franks*. Theodobert, who wanted such an opportunity, seized it eagerly, remonstrated in high terms at *Constantinople*, and attempted to associate in an alliance all the northern nations, that had been outraged by the same unseasonable overflowing of imperial vanity^x. But, in the midst of these vast designs, which Theodobert might have found it very difficult to execute, he was removed by death, to the great grief of the *Franks*, and to the no small joy of their neighbours^y; all of whom dreaded his great abilities, which were directed by no other motives than ambition and interest.

His son Theo-
debalde, suc-
ceeds, and dies
after a short
reign without
issue.

THEODEBALDE, or *Tbibaut*, the only son of Theodobert, though a youth in the fourteenth year of his age, and to the legitimacy of whose birth there might have been some objection, succeeded to his father's dominions without trouble or dispute, which was, in a great measure, owing to the wise precautions which his father had taken, and the firm attachment to his family shewn by the generals who commanded the troops, and who, if they had acted upon

^r GREG. TURON.

^s ISIDOR. Hispal. in Chron.

^t FESTUS AVIENUS.

^u GREG. TUR. l. iii.

^v PROCOPII Cæs. de Gothico Bello, l. iv.

^w ADON. Breviar Chron.

^x AGATHIÆ Scholastici de Impe-

ratoris Justiniani rebus, l. i.

^y GREG. TURON. l. iii. c. 34.

rebus, l. i.

AGATHIÆ Scholastici de Imperatoris Justiniani

- a other principles, might have created a great deal of confusion^a. The emperor *Justinian* sent a splendid embassy to his court, in hopes of engaging those who had the direction of this young king's affairs, to enter into his views, instead of pursuing those of his father. The ministers of *Theodebalde* acted, however, as if their old master had been alive, and had dictated to them the rules of their behaviour. They treated the imperial ambassadors with all possible respect, gave them, in the name of the young king, a very favourable answer, and sent an ambassador also to *Constantinople*, fraught with pacific instructions, from whence, as in times past, they drew great advantages; for the *Greek* emperor never negotiated with the *Franks* without supporting the propositions he made with considerable presents^b. But when *Justinian* thought himself sure of this martial and enterprising nation, he found himself more
- b deceived than ever; for *Bucelin* and *Leutharis*, at the head of prodigious numbers of *Franks*, entered *Italy*, and professing that they acted on their own heads, and without receiving any orders from their court, put it out of the emperor's power to know what might be expected from them, or how to deal with them^c. His general *Narses* delivered him from these difficulties by the courage and conduct he shewed, in the management of a war, which had put a period to the sovereignty of the *Ostrogoths*, and gave a check to the impetuosity of the *French*, who suffered likewise by a misunderstanding between their generals, who were both *Allemands* by birth; and one of whom, *Leutharis*, had practised with the *Ostrogoths*, to grant them what assistance lay in his power, provided they would acknowledge him for their king, and which ended in the destruction of both^d. In the mean time, *Theodebalde*, after a short A. D. 555.
- c and inactive reign, breathed his last at *Compiègne*, when, according to the rule of succession which then prevailed, his dominions should have been divided between his two great uncles (D), as other principalities and even seignories among the *Franks* usually were.
- But *Clotaire*, king of *Soissons*, who, of all the sons of *Clovis*, inherited most of his father's spirit, having a puissant army on foot, went in person to *Metz*, and by a mixture of arguments, promises, and threats, so wrought upon the nobility, that they acknowledged him for the sole successor of his nephew^e. *Childebert*, king of *Paris*, who was the elder brother, affected the character of a pious prince, and had his attention, at this time, occupied chiefly by ecclesiastical affairs. He was, however, far from being void of ambition; and though he could not immediately devise a method of redressing or revenging it, he was sufficiently
- d sensible of the injustice that had been done him^f. He resolved not to let slip any opportunity of this kind, and it was not long before such an opportunity offered; for by aggrandizing his power, the security and the safety of *Clotaire's* monarchy were far from being rendered more stable. But whether the troubles he met with proceeded immediately from the turbulence and mutability of part of his new subjects, or whether they were not, in part at least,

^a PROCOPII Cæs. de Gothico Bello, l. iv.

^b AGATHIÆ Schol. de Imperatoris Justiniani rebus, l. i.

^c MARIUS Aventic. in Ceron.

^d GREG. Turon. lib. iv. cap. ix.

^e FREDEGARII Scholastici Epitome

& Chron.

^f GREG. Turon. lib. iv. cap. x.

(D) *Theodowaldus*, as the old historian calls him, or *Theodobald*, as he is commonly called, or *Thibaut*, for it is the same name, succeeded his father, though he was paralytic, which those who maintain the crown to have been, in these times, strictly hereditary, insist upon as a very strong proof (1). Immediately after the death of his father, there happened a sedition, in which *Partibianus*, who was looked upon to have been the deviser of some oppressive taxes in *Theodobert's* time, was stoned to death; for which the king is much blamed by a modern historian, as a weak and pusillanimous prince (2). But if we consider, that he was under fourteen, he may perhaps stand excused, though we should not put the reader in mind of his infirmity. It may be, however, that this was not the case, and that the king might act on another motive; for though his body was crazy, yet his mind seemed to have been tolerably sound, from the following story told of him, by *Gregory of Tours*, who says, at the same time, that it excited a general dislike to him amongst his courtiers, ought to have been added in a parenthesis. The king was talking one day, he tells us, of ministers who abused their trust, and plundered the people, and expressed himself to this purpose. There was a man who had some excellent wine, which he kept in a vessel that had a narrow neck, and a large body,

which being left open, a serpent got in, and drank so plentifully, that she was unable to get out again. The owner of the wine came, and seeing the serpent wreathing and twisting about, there is but one way filthy creature, said he, to slip through this narrow passage, and that is to disgorge (3). He espoused *Waldrada*, whom *Gregory* calls *Valdotrada*, the younger daughter of *Wacon*, king of the *Lombards*, by whom he had no issue. Some say, that he bequeathed the kingdom by will to his great uncle *Clotaire*; but if he had a power of doing this, what became of the right of succession? for that, as the *Greek* historian plainly says, was in his great uncles jointly (4). It is much more probable, that *Clotaire* secured the succession by his intrigues, in which it is very likely he was strenuously assisted by the queen-dowager, whom he married. A wife more or less in such cases, these kings of the race of *Clovis* did not stand upon; however the bishops, either of their own accord, or because the king was willing to be rid of her, interposed; and so she was divorced: but that her services might not go wholly unrewarded, she was, a third time, bestowed in marriage upon *Garibald* duke of *Bavaria* (5), that is, governor of the *Bavarians*, and not prince of that country, as we now understand it.

(1) Mar. Aventic. Chron. Greg. Turon. lib. iii. cap. 36. *Memoire pour établir que le Royaume de France a été successif hereditaire dans la première Race, par M. de Foncemagne.* (2) Louis le Gendre, tom i. p. 127. (3) Greg.

Turon. lib. iv. cap. ix. (3) Agathiæ Scholastici de Imperatoris Justiniani rebus, lib. ii. cap. 51. Adon. Chron.

(5) Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 9. Gest. Reg. Franc.

excited by some acts of severity or oppression of his own, does not clearly appear^e; the historians of these times dwelling often on trivial, and omitting entirely circumstances of importance.

Is immediately plunged into foreign and domestic troubles, through the contrivance of Childebart. THE Saxons, who were tributaries to his predecessor and *Theodebalde*, threw off the yoke, and prevailed on the *Thuringians* to take the same step. He marched against them with an army composed of veteran well-disciplined troops, and by their assistance gained a complete victory; upon which the rebels submitted, on the best terms they could obtain^b. He did not long enjoy this satisfaction; for he had scarce withdrawn his forces out of that country before they revolted again. He was extremely provoked at this, and, having reinforced his troops, marched against them a second time, giving out, that he intended nothing less than to extirpate those whom duty could not restrain, or clemency recover; but he did this only with a view to shorten the war, and to prevent an effusion of blood, by bringing them to a speedy submission. The Saxons, as if they had known his intention, sent to intreat his pardon, offered immense contributions, and to be content with whatever terms he thought fit to impose, which the king was very well inclined to accept; but his army would hear of nothing but slaughter: they had figured to themselves the total destruction of a country, by which they were to be loaded with plunder; and they could not bear to see the king's coffers filled with what they had destined to enrich themselves. *Clotaire* was forced to comply with their humour, and to attack the Saxons in their retrenchments, who made so desperate a resistance, as not only obliged the *Franks* to retire, but took from them all inclination of attacking them again^c. *Clotaire* being left at liberty to pursue his own sentiments, granted them such terms as this change of circumstances required. This was a great, but not his sole misfortune. He had five sons; and the eldest of these, whose name was *Chramnes*, he had sent to command in *Auvergne*: he was a young prince who did not want parts; but the vivacity of his temper, and his inordinate love of pleasure, made even the good qualities he possessed turn to the prejudice of his father and himself. *Clotaire* had assigned him a very sage and sober person for his assistant and prime minister, but the virtues which recommended him to the father, rendered him disagreeable to the son; he disregarded him therefore, and bestowed his confidence on a man of his own character, which had so untoward an influence on his actions as obliged his father to recall him^d. *Chramnes* added disobedience to indiscretion; and, having married the daughter of a powerful nobleman, took up arms against his father. *Childebert*, pleased with this occasion, promised him assistance, and, by his intrigues, engaged the Saxons to rebel for the third time, which obliged *Clotaire* to turn his views and his forces on that side; but, however, he sent a considerable body of forces, commanded by two of his sons, to reduce their brother^e. They managed the war like young men, and, upon a false rumour of their father's death, spread out of policy by their brother, retired. This changed the face of affairs in respect to *Chramnes*; and his uncle, to favour his interest, made an irruption into *Champagne*; but they very suddenly changed again by *Childebert's* falling sick at *Paris*, on his return from that expedition; of which sickness he quickly die^m (E); and, as he was little beloved, was but little regretted.

Clotaire becomes sole monarch of the Franks, burns

CLOTAIRE, by the death of his brother, united all the dominions of *Clovis* in his own possession, and his son seeing himself unable to resist his power, had recourse to his clemency. His father forgave him, and advised him to behave so, for the future, as that he might forget

^e ADON. Breviar. Chron. Gesta Regum Francorum cap. xxviii.
^d ADON. Breviar. Chron. ^k Gesta Rerum Francorum.
 Turon. lib. iv. MARIUS Aventic. in Chron.

^b FREDEGARII Epitome & Chron.
^f ADON. Breviar. Chron. ^m GREG.

(E) *Childebert* was in all respects a prince very unequal, and in all probability it is owing to this, that we find such different characters of him, in ancient and modern histories. The truth is, he did not deserve a good, and, at the same time, it would be unjust to give him a bad character (6). In point of morals he was more irreproachable than any of his brethren; for he was a lover of order and justice, and governed his people mildly (7). He was, according to the mode of the times, extremely pious; that is, he built hospitals, convents, and churches. Four councils held at *Orleans*, one at *Arles*, and two at *Paris*, under his auspices, are yet stronger proofs of this; but that which seems to be the strongest of all is, his obliging pope *Pelagius*, of whose principles he had some suspicion, to send him his confession of faith; of which the *French* historians boast as a point of great consequence (8). But with all these good he had a great many ill qualities; he was ambitious, fickle, and deceitful. He projected the murder of his nephews, the sons of *Clodomir*, though he afterwards relented; he encouraged his nephew *Chramnes* to take up arms against his father, and yet it does not appear he attempted to make him his successor, which, however, might be out of his power (9). He had but one consort, *Ultrogotte*, and by her he had two daughters, *Chrothberge* and *Chrotisfinde*, who were all very ill treated by *Clotaire*, being first imprisoned and then banished (1). This is the first instance that occurs of the setting aside daughters; but whether it was done by custom, by virtue of any law, or by downright force, is very far from being clear.

(6) Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 20. Marius in Chronicis, Mezeray, Le Gendre, P. Daniel. (7) Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chron. Marius in Chron. (8) Fortunat. lib. ii. carm. ii. (9) Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 20. Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chron. Marius in Chron. (1) Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 20.

a what was past; the admonition was seasonable and salutary, but ineffectual. The king would not suddenly trust him with power, and to him a private life was insupportableⁿ. He began therefore to intrigue afresh; and having engaged the count of *Bretagne* to embrace his interest, he broke out into a second rebellion. *Clotaire* marched against him without loss of time. The count his protector advised him withdraw from the army, for the security of his person, while he gave the king battle; but the prince, though defective in other respects, wanted not courage, and therefore, rejecting this advice, appeared at the head of the troops, and shewed an intrepidity which had been laudable in a better cause^o. It is said, that, before the armies engaged, *Clotaire* put up his prayers to the Supreme Being, that he would assist him as he did *David* against *Absalom*: the dispute was short and bloody; the *Bretons* were beaten, and their count killed. Upon which *Chramnes* determined to make his escape, but perceiving that the quarter, where his wife and family were, had been surrounded by his father's forces, he attempted to rescue them, and in that attempt was taken^p. In this condition, they were all thrust into a thatched cottage near the field; of which the king was no sooner informed, than he ordered it to be set on fire on all sides; so that all within perished in the flames, though some say, that *Chramnes* was first strangled^q. The king, at his return from this expedition, made great offerings at the shrine of *St. Martin* of *Tours*, and performed many other acts of devotion, according to the mode of those times; he made also some political regulations for the benefit of his subjects, and the security of his posterity; but while he was thus employed, he was seized with a fever, while hunting in the neighbourhood of *Compiègne*, which carried him to the grave in a few days^r. He is said to have cried out, when very near his end, how puissant is the King of heaven, who thus at his pleasure removes the greatest kings upon earth^s. He had enjoyed the regal dignity fifty-one years, and was without doubt one of the most fortunate monarchs that hitherto had occupied the throne of the *Franks*; in whom many great qualities were conspicuous, which might have rendered his name immortal, if they had not been obscured by many odious vices^t.

A. D. 560.

THE empire of the *Franks*, upon the demise of *Clotaire*, descended to his four sons, *Caribert*, *Gontran*, *Sigebert* and *Chilperic*. It does not appear, that any division was made by him; but very soon after his decease, *Chilperic*, the most restless and enterprising of his sons, went with a strong party of his friends to *Braime* in *Champagne*, a country palace of his father's, where he knew his treasures remained, and having seized upon these, and distributed a part to the nobility and people, in the dominions of his uncle *Childebert*, he was by them conducted in triumph to *Paris*, and there seated on the throne^u. This was in itself a bold measure, and conducted with spirit, but in the end it proved altogether vain. The other three princes, assisted by the prelates and nobility, quickly assembled such a force as compelled *Chilperic* and his faction to abandon their enterprize, and to put things in the same state in which they were at the king's death^v. After this, according to custom, which seems to be the sole law against the *Franks*, the distribution was made by lot; by which means *Caribert*, who was the eldest, had the kingdom of *Paris*, *Gontran*, the second, had *Orleans*, *Sigebert* had *Metz*, or the kingdom of *Austrasia*, and *Chilperic*, the younger, was forced to be content with *Soissons*^w. *Provence* and *Aquitaine* were not comprehended in this division, but seem to have been possessed by all of them in common, and, which must appear strange, the empire of the *Franks*, though thus divided, continued for some years in peace, that is within itself; for the news of *Clotaire*'s death, and the disturbance raised by *Chilperic*, no sooner reached the barbarous nations, on the frontiers of the *Germanic France*, than they began to form vast expectations of bettering their own condition, by taking advantage of this division and disorder^x.

562.

THE author of this invasion is commonly stiled the *Cagan*, or more properly, the *Khan* *Sigebert* de- of the *Abares*, a barbarous nation, said to be the remains of the *Huns*, who, having served with credit in the imperial armies, had lands assigned them, on the banks of the *Danube*, by the emperor *Justinian*^y. These people were not only remarkably brave, and hardy to the last degree, but, at the same time, so hideous in their persons, that their very appearance struck those who beheld them with terror: in stature they exceeded the common race of men, their limbs half-naked, and of an unusual size, their hair long and platted with cords, their faces squalid, their voice hoarse and disagreeable. They fell first into the country of *Thuringia*; the inhabitants of which being always averse to the yoke of the *Franks*, received them favourably, and very readily joined them^z. *Sigebert*, a gallant young prince, then

563.

ⁿ GREG. TURON. l. iv. c. 20. ^o VENANTII FORTUNATI Episcopi Pictaviensis Epist. l. vi. carm. i. ^p Gesta Regum Francorum. ^q FREDEG. Epit. Chron. ^r ADON. Breviar. Chron. ^s Gesta Rerum Francorum. ^t GREG. TURON. l. v. c. 21. ^u GREG. TURON. l. iv. c. 22. ^v Gesta Regum Francorum. c. xxix. ADONIS Archiep. Viennensis Breviarium Chronicorum ab origine Mundi ad sua usque Tempora. ^w GREG. TURON. l. iv. c. 22. ^x ADONIS Breviar. Chron. ^y GREG. TURON. l. iv. c. 23. ^z PRISCUS RHÆTOR. ^a VENANTII FORTUNATI Episcopi Pictaviensis Epistolæ, l. vi. c. 3.

about twenty-six years of age, knowing that his future peace must depend upon the conduct^a and success of this expedition, laboured all he could to raise a numerous army, and to lessen the apprehensions they were under from the reports spread of their terrible enemies. He succeeded in this; and, instead of waiting for these bold invaders, he marched to attack them in *Thuringia*, took his measures with the coolness and skill of a great captain, and exposed himself, at the beginning of the action, like a private man, that his example might encourage his troops, and prevent all danger of a panic^b. The *Huns* were beat by superiority of discipline, in spite of their ferocity and strength. *Sigebert* prosecuted his victory to the utmost, pursuing the *Huns* till he forced them to pass the *Elbe* with precipitation, yet accepted the first proposition made by their king for concluding a peace^c. He was induced to this by the news that his brother *Chilperic* had invaded his dominions, and taken *Rheims*, and some other^b places in the neighbourhood; and therefore, as soon as his treaty with the *Huns* was concluded, he repassed the *Rhine*, and with his victorious army invested *Soissons*, the capital of *Chilperic's* dominions, of which he became master, and of the person of his eldest son *Theodobert*; he defeated, likewise, *Chilperic* himself in battle, and not only recovered all the places he had taken, but despoiled him, likewise, of the best part of his dominions. The two eldest brothers interposed upon this; and *Sigebert*, under their mediation, not only concluded a peace, but abandoned his conquests, and set *Theodobert* at liberty, whom he loaded with presents, but exacted from him an oath, that he would never bear arms against him more^d; and thus the empire of the *Franks* was again restored to quiet.

He marries
Brunehaut,
daughter to
Athanagilde,
and succeeds
with his bre-
thren to Cari-
bert, king of
Paris.

THIS *Sigebert* was incontestably the most prudent as well as the bravest of the sons of *Clotaire*; and, therefore, perceiving how much all his brethren had sunk themselves in the^c opinion of their subjects, as well as with foreign nations, by their intemperance, and, more especially, by their mean and unequal marriages, he determined to avoid that blemish, and to give a good example to those from whom he should have received it. With this view, by the advice of his council, he sent *Gogon* mayor of the palace (*Maire du Palais*) which, at this time, implied prime minister, but came afterwards to signify both that and generalissimo, to procure for him *Brunichilde*, or more commonly *Brunehaut*, daughter to *Athanagilde*, king of the *Visigoths*. This princess was easily obtained; and *Gogon* brought her into *France* with a magnificent equipage and immense treasure^e. Her birth, her beauty, and her behaviour, which was perfectly affable and modest, and her speedy conversion from the *Arian* heresy to^d the Catholic faith, rendered her the delight of her subjects, and raised the character of *Sigebert* extremely. Soon after died *Caribert*, king of *Paris*^f (F). His dominions were divided amongst his brethren, but in so strange a manner, that we should run the hazard of deceiving ourselves and the reader if we should attempt to explain it; only this is certain, that they agreed that the city of *Paris* should be given to none of them, but be possessed in common, and they required three of the greatest prelates in their dominions to curse, in the most solemn manner,

^b GREG. TURON. l. iv. c. 23.

^c ADON. Breviar. Chron.

^d GREG. TURON. l. iv. c. 23. ADON.

Breviar. Chron.

^e VENANTII AVENTIC. Episcopi Pictaviensis Epist. l. vii. c. i. FREDEGARII Scholastici Epi-

tome & Chronicon, c. 58.

^f ADON. Breviar. Chron.

(F) *Charibert*, or *Caribert*, king of *Paris*, was the ablest monarch of his time, as appears by his preserving his authority, and reigning in peace, notwithstanding the dissolute life he led, which did not hinder his being highly complimented by some prelates (2), though, for the honour of religion, there were others who would not prostitute their consciences, but took an honest liberty of remonstrating, in the strongest terms, against his unchristian and unprincely vices (3). His first wife was *Ingoberge*, who survived him nineteen years, and by whom he had *Edilberge*, or *Berta*, by the *Saxons* stiled *Emma*, who espoused *Ethelbert*, king of *Kent*, and was very instrumental in converting him to christianity (4). Queen *Ingoberge* had two servants, the daughters of a wool-comber, with whom the king fell in love, and married first the younger of the two, whose name was *Mirefleur*; and though she was exquisitely handsome, this did not hinder his taking a third wife, *Theudechilde*, the daughter of a shepherd, who brought him a son, which, however, quickly died (5). *Germanus*, bishop of *Paris*, expostulated with him very sharply for these scandalous actions, and more especially for his repudiating his law-

ful queen. *Charibert*, however, so little regarded the good prelate's admonitions, that he took the wool-comber's elder daughter *Marcouese* out of a convent, and married her likewise. On which *Germanus* excommunicated him; but it does not appear the king was ever reclaimed (6). He was a very learned and polite prince, spoke *Latin* elegantly, kept his treaties punctually, caused justice to be strictly administered throughout his dominions, and was highly respected by his neighbours. Besides his four wives, he must have had concubines, for he left behind him two natural daughters, *Bertoflede* and *Crodielle*, who became nuns (7). His widow *Theudechilde*, who by his bounty had amassed immense treasures, wrote to his brother *Gontran*, that all she had was at his service, provided that with her wealth he took her person. *Gontran* encouraged her to come to him; but, instead of marrying her, seized a part of her riches, and put her into a convent; from which she endeavoured to make her escape, in order to fly into *Spain*; but was prevented by the vigilance of the abbess, and compelled to spend the remainder of her days in a cloister, much against her will (8).

(2) Fortunat. lib. vi. cap. 4.

(3) Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 26.

(4) Chronicon Saxonum, p. 25.

(5) Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chron.

(6) Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 26.

(7) Gesta Regum Fran-

corum. Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chron.

(8) Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 26.

a which ever of these kings should, at any time, presume to enter it without the consent of the other two^e.

CHILPERIC, king of *Soissons*, jealous of his brother in all respects, saw with regret the great reputation he had acquired, and therefore resolved to alter, at least in appearance, his own course of life, and to espouse the elder sister of *Brunebaut*, who was reputed little inferior to her in beauty, and, in all other respects, at least her equal. As soon as he had taken this resolution, he sent to demand that princess from her father, but the negotiation proved harder than he expected^b (G). It was however at length accomplished; and, before the arrival of the princess *Galswintha*, he dismissed from court his mistress *Fredegonde*, and took some other steps of the same nature, which were extremely acceptable to his subjects, to whom, in many respects, he was become highly obnoxious. The queen, who brought with her immense treasures from *Spain*, and who made it her whole study to please the king, made herself for a time entirely acceptable; but, by degrees, *Chilperic* suffered *Fredegonde* to appear at court, and was suspected to have renewed his intercourse with her, which gave the queen such distaste, that she intreated *Chilperic's* leave to return into her own country, offering to leave behind her all she had brought from thenceⁱ. The king rejected this proposal, because he thought it would render him odious: but, at the same time, he framed and executed a design, which covered him with indelible ignominy. He cajoled the poor queen in such a manner as to dissipate her suspicions, and when they seemed to live in the utmost harmony, she was found dead in her bed^k. He appeared inconsolable upon this, which he would have had taken for a sudden death; whereas it was known that the queen was strangled, and, upon his publicly espousing *Fredegonde* soon after, it was suspected he did the murder with his own hands. *Brunebaut* not only stirred up her husband *Sigebert* to A. D. 567. revenge the murder, but demanded justice also of *Gontran*, king of *Orleans*, or, as he was now stiled, king of *Burgundy*; and the confederate kings, in a very short space, conquered a great part of *Chilperic's* dominions, when, of a sudden, they made peace, *Chilperic* consenting that *Brunebaut* should enjoy the places which, upon the marriage, he had bestowed upon the

Chilperic espoused Galswintha, the eldest sister of Brunebaut, afterwards murders her.

^e GREG. Turon. l. iv. c. 40. Gesta Regum Franc. l. xxxi. Breviar. Chron.

^b GREG. Turon. lib. i. cap. 68.

ⁱ ADON.

^k Gesta Rerum Francorum, c. xxxi. ADON. Breviar. Chron.

(G) In this note we are to give the character of *Fredegonde*, which is extremely necessary to the right understanding of this part of the history, as she made a far greater figure in her time than any of the monarchs of the *Franks*. She was the daughter of a peasant, in that part of *France* now called *Picardy*, and, in all probability, her education corresponded with her descent; so that she must have stood equally indebted to nature for her capacity as well as beauty; and, which very rarely happens, they were illustrious in the same degree. *Chilperic* took her for his concubine when they were both very young; and though he was extremely enamoured of her, yet he married *Andovera*, who was likewise a finished beauty, but was far from having the parts of *Fredegonde*, who, in compliance with the king's will, and to serve her own purposes, made no scruple of waiting of her, or of taking all the methods possible to gain her favour and confidence, which that innocent and unsuspecting princess easily bestowed (g). *Fredegonde* believing she had obtained such an ascendancy over *Chilperic* as might induce him to make her the partner of his throne, as well as of his bed, if it was empty, contrived to put this in his power. In order to which, when one of the queen's daughters was to be baptized, she prevailed on a lady, who was to be the godmother, to make the ceremony wait, and then taking advantage of the queen's impatience, proposed, as there was nobody present worthy of the honour, that she should herself hold the child, as the king himself was sponsor, which she inadvertently did. *Fredegonde*, when she next saw *Chilperic*, told him, that he had now no queen, for, according to the discipline of that age, a kind of spiritual, or rather ecclesiastical kindred, was contracted between those who answered for a child at the font, which rendered a marriage between them unlawful. Upon this slight and silly pretence the queen was dismissed the

court, and sent to a convent (1), to the great satisfaction of *Chilperic* as well as *Fredegonde*; but they acted upon different motives: the king was struck with the marriage of his brother *Sigebert* to a princess of *Spain*, and resolved to follow his example. For the present, therefore, the politics of *Fredegonde* were not only unsuccessful, but produced an event directly opposite to her wishes; but she dissembled her chagrin, and began to weave her devices anew. She was a woman, who with infinite address and intrigue could appear the most simple and sincere in her behaviour: by an affected tenderness, and a constant complaisance, she retained the affections of *Chilperic*, who was the most mutable man in the world. At the same time she held him by her arts, she governed him by her capacity: his ambition inspired him with projects, which he wanted abilities to execute; *Fredegonde* pointed out the means, and taught him how to conduct them. She was his mistress, his confidant, and his minister; and she was content to be these, that she might be his queen (2). She had certainly great talents, as the bitterest of her enemies allow, but, in spite of all the apologies that have been made for her, she had certainly many of the blackest vices. She was covetous; cruel, envious, vindictive, and lewd, but she knew how to conceal all these detestable qualities under the veil of state policy, and even of religion. There was one vice she could not hide; and this taught the court and the world to pry into all the rest, and perhaps to publish more wicked things of her than were true. This predominant vice was pride, a thing inseparable from mean birth, when elevated not by merit, but by fortune. It may be corrected by good sense, it will be extinguished by religion; but where these are not united, it will sooner or later break out; and haughtiness in such persons is ever insupportable, as being without any foundation.

(g) *Fredегarii Scholastici Epitome & Chron. rum, cap. 31.*

(2) *Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 28.*

(1) *Aimoini Monachi incliti Canobii S. Germani de gestis Franco-*

deceased queen her sister; and these were *Bordeaux, Limoges, Cabors, Bigorre*, and the town ^a of *Bearn*, now called *Lescar*¹.

The Huns invade the dominions of the Franks on the one side, and the Lombards on the other.

THIS war was scarce finished before the *Huns* made a new irruption into the dominions of the king of *Austrasia*, who immediately marched with an army to oppose them; but he was not so successful as at the beginning of his reign. The ancient historians say, that by magical arts the *Franks* were so terrified, that they abandoned their monarch; but it will appear, in the sequel, that *Sigebert* ought rather to be esteemed a magician than they, who, seeing that his troops would not act, called to his assistance those engines of witchcraft that affect alike the barbarous and the polite; that is, he distributed presents so plentifully, and, in a conference he had with a king of the *Abares*, touched his humour so happily, and made him so thoroughly sensible of his liberality, that they swore a perpetual friendship^m. In their retreat, the *Huns* found themselves embarrassed in a woody country, without provisions, where they might have been easily and totally cut off. Thither *Sigebert* directed his march with vast herds of live cattle, and all kinds of necessaries; and took care that they should be plentifully supplied till they arrived in their own territories: an action, of which the *Huns* had so strong a sense, that they never disturbed his dominions afterⁿ. While he was thus employed, the *Lombards*, who had lately got possession of *Italy*, made an irruption into *Burgundy*, where they did a great deal of mischief, till they were defeated by *Mummol*, who commanded king *Gontran*'s forces. The *Lombards* had carried into *Italy* a body of twenty thousand *Saxons*, with their wives and children, who they promised should share their fortune; but, when this exceeded their own expectation, they became so enamoured of their new conquest as absolutely to refuse any settlement to the *Saxons*, who threw themselves into the country of *Burgundy*, where they were defeated by the same general with great loss^o. The next year, they entered the same country a little before harvest, and traversed it in as short a time as they were able, in hopes of gaining their own, and proceeding from thence into their old country, professing themselves subjects to the king of *Austrasia*; but this *Mummol* prevented, and obliged them to make satisfaction, in money and rich furniture, for the depredations they had committed. He then permitted them to return home, where they found the *Suevi* in possession, by whom they were in a great measure cut off and destroyed^p.

A. D. 569.

Gontran, Sigebert, and Chilperic, often break with, and as often make peace with each other. 570.

AFTER the return of *Sigebert* to *Metz*, having some pretensions on the city of *Arles*, he caused it to be taken, in some measure by surprize, from his brother *Gontran*, who quickly recovered it, and who soon after made a peace, and an alliance against his brother *Chilperic*, who, during this war, had made himself master of several places in *Sigebert*'s territories^q; for these he had paid very dear, if, about some quarrel as to ecclesiastical jurisdictions, *Gontran* had not broke again with *Sigebert*, whose forces being entirely defeated by *Clovis*, the youngest son of *Chilperic*, he found himself under a necessity of bringing a numerous army of his *German* subjects into the field, and, putting himself at their head, marched to repair this loss. *Gontran*, terrified at their appearance, joined his forces to those of *Chilperic*, in order to cover the *Seine*, which they did very effectually^r. *Sigebert* opened to himself a passage, by acquainting *Gontran*, that, if he persisted in this measure, he would make an irruption into *Burgundy*; upon which *Gontran* abandoning *Chilperic*, he was in a short time reduced so low, that he was obliged to send to his brother for peace; to which *Sigebert*, as he had formerly done, readily consented. But his army, who were for the most part *Pagans*, who had already acquired both booty and slaves, and who had promised themselves the plunder of the best part of *France*, mutinied as soon as they knew the peace was signed^s. *Sigebert*, who had a strong corps of *Franks*, put them immediately under arms, rode in person to the mutineers, seized some of the chiefs, and caused them to be stoned; on which the rest submitted; and, receiving good words and presents, returned again into their own country, to the great satisfaction of the *Franks*, who were subjects of the same prince^t.

577.

Sigebert is assassinated before Tournay, which changes the whole face of affairs.

THE peace had not subsisted a year, when *Chilperic*, burning with impatience to renew the war, procured an interview with his brother *Gontran*, in which he laboured to persuade him, that, as his own situation was extremely precarious, and depended rather on the moderation of *Sigebert* than any power he had to maintain himself; so the moment himself or his posterity should be subdued, the dominions of *Gontran* would be held by no better tenure. This alarmed him exceedingly, inasmuch that he promised *Chilperic* to support him with all his forces. The king of *Soissons*, on this promise, made an irruption into *Champagne*, and laid all the country waste with fire and sword; *Sigebert* was so much provoked at this, that he recalled the forces he had dismissed, and dispatched, at the same time, two of his generals,

575.

¹ GREG. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 28.

Breviar. Chron.

cap. 36.

² GREG. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 28.

³ ADON. Breviar. Chron.

⁴ GREG. Turon. lib. iv. c. 44. ADON. Breviar. Chron.

^m ADONIS Breviar. Chron.

GREG. Turon. lib. iv. c. 29.

ⁿ ADON.

^o GREG. Turon. lib. iv.

^p ADON. Breviar. Chron.

^q GREG. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 42.

- a with a body of his best troops, to meet prince *Theodobert*, son to *Chilperic*, who, with a numerous army, was marching into the neighbourhood of *Paris*^u. In the course of his march, however, the best part of his forces deserted him, and, in this distress, he was attacked by *Sigebert*'s generals, who cut him, and a few lords who remained firm to him, in pieces. This news threw *Chilperic* into great consternation, more especially when he saw his subjects took no share in his distress, but seemed rather pleased with what had happened, and no longer paid a ready obedience to his order. But what increased his perplexity, to a degree that was insupportable, was *Gontran*'s acting as he did before, and making, as soon as the ill news came, a separate peace^w. To prevent worse consequences, he retired with his forces to *Tournay*, and, having fortified the place in the best manner he was able, determined to make his
- b last efforts for its defence. *Sigebert*, with a potent and victorious army, entered *Paris* in triumph, and, after compelling the subjects of the kingdom of *Soissons* to swear allegiance to him, he continued his march to *Tournay*, which he invested, notwithstanding the warmest applications were made to him and *Brunebaut*, by prelates of the first rank, in order to pacify their resentments, and dispose them to offer *Chilperic* some terms of peace^x. In this state of things, *Fredegonde* prevailed on two desperate villains to undertake the murder of *Sigebert*, which they effected with great ease; for, going into his camp, and pretending that they had matters of great importance to communicate to him, the king gave them audience, and, while he listened to a feigned tale they told him, they buried both their daggers in his bowels^y. Two lords, who were at some distance, advancing to seize the assassins, one was
- c killed, and the other grievously wounded; but the guards, taking the alarm, came to their relief, and, seeing what had happened, cut those execrable wretches to pieces on the spot^z. Thus fell the most accomplished prince of the *Franks*, about the fortieth year of his age, and in the fourteenth of his reign^a. His army, thereupon, immediately raised the siege, and retired, as fast as possible, into *Austrasia*.

- CHILPERIC, or rather *Fredegonde*, as soon as this dreadful blow was struck, sent to *Paris*, *Meroveus* the eldest son of *Chilperic*, in order to seize the widow, the children, and the treasures of *Sigebert*. *Gondebaude*, one of the ablest generals of the deceased king, made his escape out of that city, and carried with him privately *Childebert*, the only son of his master, then about five years of age, whom he conveyed safely to *Metz*, where the nobility proclaimed him king of *Austrasia*. *Brunebaut*, which occasions great confusion. A.D. 576.
- d with her two daughters *Ingurda* and *Clodowinda*, were confined, and an immense mass of treasure seized^b. On the arrival of *Chilperic* at *Paris*, he ordered *Brunebaut* to remove to *Rouen*, where she had the city for her prison, but he took from her both her daughters. Some time after, he sent his son prince *Meroveus*, with a considerable body of forces, to *Tours*. His conduct was such as surprized the *Franks*, and alarmed his father; for, instead of executing his orders, he went to *Rouen*; and the bishop of that city, whose name was *Pretextatus*, was prevailed upon to solemnize a marriage between him and *Brunebaut*, who was still a young woman, and most amazingly handsome^c. *Chilperic*, upon receiving this news, by the advice of his queen, marched thither immediately, and the prince and his consort, not being able to assemble any force to oppose him, took sanctuary; but, upon a solemn promise of
- e safety, they quitted it, to throw themselves at the king's feet. *Chilperic* entertained them kindly, caused them, for several days, to eat with him at his own table, then carried his son with him to *Soissons*, and sent *Brunebaut* and her two daughters back to *Metz*, under pretence of complying with the demand which *Childebert*, by the advice of his council, had made, that his mothers and sisters should be set at liberty, though in truth he was afraid to suffer her to remain in his dominions^d.

- BRUNEHAUT was no sooner returned into the kingdom of *Austrasia*, than she began to meditate revenge against *Chilperic*, in appearance, whom she stiled, murderer of his brother, and her husband; but, in reality, against *Fredegonde*; for these two ambitious princesses were irreconcilable enemies to each other, and the whole nation of the *Franks* were, for many
- f years, the victims of their passions. It is not easy to conceive how the lords of *Austrasia*, who were extremely jealous of *Brunebaut*, came to adopt this measure; but it is certain they did; and that *Godin*, one of their generals, at the head of a considerable army, marched directly to *Soissons*, in hopes of surprizing *Fredegonde*; but she having timely notice, made her escape. *Godin*, however, caused the city to be invested, knowing that prince *Meroveus* was still there, and would not be displeased if it fell into his hands^e. *Chilperic* marched with what troops he could assemble to save his capital, and, after engaging and beating the troops of *Austrasia*, compelled them to raise the siege. In order to prosecute this victory, he sent

The unfortunate prince *Meroveus* betrayed, taken, and murdered. 577.

^u GREG. TURON. lib. iv. cap. 51.^w SIRMOND. Concil. Gal. tom. i.^x GREG. TUR. l. iv. c. 52.^y Gesta Reg. Franc. c. xxxi.^z GREG. TUR. l. iv. c. 51.^a VENANTII FORTUNATI Ep. Pictaviensis

Epist. l. vii.

^b FREDEGARII Scholast. Epitome & Chronicon, c. 57.^c VENANTII FORTUNATI Epist.

copi Pictaviensis Epist. lib. vi. capm. 6.

^d GREG. TUR. l. v. c. 3.^e ADON. Breviar. Chron.

Didier, one of his generals, with a great army, to invade the enemy's country: upon which, *a*
Gontran, taking his nephew under his protection, sent his general *Mummol* to oppose *Didier*,
 whom he routed, and killed him twenty-five thousand men^f. *Chilperic*, who attributed all
 his misfortunes to *Meroveus*, caused that unhappy prince to be seized, and shaved, who, not-
 withstanding, made his escape, and took shelter in the church of *St. Martin* at *Tours*; from
 whence, with infinite difficulty, he found means to withdraw into the kingdom of *Austrasia*,
 where *Brunebaut* would have protected him, if it had been in her power; but the jealousy of
 the nobles was so strong, that he was obliged to withdraw, and to hide himself where he
 could^e. *Chilperic* then turned his vengeance against *Pretextatus*, bishop of *Rouen*, whom he
 accused, in person, before an assembly of bishops, of treason, and other enormous crimes;
 but the prelate defended himself so well, that his brethren could not be prevailed upon, by *b*
 intreaties, promises, or threatenings, to condemn him; notwithstanding which, *Chilperic* sent
 him into banishment^h. *Meroveus* was not long after betrayed, and made prisoner; but, as
 they were conveying him to a fortress, where he was to remain in confinement, a person,
 who was near him, ran him through the body; of which he died upon the spot. It was
 given out, that he was slain by a servant of his at his own earnest request; but this was
 generally looked upon as an artifice to cover *Fredegonde* from the reproach of having caused
 her son-in-law to be assassinated.

The famous St.
 Gregory,
 bishop of
 Tours, falsely
 accused, in
 order to bring
 about a con-
 spiracy.
 A. D. 579.

As two of the sons of queen *Andovera* were now removed out of her way, *Fredegonde*
 looked upon the destruction of *Clovis* as the single step wanting to transfer the succession to
 her own sons; of whom she had three^k. But while she meditated the means of effecting *c*
 this, a very strange event happened, which had almost brought about her own. One *Leu-*
daste, who had been removed from the government of *Tours* for oppression, framed, in con-
 junction with *Riculphe*, an ecclesiastic of that diocese, an accusation against *St. Gregory*, then
 bishop, and the great historian of this period, as if he should have thrown out a charge against
 the queen of committing adultery with the bishop of *Bordeaux*: they likewise added, that he
 had entered into intrigues for betraying the city to the king of *Austrasia*. The king suspected
 the first part of this information, and paid no credit to the latter^l. He left it, notwithstand-
 ing, to be examined by an assembly of bishops, who, upon *Gregory's* swearing, in the most
 solemn manner, that he never said any such thing, declared him innocent. *Leudaste* made
 his escape in time; but *Riculphe*, being in prison, was put to the torture, who confessed, that *d*
 the true design was not against the bishop, but against the queen; on a supposition that *Chil-*
peric would have believed the charge, and have either put her to death, or banished her; and,
 in that case, *Leudaste* intended to have assassinated him, with the three young princes, and to
 have set *Clovis* upon the throne; but it was not so much as pretended, that he was at all privy
 to this conspiracy^m. *Chilperic* had, about this time, a dispute with *Varoc*, count of *Bre-*
tagne, who refused to do him homage: he sent a body of troops against him, which were
 defeated, and consented afterwards to a treaty, which did him no great honour. This want
 of spirit, which was not very consistent with his character, might, very probably, be owing
 to the untoward situation of his affairs, which was such as might have perplexed a wiser
 prince. His brother and his nephew lived in strict union, and both had no great reason to be *e*
 well pleased with him; his subjects had been so harrassed with taxes, through his own avarice,
 and that of *Fredegonde*, that they were miserably poor, and universally discontented. His son
Clovis abhorred *Fredegonde*, and made no secret of his aversion. To increase his embarrass-
 ments, the seasons were, for a long time, so unfavourable, that famine and pestilence threat-
 ened at the same timeⁿ. The king and queen were both attacked with the epidemic disease
 that then raged, and both escaped; but their three sons *Clodobert*, *Samson*, and *Dagobert*,
 were attacked by this dangerous disease, which staggered even the fortitude of *Fredegonde*,
 whom all historians allow to have been, in her temper, one of the firmest women that ever
 lived. She had not only recourse to processions, public prayers, and all the exterior modes
 of religion then in fashion, but also prevailed upon the king to remit various taxes, and to *f*
 throw the rolls of some heavy impositions into the fire: notwithstanding all which, these
 children died, upon which the queen resumed her former fortitude^o.

Clovis the last
of Chilperic's
sons by queen
Andovera is
murdered, and
afterwards
his mother.
 A. D. 511.

THE sight of *Clovis*, who was now become his father's sole heir, was more uneasy to her
 than ever: the great court paid him by persons of all ranks excited her envy; and the threats,
 which, like a young man, he sometimes threw out, alarmed her so much, that she practised
 various methods to remove him, and even went so far as to send him into the most infected
 provinces, in hopes the prevailing malady might dispatch him. At length, her design became
 so apparent, that some of those obsequious wretches, who are the disgrace of courts, to make

^f GREG. TUR. I. v. c. 14.
 Breviar. Chron.
 Epitome & Chronicon.
 Tur. I. v. c. 35.

^g ADON. Breviar. Chron.

^k Gesta Regum Francorum.

^m GREG. TUR. I. v. c. 50.

ⁿ GREG. TUR. I. v. c. 19.

^l GREG. TUR. I. v. c. 49.

^o FREDEGARIJ Chronicon.

¹ ADON.

FREDEGARIJ Scholastici

² GREG.

- a. themselves agreeable to her who ruled all things, charged the prince with procuring the destruction of her children. To give some colour to this strange tale, they affirmed, that he was in love with a young person, whose mother was a witch, and that the three young princes were destroyed by her incantations : upon which incredible, as well as improbable story, the prince was confined, the young woman treated in the most shameful manner, and the old one, after being racked into a confession, condemned^p. Prince *Clovis*, being entirely delivered up to her resentment, she sent him to the castle of *Noisy*, on the other side the *Marne*, where he was found, a few days after, extended in his apartment, with a wound in his breast, and a bloody dagger lying by him, to countenance a report, which was spread, as if he had fallen by his own hand. But reflecting afterwards, that *Chilperic* might possibly learn the truth, and, suspecting his own safety, recall his queen *Andovera*, who, though banished his court, was not entirely banished his heart, she, to complete her design, and to fix that absolute dominion she so long enjoyed, caused her likewise to be removed out of the world^q. Thus *Chilperic* was left alone, in the hands of an ambitious and cruel woman, who, by degrees, had dispatched his whole family.

- THE young king of *Austrasia* seemed to be born to unusual good fortune ; though raised to the throne while a child, though his mother was excluded from the government, and though, from the disputes incident to minority, his councils were in a great measure distracted ; yet, instead of being in any distress or danger, he lived in splendor and security^r. His uncle *Gontran*, king of *Burgundy*, being without children, considered him as his heir, sent for him to his court, shewed him as his successor to his people, and caressed him in such a manner, that *Chilperic*, and even *Fredegonde*, were afraid to give him any disturbance, knowing that the *Austrasians* and *Burgundians* united would be an over-match for all the forces they could raise ; besides, *Chilperic* was again embarrassed with the count of *Bretagne*^s. By degrees the scene changed ; the bishop of *Rheims* gained the ascendancy in the council at *Metz*, and he had such a spleen at *Lupus*, duke of *Champagne*, as divided the whole kingdom into two factions, queen *Brunebaut* siding with the duke, who likewise stood well with the king of *Burgundy*. This led the bishop of *Rheims* to suggest to the regency of *Austrasia*, that *Chilperic* was the king's uncle as well as *Gontran* ; that he had likewise no children ; and that, notwithstanding the professions of the former, he still kept the moiety of *Marseilles*, which he had seized upon the death of *Sigebert*. He advised, therefore, that *Childebert* should make a league with his uncle *Chilperic*, for the recovery of *Marseilles* ; and, at the same time, recover *Poitiers*, which that monarch had seized, because it was convenient to him. *Chilperic* entered readily into the league, but avoided the restitution, by saying, that *Childebert* would quickly inherit that and the rest of his dominions^t. This war might have been fatal to *Gontran*, if *Childebert* could have acted with the same vigour as his uncle *Chilperic* did ; but this the factions in his dominions prevented. However, *Chilperic* prosecuted the war with such spirit and success, that *Gontran* was glad to make peace upon hard terms ; and the king of *Soissons* took care that one article of the peace should be the restitution of the moiety of *Marseilles* to his nephew^u. This policy gained him a great interest amongst the *Austrasians*, with whom he held a constant correspondence.

- CHILPERIC, of all the kings of the *Franks*, was the most considered in foreign nations, and had the greatest respect paid him ; which induced him to pique himself upon his magnificence, and in which, it is also probable, he gratified *Fredegonde*, whose address was so great, that she kept a fair correspondence with *Childebert*, or at least with those who had the direction of his affairs ; insomuch that he negotiated a new league with *Chilperic* against *Gontran*, who had seized again the moiety of *Marseilles*, which he had so lately restored. But this war was not over fortunate. *Childebert* did not perform what might be expected from a good ally. *Gontran* gained some advantage over the troops of the king of *Soissons*, in the battle of *Melun* ; upon which a peace was concluded, and *Childebert* was again put into possession of his share of *Marseilles*^v. By this time the queen dowager *Brunebaut* had regained the ascendancy in *Childebert*'s cabinet, whom she engaged in a close alliance with his uncle, the king of *Burgundy*, with an intent to despoil *Chilperic* of the best part of his dominions. The king of *Soissons* judged it best to act upon the defensive ; and therefore he retired to *Cambray* with his treasures, and ordered all his generals to put their forces into the most defensible places, upon a supposition that this formidable alliance would not subsist long^w. In this turn of his affairs, he had the consolation of seeing a son born, and of marrying his daughter, the princess *Rigunthe*, to *Recared*, son to the king of the *Visigoths*^x. But while he was occupied with these and other cares, a sudden and sad end was put to his days, at a juncture when his

^p *Gesta Regum Francorum.*^q *GREG. TUR. l. v. c. 40.*^r *MARIUS in Chron. GREG. TUR. l. v.*^s *ADONIS Chronicon.*^t *VENANTII FORTUNATI Episc. Pictaviensis Epist. l. vii. c. 7, 8, 9. GREG. TUR.**l. vi. c. 14.*^u *FREDEGARII Schol. Epitome & Chron.*^v *GREG. TUR. l. vi. c. 31.*^w *FRE-**DEGARII Schol. Epitome & Chron. AIMON.*^x *ADONIS Chron.*

affairs were in the most critical situation. For, being at the castle of *Chelbes*, a country-house about four leagues from *Paris*, and taking there the diversion of hunting, he returned one evening, somewhat late, and as he was dismounting from his horse, and leaning his hand upon the shoulder of one of his domestics, he received two stabs with a long knife, one under the arm-pit, and the other in the belly; of which wounds he died upon the spot, and the assassins made their escape; neither is it clear by what intrigues he was brought to this strange end² (H).

Gontran king of Burgundy takes Fredegonde and her son under his protection.

FREDEGONDE found herself in a most distressed condition, deserted by most of those she had raised, and insulted by those she had formerly treated ill; her son, who was then no more than four months old, was then at *Tournay*, by *Chilperic's* appointment: those who were entrusted with his treasures carried them to *Childebert* at *Metz*; the better part of her own she had bestowed upon her daughter, and these were seized by *Didier*, who commanded the escorte that was to attend her into *Spain*; and her daughter, after some confinement at *Toulouse*, was brought back in a contemptuous manner to *Paris*; to which city she herself repaired, with the few persons of distinction who still followed her fortune³. The character of this princess was unshaken fortitude; and she displayed it, in the highest degree, upon this occasion. She addressed herself to *Gontran*, king of *Burgundy*, and, in the most humble manner, intreated him to become the protector of an unhappy widow, and of an orphan king, who was also his nephew. *Gontran* gave her good words, and marched directly to *Paris* with his army, and, upon mature deliberation, consented to what she desired; whether on the motive of duty, compassion, or policy, is very uncertain. On the other hand, *Childebert*, king of *Austrasia*, either from his own disposition, or through the persuasion of his mother *Brunebaut*, marched also to *Paris*; but *Gontran* caused the gates to be shut against him, and treated very cavalierly the ambassadors sent him by that prince⁴. They demanded, in their master's name, a share in the dominions of *Chilperic*, and that *Fredegonde* should be delivered up to be punished, for a multitude of crimes, which they laid to her charge. *Gontran* told them, that the dominions of *Chilperic* were to be inherited by his son, and that he yielded no credit to the stories they told him of his widow. He added, that, immediately on his bro-

² GREG. TUR. l. vi. c. 46. ADONIS Chron. Gesta Regum Francorum, c. xxxv. c. 4, 5. Gesta Regum Francorum, ubi supra.

⁴ AIMON. ADONIS Chron.

³ GREG. TUR. l. vii.

(H) In respect of the death of *Chilperic*, the fault of modern historians is to speak of the author of it with any kind of certainty, since it is out of all doubt, that, at the time it happened, either it was not known, or those who knew it durst not publish it. The prelate of *Tours* gives us not the least hint of his own opinion (3). The author, nearest in point of time to him, is very explicit; he says, that he was assassinated by the commanded of *Brunebaut*, and affirms, that the name of him who did it was *Faucon* (4). Yet this is not likely to be true, since, if it had been so, *Fredegonde* must have known it, and, as the reader will see in the history, she charged another person with it, which cost him his life. The truth is, this happened before *Brunebaut* began to practise those wicked actions, with which most historians charge her. Another historian is as confident, that *Fredegonde* herself was the author of her husband's death (5). This must appear very improbable from the circumstances in which she was left; but this improbability is taken away by the story he tells, provided that story be not thought a greater improbability. It amounts to this: the king, before he went to the chase, came accidentally into the queen's apartment, and found her washing her face; upon which he touched her neck with a switch he had in his hand. The queen, without turning her head, cried, Ah, *Landry*, is it you! is the king gone? The tone, in which this was spoken, affected *Chilperic* so much, that, in turning out of the room, he muttered somewhat, which alarmed the queen to such a degree, that she sent immediately for her gallant, and represented their common danger in so strong a light, as produced the stabbing the king when he returned in the evening from hunting. The silence of *Gregory of Tours*, who was no friend to *Fredegonde*, is a great argument that nothing of this sort was reported at that time; and he is so absolutely silent, that the very

name of *Landry* does not occur in his history. He deals, however, very roundly with the character of *Chilperic*, whom he stiles the *Nero* and the *Herod* of his time, alluding to his tyranny in point of government, and the cruelties he exercised upon his own children (6). He resembled that prince in other respects, since he was setting himself up for a legislator in spiritual as well as civil affairs. He conceived of himself so highly, that he thought of putting an end, by an edict of his own penning, to the disputes between the Orthodox and the *Arians*; from which scheme he was with difficulty dissuaded (7). He invented four letters, which he directed should be added to the alphabet, and ordered, that where they would have occurred, in ancient books, the letters originally used should be neatly erased, and these of his invention substituted; but these letters of his were so little relished, that, except what *Gregory of Tours* suggests, it is not at this day very well known what they were (8). He composed, likewise, two or three volumes upon different subjects; and, amongst these royal labours, there were a great many poems, which, we are assured, were very bad; and, in all probability, they must have been so, since they had the misfortune to be considered in that light, in an age when very bad performances were esteemed excellent (9). The bishop of *Poitiers*, indeed, has a better opinion of them, and has bestowed some commendations upon this prince, which, perhaps, would have had a better effect, if he had not been inclined to commend all princes (10). As to *Chilperic's* first queen, and his issue by her, all that we need to say of them has been interwoven in the history. With respect to the second, *Galswintha*, we may say the same thing, and as to the history of *Fredegonde*, besides what has been already mentioned, we shall be obliged to treat of her and her issue in another place (11).

(3) GREG. TUR. lib. vi. cap. 46.

(4) FREDEG. Chron. cap. 39.

(5) Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. 35.

(6) GREG. TUR. lib. vi. c. 46. Gesta Regum Francorum.

(7) GREG. TUR. lib. v. c. 44.

(8) Venantii Fortunati, lib. ix.

Fredeg. Chron. tom. i. p. 275.

(9) GREG. TUR. lib. v. c. 44. lib. vi. c. 46.

(10.) Venant.

lib. ix. c. 1, 2, 3.

(11) See Note (I).

a ther's death, he had promised to defend them, and that he meant to keep his word. The ambassadors replied, that they were glad to find him a prince of such punctuality : and therefore hoped he would keep his treaties as well as his word. *Gontran*, exceedingly provoked at this behaviour, produced a treaty that *Childebert* had made with *Chilperic* to deprive him of his dominions, which had been put into his hands by *Fredegonde* ; upbraiding them with their corruption and oppressions, charging them with betraying their master, and telling them, that whatever he had he would keep, even if it did of right belong to his nephew, as believing it to be safer in his hands than theirs. All things seemed now tending towards a rupture ; but the heats on both sides were quickly qualified, by the breaking out of a scheme which had been long in agitation, and which tended to no less than setting up a new king ^c.

b THIS is one of the darkest transactions that falls within the compass of this period, and the most difficult to explain ; but, at the same time, it is one of the most curious and instructive. The ministers, in the several courts of the kings of the *Franks*, found themselves less powerful, and less at their ease, than they could wish, and this chiefly through that balance, which either the piety or the policy of *Gontran* had established, and which *Chilperic*, before his death, began to comprehend and admire. The confederates, therefore, resolved to confer the title of king upon *Gondebaut*, who was generally esteemed to be the son of *Clotaire* ; and they took their measures with more prudence, and with a greater degree of foresight, than has been common in such intrigues. These conspirators were duke *Didier* and duke *Mummol*, with duke *Boson*, who had been raised by the favour of king *Childebert*, and, in his turn, had been trusted by and betrayed every one of the monarchs who then reigned over the *Franks*. This man had been sent by the rest to *Constantinople*, to bring over this son of *Clotaire*, whom he cheated with the promise of a crown ; and to whom, either out of friendship, or to embroil the affairs of the *Franks*, the Greek emperor *Tiberius* freely gave an immense treasure ^d. Soon after the return of *Boson*, *Gondebaut* followed him, as he had promised, and landed at *Mar-seilles* ; the bishop of which city, whose name was *Theodorus*, received him very respectfully, and furnished him with the carriages requisite for him and his train to proceed to *Avignon*, of which *Mummol* was governor. He was no sooner gone, than *Boson* caused the bishop to be arrested, and charged him with treason, that he might seize the treasures of *Gondebaut*, which he divided with the governor of *Mar-seilles* ; but, at the same time, hinted to the conspirators, under-hand, that he did this only to save appearances ^e. While he was intriguing with all the courts, without the least intention of being true to any, he was, with all his family, seized by the order of king *Gontran*, and conducted prisoner to *Paris*. There he accused *Mummol* of being the author of the whole contrivance, and offered to betray him into the king's hands, leaving his son an hostage for the execution of his promise, which, though he endeavoured with great address, yet he was not able to perform. In the mean time *Childebert*, by the advice of queen *Brunebaut*, and some of his council, in order to mortify the king of *Burgundy*, drew *Gondebaut* out of the retreat which he had chosen, upon the loss of his treasures, and put him at the head of a numerous army, commanded under him by duke *Mummol*, who, at *Brive-la-Gaillarde*, in the *Limousins*, proclaimed him king, and, in quality of his brother, the true heir of *Chilperic*, in the realm of *Soissons* ; and, by the assistance of *Didier*, put him in the possession of a great part of the kingdom ; by which his credit and his spirits were so raised, that he sent ambassadors to *Gontran*, to demand restitution of all the rest. These the king of *Burgundy*, without ceremony, seized as rebels, put them to the torture, and drew from them an entire discovery of the whole intrigue ; a step bold and well timed, by which his dignity was secured ^f.

UPON these discoveries, *Gontran* invited his nephew *Childebert* to come and make him a visit, assuring him, that he would find in him, not only the affection of an uncle, but the tenderness of a father, and the candour of a friend. Many of the great lords of *Austrasia* opposed this journey with great warmth, alleging, that the king ought not to hazard himself, in the power of a monarch, with whom he stood already upon ill terms ; but *Childebert*, now in his fifteenth year, decided for himself, and went, with a small retinue, to the court of his uncle. *Gontran* began, very roundly, with the performance of his promise ; shewed him publicly to the people as his heir ; carried him to the review of his army ; put the javelin, that was in his own hand, into his ; desired them to consider *Childebert*, for the future, not as his nephew, but as his son ; and restored to him freely all the places to which he had any claim ^g. He next acquainted him, that he was surrounded by traitors ; that some of the principal persons in his cabinet were in the interests of *Gondebaut* ; and, particularly, advised him to beware of the queen-dowager *Brunebaut*, and the bishop of *Rheims*. The two kings were speedily and sincerely reconciled ; and this was no sooner known than *Didier* abandoned the party of *Gonde-*

Gondebaut, as son to Clotaire, comes into France, and is proclaimed king by a faction.

Gontran dis- abases Childebert, and engages him to assist in suppressing Gondebaut.

A. D. 585.

* FREDEGARI Schol. Epitome & Chron. AIMON. Schol. Epitome & Chron. ADON. Chron. Epitome & Chron. ADONIS Chron.

^d GREG. Tur. l. vii. c. 10.

^e GREG. Tur. lib. vii. cap. 14.

^f FREDEGAR I

^g FREDEGARI Schol.

baut, and made his peace with the king of *Burgundy*; the captains, and most of the troops, ^a that were subjects to the king of *Austrasia*, took the same method. So that *Gondebaut*, with *Mummol*, and those who still remained firm, made choice of the fortrefs of *Comminge*, very strong by situation, and well fortified for those times, in which they determined to stand a siege ^b. It was not long before *Leudegisile*, who commanded the forces of *Gontran*, arrived before the place, invested it, and carried on the siege with all the activity and vigour that the art of war, as it then stood, would allow; but, however, with no great success; for the besieged, being well supplied with all things, and the soldiers looking upon their case to be desperate, neglected nothing that might contribute to a good defence, and shewed so much skill and resolution, that *Leudegisile* began to doubt of the success of his undertaking. There were, however, those about him, who suggested, that other methods might be found, more ^c sure and more speedy than those he had hitherto practised. Having once taken the resolution of following their advice, he left the management of these schemes entirely to those who contrived them ^d, and who were grown expert in the management of such intricate contrivances, by an almost perpetual practice of such intrigues, without any restraint from principle or conscience.

Gondebaut is betrayed by Mummol, who is afterwards put to death, by the orders of Gontran.

Boson was the principal author of these new measures, which consisted in negotiating with *Mummol*, to seize the unfortunate *Gondebaut*, and to deliver him up. *Mummol* knew how obnoxious he was to his old master *Gontran*, and would not, therefore, listen to any thing, till *Leudegisile* swore, in the most solemn manner, that he would employ his most zealous ^e endeavours to procure an indemnity for this lord. When he was once brought over, he quickly seduced the other chiefs, men of abandoned characters, who had embarked in this business solely with a view to profit, and who were, therefore, ready to abandon it, when they perceived this was to be found on the other side. As soon as they had made their own terms, they cut the matter very short with their master; they told him, that it was in vain to stay, till the garrison should be reduced to extremity; that, therefore, it would be best to surrender in time; and that *Gontran* would not probably imbrue his hands in the blood of his brother. Though much surprized at this address, *Gondebaut* endeavoured to make them sensible of the weakness of this expedient; to which they replied, that arguments came too late, and that their measures were taken. They used him very rudely, hurried him to the gates, and there delivered him to *Ollon*, count of *Berry*, and duke *Boson* ^f. As they rode with him to the camp, the count, in crossing a hollow way, jostled him from his horse. As soon as he recovered his feet, he endeavoured to make his escape back to the city; but *Boson* threw a great stone at his head, which beat him to the earth, and broke his skull. *Mummol* and his confederates, having first secured the treasures of this unfortunate phantom of royalty, next betrayed their army, by letting in the troops of *Leudegisile* in the night, who slaughtered the best part of them, and plundered the place ^g. For these glorious exploits, *Mummol* and his associates were exceedingly carested, and splendidly feasted; but, in the mean time, *Leudegisile* had sent to *Gontran* for instructions, and no sooner received his answer, "That with men who kept no faith, no faith was to be kept," than he took the shortest method of rewarding them according to their deserts. A mutiny was excited amongst *Mummol's* own ^h guards, who killed him after a desperate resistance; almost all the rest of these traitors were dispatched by the general's command: and thus an end was put to a revolt, that might have been attended with great danger, since both *Brunebaut* and *Fredegonde* had their eyes upon *Gondebaut*; the former for herself, and the latter for her daughter *Rigunthe*; so that if *Mummol* had listened to his remonstrances, it is not impossible his affairs might have changed their aspect once again ⁱ.

Gontran restrains Fredegonde, and inquires into the murder of Chilperic, and after the body of Clovis.

GONTRAN, who now began to consider himself as the monarch of the *Franks*, and believed himself secure on the side of his nephew *Childebert*, resolved to put the affairs of the kingdom of *Soissons* into some order; and, with this view, appointed a council of regency to assist *Fredegonde* in the administration of affairs; a circumstance of attention which she would willingly ^j have spared him. He took another step, which it is likely was as unwelcome. He desired to know, if she could give him no light as to the death of her husband, which he was inclined to punish, as the most effectual means of securing herself. The queen, not in the least disconcerted, said, that, at the time of his death, she had some suspicions of his chamberlain *Berulfe*; and that she apprehended they were but too just, as he had withdrawn himself since, and secreted her husband's treasures. This man had been formerly a favourite of the queen's; but, upon the death of her husband, believing that she was absolutely undone, had abandoned her party, which she took this method of revenging. *Berulfe* immediately took shelter at the

^b *Gesta Regum Francorum.*

^c *S. GERMANI de gestis Francorum.*

^d *FREDEGARI Schol. Epitome & Chron.*

^e *FREDEGARI Schol. Epitome & Chron.*

^f *GREG. Tur. lib. vii. c. 38.*

^g *GREG. Tur. lib. vii. c. 39.*

^h *AIMOINI Monachi inclyti Cæ-*

ⁱ *Gesta Regum Francorum.*

^j *Gesta Regum Francorum.*

- a tomb of St. *Martin* of *Tours*; and, in process of time, being persuaded to leave that sanctuary, was murdered, and all his estate confiscated; but those who tell us this do not inform us, that the world was at all better satisfied as to the manner of his master's death °. *Fredegonde*, growing doubtful of her own and her son's situation, devised what she thought an effectual method of embarrassing *Gontran* with his nephew *Childebert*, and his mother *Brunebaut*, whom she suspected of having advised those troublesome enquiries, which had been lately made. With this view, she intreated the king of *Burgundy* would become godfather to his nephew, which was, in those days, regarded as a closer tie than that of blood; to which *Gontran* yielded, and came, for that purpose, to *Paris*. *Fredegonde*, however, having carried her point, with respect to the court of *Metz*, put off the ceremony, being afraid to trust her son in the power of his uncle, for fear he should be taken from her p. At this *Gontran* was so much provoked, that he declared publicly he would give himself no farther trouble about a child, which he had good reason to doubt was none of his brother's, but the bastard of some of his courtiers. By this declaration *Fredegonde* was so much alarmed, that she publicly made oath of the legitimacy of her son, and brought three bishops, and three hundred of the nobility, who swore to the belief of what she had sworn q. This did not wholly deliver the queen from her inquietudes, because *Gontran* shewed a great desire to pay the last funeral honours to his nephews *Meroveus* and *Clovis*, who were considered as the victims of her ambition, and the body of the latter not to be found; at length, a poor fisherman, upon the promise of the king's protection, acquainted him, that the body of the prince *Clovis*, having been interred in the chapel of a certain convent, was taken up again, by *Fredegonde's* orders, and thrown into the river *Marne*, where being intangled in his nets, and known by his long hair, he buried it in a private place known only to himself. The king, under pretence of hunting, went to the very spot; and, being convinced that the body was that of his nephew, caused it to be transported to *Paris*, and, with that of his brother *Meroveus*, to be interred with great solemnity r.

- A WAR broke out, about this time, with the *Visigoths*, which continued, with great obstinacy, for several years; the true cause of which seems to be very obscure. The ancient historians, both of *France* and *Spain*, ascribe it to the ill usage of the princess *Ingonde*, the daughter of *Brunebaut* and the sister of *Childebert*; and there is no doubt that this was the pretence; but it is very extraordinary, that *Gontran* should pursue this war with such inflexible obstinacy, in spite of repeated defeats, in spite of the repeated assurances that king *Reccared* gave of his having no concern in the ill treatment of that princess, and in spite of the danger to which he thought his own life exposed, by the practices of *Fredegonde*, who immediately entered into a secret correspondence with the *Visigoths*, and was suspected of undertaking various black designs in their favour; the proofs of which, however, are not very clear s. It is most likely, that *Gontran* was desirous of expelling the *Visigoths* out of *France* entirely; and possibly might think it his interest to keep up a war, on that side, to find employment for *Didier*, *Boson*, and some other malignant spirits, who might have cut out new troubles for him in time of peace. Whatever the cause was, he remained inflexible in maintaining this war, even after his nephew *Childebert*, who, strictly speaking, was the principal in it, had, by the advice of his mother, who was always a *Spaniard* in her heart, concluded a separate peace t.

- THE great object of the king of *Burgundy's* politics was to keep the balance even, and to retain both *Brunebaut* and *Fredegonde* in a strict state of dependence; and this he found it impossible to do, without seeming to incline sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other. *Brunebaut* was once so much in his favour, that he negotiated with her personally, and concluded a long treaty, which is still extant, and bears the name of the treaty of *Andlaw*; by which he regulated many points of importance, in regard to the intricate claims that arose as to the succession of his brothers u. At this time he was jealous, or at least appeared to be very jealous, of *Fredegonde*, and of her practices against his life; but that artful princess soon turned the tables, and found means to give him as strong or stronger suspicions of *Brunebaut*, insinuating, that she had not only contracted her daughter to the king of *Spain*, but was likewise negotiating a match for herself at *Constantinople* with the eldest son of *Gondebaut*, whose pretensions she meant to revive; but when this came to be known to the court of *Metz*, the queen, who was now in full possession of the regency, and governed her son as if he had been still in his infancy, purged herself in such a manner as gave full satisfaction to the king of *Burgundy* v. We should account these but light and trivial matters, unworthy of being preserved in history, if we did not reflect, that *Sigebert* and *Chilperic* had been actually dispatched by assassins; so that *Gontran* was not alarmed without cause, and such was the misery and malignity of these times, that when the ambassadors of *Childebert* were once sent to expostulate with

° GREG. TUR. I. viii.

p Gesta Regum Francorum.

q FREDEGARII Chron.

r GREG. TUR. lib.

viii. c. 10.

s FREDEG. Chron.

t AIMON. GREG. TUR. lib. viii. c. 35.

u FREDEG. Chron.

GREG. TUR. I. ix. c. 20.

w AIMON.

Gontran, who, as we have observed before, treated them but roughly, they amongst other things, told him, that he ought to soften his language, and give their master satisfaction, since the poniards were not yet lost that had been exercised in correcting his brethren^x. These are very strange and very disagreeable facts; but they are such as characterise this age, and give us proper ideas of their policy and manners; of which we may collect some farther notions from transactions of greater importance.

Childebert,
king of Au-
strasia, avails
himself of the
disputes be-
tween the
Greeks and
the Lom-
bards.

THE emperor *Maurice*, being desirous of expelling the *Lombards* out of *Italy*, in the same manner that his predecessor *Justinian* had depressed the *Ostrogoths*, sought to make an alliance, for that purpose, with the *Franks*. *Gontran* being still embarrassed in his war with *Spain*, the emperor concluded a subsidiary treaty with *Childebert*, who promised his assistance, in consideration of a large sum of money; and accordingly sent, at different times, several armies into *Italy*, but none with any great success; for some were destroyed by sickness, others beaten by the *Lombards*, with whom truces were sometimes concluded; in which *Childebert*, likewise, found his advantage, and of which the emperor bitterly complained, as contrary to those alliances which had cost him so dear^y. *Childebert*, as the *French* historians say, being conscious that he did not complain without cause, and that he had sold peace on one side as dear as he had done war on the other, did not aggravate the dispute by frivolous apologies, but remained silent, till such time as the necessities of the *Greeks* obliged them to forget past disappointments, and make fresh offers for future assistance. At length, under the mediation of *Gontran*, he concluded a peace with the *Lombards*; by which he secured an annual subsidy, which is the more extraordinary, since it is, on all hands, allowed, that, notwithstanding several numerous armies of *Franks* entered *Italy*, and one particularly, commanded by twenty general officers, yet they had never been successful. The situation of their country giving them an easy access, and their affording them such critical diversions, when engaged with other enemies, compelled the *Lombards* to purchase quiet upon any terms, which, having the pretence of his uncle's mediation, *Childebert* sold them upon high terms, notwithstanding his contrary engagements with the emperor, and though *Brunebaut* opposed this treaty, because her grandson *Athanagilde* was protected, and subsisted in a manner suitable to his birth at *Constantinople*; for which she professed herself highly obliged, and gave, upon all occasions, very warm testimonies of her gratitude^z. It was this correspondence with the court of *Constantinople* that afforded *Fredegonde* an opportunity of instilling jealousies into *Gontran*, that the queen dowager of *Austrasia* held a constant intercourse with the family of *Gondebaut*, which, though it might be false, was, however, far from being improbable.

A conspiracy
against Chil-
debert, which
is discovered,
and the conspi-
rators are put
to death.

A. D. 585.

In the midst of these foreign wars, the court of *Metz* was distracted by factions, and the king's person more than once in danger from conspiracies. He was still a young man without experience; and all who served him, in any considerable station, thought they had a right to govern him; to which if he did not submit, they considered it as an injury, and had recourse to methods, which, if they were not in all ages too common to be denied, reason would teach us to think incredible. Duke *Raucinde*, who was the most powerful of the *Austrasian* nobility, was at the head of this plot, and was directed and supported by *Fredegonde*. He had gained two other great men, duke *Ursion* and duke *Bertbrefrede*: their scheme was to poison king *Childebert*, and, when this was once done, to proclaim his eldest son *Theodobert*, and to govern in his name. His younger son *Thierry*, scarce out of his cradle, was to be put under the care of the other two conspirators, who, with the assistance of *Fredegonde*, were to depose *Gontran*, and put their pupil upon the throne of *Burgundy*^a. This black design was brought almost to the very point of execution; when *Gontran*, who had his spies about the person of *Fredegonde*, discovered it; and that the mother and consort of *Childebert* were to be banished and imprisoned. He sent upon this a hint to *Childebert*, to find some pretence for meeting him; and, at their interview, gave him a full account of the matter. At his return, *Childebert* sent for *Raucinde*, who, by this time, had improved the original plan of his detestable project; and by giving out amongst his friends that he was himself the son of *Clotaire*, had paved his way to the throne. When the king sent for him, therefore, confiding in his own great power, and the multitude of his friends, he went boldly to court, and, in a long audience, discovered no signs of apprehension or confusion. But as he came out of the king's apartment, the gates of the palace were shut, and by some persons, posted properly for the purpose, he was cut to pieces^b. In the mean time, some of the king's servants were sent to his house, where they seized his papers, in which were the clearest testimonies of his guilt; and his wealth, which was superior to the contents of the royal treasury. The dukes *Ursion* and *Bertbrefrede*, no sooner saw his fate, than they took up arms, and endeavoured to retire out of *Childebert*'s dominions; but he sent *Godegisile*, the son of duke *Lupus*, with an army, to sup-

^x GREG. TURON. FREDEG. CHRON. AIMON.
Epitome & Chron.

^a GREG. TUR. lib. ix. c. 9.

^y Gesta Regum Francorum.

^b FREDEG. CHRON.

^z FREDEGARII Schol.

a press them, which, after an obstinate resistance, he performed, and both the conspirators were killed^c.

Out of the ashes of this there quickly sprang up another contrivance, in which were embarked the constable *Sunegifile*, the referendary (or, as we now stile him, chancellor) *Gallus*, and *Septimina*, who was governess to the young princes: their aim was to persuade *Childebert* to send his mother into exile, to repudiate his wife, and to govern the kingdom by their advice; and, if in this they could not prevail, *Septimina* undertook to poison him. The queen, though she is represented as a woman of no parts, discovered this plot, by comparing certain expressions that *Septimina* let fall^d. The king caused the constable to be put to the torture, when he accused *Giles*, bishop of *Rheims*, as being the original author of both plots.

b This prelate, being seized, was brought before an assembly of bishops, where it was proved, that he had forged grants, and corresponded with *Chilperic*, that he had represented queen *Brunebaut* in his letter in the blackest light, and, in one of his letters, said plainly, that, without cutting the root, there was no hopes of seeing the branch wither; and that, pretending to have full powers from *Childebert*, he had concluded in his name, but without his knowledge, a treaty with *Chilperic* for dethroning *Gontran*. The bishops were unwilling to condemn, and yet were unable to acquit him; they desired he might have some days given him to make his defence. At the end of that time, the bishop told them plainly, that he had nothing to say, so much as an excuse; that he had betrayed the king, abused his authority, excited all the confusion that had for many years happened amongst the *Franks*; and had no merit to plead, but freely confessing himself the author of all these mischiefs^e. Upon this he was degraded, and left to the king's mercy, who banished him to *Straßburgh*, and allowed him a handsome maintenance. As these discoveries were made by the other criminals, he would not put them to death, but deprived them of their employments, and sent them into banishment^f.

FREDEGONDE, whose maxim it was to keep *Gontran* continually employed, excited the count of *Bretagne* to seize *Rennes* and *Nantes*, tho' these towns really belonged to her son, and *Gontran* entered into the war only as his guardian. She assisted the count therein under-hand, in such a manner that much blood was spilt; but at length this count, whose name was *Warroc*, was constrained to submit, and to acknowledge himself feudatory to the son of *Chilperic*. While she was acting this double part, with respect to the *Bretons* and the king of *Burgundy*, she was, likewise, managing a new design against the king of *Austrasia*, which failed; and if the officer, intrusted with the command of *Childebert's* troops, had done his duty, she had paid very dearly for all her dark intrigues. For, being at *Tournay*, she caused three of the principal persons in the city to be murdered at a feast: upon which the people rose in a tumultuous manner, and sent to *Childebert* for assistance, which if it had come in time she had been taken prisoner^g. This was not her only escape; for her son falling sick, she saw herself in extreme peril: on which she had recourse, as her custom was, to acts of devotion; and, amongst the rest, prevailed upon the count *de Bretagne* to release the *Franks*, that were prisoners in her dominions, which was the clearest proof that could be of her interest and correspondence with him. The child, however, recovered, and she went to *Paris* to visit him. She renewed her solicitations from thence to *Gontran*, who kept his court at *Chalons*, beseeching him to perform the promise he had made her six years before, of being sponsor at her son's baptism; to which, at the request of the bishops, to whom he could refuse nothing, the good old king assented. This alarmed the court of *Austrasia*, and *Childebert* immediately dispatched ambassadors to put his uncle in mind of the engagements subsisting between them^h. *Gontran* reminded them of many things done by his nephew, which were not very consistent with those engagements, particularly the surprising of *Soissons*; which he had just reason to look upon as an invasion of that dignity, which, in virtue of his birth, and of his years, he was entitled to among the *Franks*; but added, at the same time, that his nephew had nothing to fear; that he meant to perform his engagements strictly; that the young prince was the son of his brother; and that he could not refuse to do for him what might be expected by any lord of his household. He assisted, therefore, at the ceremony, and gave the young prince the name of *Clotaire*, adding, that he wished him the wisdom, courage, and good fortune of his grandfather, whose name he bore. He afterwards entertained him at his own table, and, having made the child rich presents, and received some from him, returned to *Chalons*. This is the last event recorded by *Gregory of Tours*, the father of the *French* history, and, perhaps, this is the reason that we know nothing of what was done in the two last years of *Gontran's* life, who, some would have us believe, became a monk; but for this there is no sufficient authority. He deceased at *Chalons*, on the 28th of *March*, in the year five hundred ninety-three, when he had reigned thirty-two, and lived upwards of threescore yearsⁱ.

d Burgundy, she was, likewise, managing a new design against the king of *Austrasia*, which failed; and if the officer, intrusted with the command of *Childebert's* troops, had done his duty, she had paid very dearly for all her dark intrigues. For, being at *Tournay*, she caused three of the principal persons in the city to be murdered at a feast: upon which the people rose in a tumultuous manner, and sent to *Childebert* for assistance, which if it had come in time she had been taken prisoner^g. This was not her only escape; for her son falling sick, she saw herself in extreme peril: on which she had recourse, as her custom was, to acts of devotion; and, amongst the rest, prevailed upon the count *de Bretagne* to release the *Franks*, that were prisoners in her dominions, which was the clearest proof that could be of her interest and correspondence with him. The child, however, recovered, and she went to *Paris* to visit him. She renewed her solicitations from thence to *Gontran*, who kept his court at *Chalons*, beseeching him to perform the promise he had made her six years before, of being sponsor at her son's baptism; to which, at the request of the bishops, to whom he could refuse nothing, the good old king assented. This alarmed the court of *Austrasia*, and *Childebert* immediately dispatched ambassadors to put his uncle in mind of the engagements subsisting between them^h. *Gontran* reminded them of many things done by his nephew, which were not very consistent with those engagements, particularly the surprising of *Soissons*; which he had just reason to look upon as an invasion of that dignity, which, in virtue of his birth, and of his years, he was entitled to among the *Franks*; but added, at the same time, that his nephew had nothing to fear; that he meant to perform his engagements strictly; that the young prince was the son of his brother; and that he could not refuse to do for him what might be expected by any lord of his household. He assisted, therefore, at the ceremony, and gave the young prince the name of *Clotaire*, adding, that he wished him the wisdom, courage, and good fortune of his grandfather, whose name he bore. He afterwards entertained him at his own table, and, having made the child rich presents, and received some from him, returned to *Chalons*. This is the last event recorded by *Gregory of Tours*, the father of the *French* history, and, perhaps, this is the reason that we know nothing of what was done in the two last years of *Gontran's* life, who, some would have us believe, became a monk; but for this there is no sufficient authority. He deceased at *Chalons*, on the 28th of *March*, in the year five hundred ninety-three, when he had reigned thirty-two, and lived upwards of threescore yearsⁱ.

^c GREG. TUR. I. ix. Tur. I. ix. c. 38.

^d FRED. CHRON.

^e GREG. TUR. I. ix. c. 37.

^f FREDEG. CHRON. GREG.

^g GREG. TUR. I. ix. c. 28. ^h GREG. TUR. I. x.

ⁱ Gesta Regum Francorum. FRED. CHRON.

After a troublesome reign
Childebert,
king of Austrasia, dies a
young man.

CHILDEBERT, without any opposition, succeeded, pursuant to the testament of *Gontran*, to his dominions, which comprehended all that was then stiled *Burgundy*, together with the kingdom of *Orleans*, the best part of that of *Paris*, and their dependencies; but *Soissons* and some other places fell again under the dominion of *Clotaire*, to whose territories they of right belonged. How this happened, the *French* history nowhere informs us; but it is most likely that *Fredegonde*, in virtue of some intelligence she had in those places, surprized them, since we find that *Childebert* immediately raised an army, and entered into a war to recover them^k. The truth seems to be, that the affairs of the *Franks* were now entirely directed by these two queens, who mortally hated each other, and who willingly sacrificed the subjects of their respective sons, and even those sons, to the gratification of their passions. The forces of *Childebert* were very numerous, commanded by two generals, *Gondebaud* and *Vintrion*, whom he directed first to recover *Soissons*, and then to pursue *Fredegonde* wherever she retired, so as to deliver her into his hands alive or dead. *Fredegonde* little regarded this threat, tho' her forces were much inferior to the king of *Austrasia's*; instead, therefore, of shutting herself up in any fortrefs, she marched directly towards the enemy, and surprized them near *Trouci*, on the little river *Delette*, at no great distance from *Soissons*. At the beginning of the action she passed between the ranks with her son, intreated the soldiers to defend their prince, and assured them of his and her gratitude^l. The fact is in itself very extraordinary, but the historian, who thought to heighten it, by assuring us, that *Clotaire* was then at his mother's breast^m, has only destroyed his own credit, since the young king was then in the tenth year of his age. After a long and bloody engagement, the *Austrasians* were defeated, with the loss of thirty thousand men. We are not told what loss the army of *Fredegonde* sustained; but it must have been, in all likelihood, very great; since we find she lay quiet for two years, depending on the diversions she excited by the *Bretons* on one side, and the *Varnes*, a barbarous nation, who possessed the country about *Leyden*, on the other. Against the count of *Bretagne* *Childebert* sent the flower of his forces, to whom the count gave battle; in which both parties behaved with equal bravery, and with equal success; by which the two armies were so much weakened, that the war was for the present suspended. *Childebert* was more fortunate against the *Varnes*, whom he not only reduced, but extirpated; so that, from this time, they ceased to be a nation, or at least we meet with nothing more of them in history. In a short space after this victory, *Childebert* breathed his last, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign. His queen did not survive him long; and as this threw the government entirely into the hands of *Brunebaut*, some have charged her with poisoning them both; but as this is destitute of evidence on one side, so it is highly improbable on the other.

Fredegonde,
after establishing her son
Clotaire II.
dies in peace.

597.

THEODOBERT was declared king of *Austrasia*, being then in the eleventh year of his age; and *Tbierri*, who was in his tenth, was sent to reside at *Orleans*, with the title of king of *Burgundy*, having the bishop of *Autun* for his governor, and *Garnier* for the mayor of his palace. *Brunebaut* resided with her eldest grandson at *Metz*; notwithstanding which, she governed the kingdom of *Burgundy*, as appears by letters, full of compliments, written to her by pope *Gregory the Great*, with the most absolute powerⁿ. *Fredegonde* would not suffer so remarkable an event, as the death of *Childebert*, to pass, without taking some advantage: having, by her arts, raised some disturbances on the side of *Italy*, and engaged the *Abares* to threaten *Austrasia* with an invasion, she, with the best body of troops she was able to bring into the field, made herself mistress of *Paris*, and some other places of consequence on the *Seine*. *Brunebaut*, tho' she loved not war, could not be a tame spectator of such an action as this; and therefore directed the best part of the forces in *Austrasia* to begin their march for *Paris*. It was not the custom of *Fredegonde* to give her enemies time to find her; she marched without delay to meet the troops of her rival, and gave them a total defeat. What the consequences might have been of this second victory, gained by a princess of so active and so enterprising a spirit, we can only conjecture; but, in all probability, she would have pushed her good fortune, at the expence of *Brunebaut* at least, if not of her grandchildren, if she had not been prevented by death, when she had governed her husband and her son for near thirty years^o (I).

By

^k *Gesta Regum Francorum*, c. 36.
Chron. c. 26.

^l *FREDEG. Chron.* c. 14.

PAUL. Diacon. l. iv. c. 4.

^m *FREDEG.*

ⁿ *PAUL. Diacon.* l. iv. c. 12.

^o *FREDEG. Chron.* c. 27. *Gesta Regum Francorum*.

(I) We have already spoken of the character of *Fredegonde*, and, in the course of the history, of the many execrable actions of which she was guilty, at least with which she was charged. There remain, however, some things necessary to be said here. That she was a woman of strong passions, and capable, under their influence,

of doing the wickedest actions, is certain, if there be any faith due to history. Amongst these, there is none that can shew her in so strong a light as the case of *Pretextatus*, bishop of *Rouen*. It has been mentioned in the text, that he married *Mercoveus* to *Brunebaut*, and that for this he was banished by *Chilperic*, after whose death he

- a By the death of her rival, *Brunebaut* seemed to have attained, not only to the height of her hopes, but of her wishes. She was undoubtedly a princess endowed with many great qualities, but these were diminished by a variety of foibles; and, as far as we can judge from history, tho' in beauty, behaviour, and conversation, she might exceed *Fredegonde*, yet in point of penetration, solidity of judgment, and steadiness in action, she was much inferior to her. Her conduct in *Austrasia*, and in the direction of *Burgundy*, for some time, was truly laudable; she quieted the *Abares* with presents; she renewed the treaty of peace with the *Lombards*; and seemed to have nothing so much at heart as preserving their dominions in perfect peace, till her grandchildren were of age to govern themselves^p. This may be called the right side of her administration; but there was also a wrong: she governed absolutely, raised and disgraced whom she pleased, and, instead of cultivating the genius of *Theodobert*, if he had any, took pains to amuse him, and none at all to instruct him. She pushed this so far, as to suffer him to marry a slave of his father's, who was young and handsome, but without parts or education. In process of time, as will be always the case where virtue and honour are not the basis of policy, her arts proved fatal to herself. The consort of *Theodobert* had a great deal of affability and good nature, by which she entirely gained the heart of the young king, and rendered herself a fit instrument for the ambitious nobility; who told her, she had great talents for government, and, as may be easily believed, she was quickly inclined to take their words for it. By their persuasion, she undermined the queen-dowager in *Theodobert's* opinion, and upon some commotions, occasioned by the death of duke *Vintrion*, with A. D. 599.
- b which *Brunebaut* was charged, she engaged the king to consent to her being banished. Upon which she withdrew into the dominions of *Thierry*, king of *Burgundy*, by whom she was very kindly received^q.

It might have been expected, that her first care would have been to have inspired her grandson, and his ministers, who were firmly attached to her, with a warm sense of the indignity that had been offered her; but, from whatever motive it arose, she pursued a quite contrary conduct. She palliated, in the best manner she was able, what had happened at *Metz*, and, instead of exciting jealousies or misunderstandings between the brothers, she engaged *Thierry* to attempt the recovery of *Paris*, and other places on the *Seine*, which had

She prevails with Thierry king of Burgundy, to make war on Clovis, who is also attacked by Theodobert.

^p FREDEG. Chron. cap. 19.

^q *Gesta Regum Francorum*, c. 36.

he was restored by *Gontran* (3). This prelate, as he officiated at the altar on the Lord's Day, was stabbed, without any of his clergy interposing to stop the assassin. As soon as he came home, *Fredegonde* went to make him a visit, accompanied by several lords, and told him, how glad she should be to see the criminal apprehended. "The criminal, said the bishop, is no other than the person who has filled the whole kingdom with crimes, who has murdered kings, and shed rivers of innocent blood." The queen pretended not to understand him, but offered her physicians; which so provoked the dying bishop, that he told her, "You are yourself the person who caused me to be assassinated, who have been practised in the blackest crimes, who in this world will be universally cursed, and severely punished in the next." One of the lords who accompanied her took the liberty of saying, that such enormous crimes ought to be enquired into with all the strictness possible, and punished in the most exemplary manner. This lord did not live to return home; for the queen inviting him to take a collation with her, he was poisoned in the first morsel he eat, and died in an hour (4). *Gontran* sent commissioners to enquire into the bishop's murder; but she had the address to gain the nobility to declare against this as the effects of *Gontran's* ambition, and as an intrusion on the rights of their king (5). She caused a slave, however, to be apprehended, who actually killed the bishop, and, after chastising him severely, delivered him up to the nephew of that prelate, who caused him to be put to the torture: on which he confessed, that *Fredegonde* gave him an hundred shillings, that *Melantius* gave him fifty, and the archdeacon fifty more. This *Melantius* had intruded himself into the bishopric of *Rouen*, when *Pretextatus*

was banished; and this very man, notwithstanding this charge, *Fredegonde* made bishop again in his room (6). By the way, it will not be amiss to mention, that the bishop of *Baieux*, as soon as he was informed of the fact, caused all the churches in *Rouen* to be shut up, and forbid the celebration of divine service, till such time as this fact should be enquired into, which some think is the first instance of an interdict (7). Another singular instance of her passion and appetite to vengeance occurs in her conduct towards her daughter the princess *Rigunthe*, who, after her return to *Paris*, did not lead the life of a vestal; for which being reproved by *Fredegonde*, she reproached her with the meanness of her birth. The mother pretending to recollect herself, told her, it was against both their interests to differ, and to expose each other; that though she had formerly given her immense wealth, most of which was lost, yet she had still something to bestow; and carrying her into her cabinet, opened a large coffer, out of which she took many rich things. At length, as if she had been weary, she bid *Rigunthe* go and take what she pleased. *Fredegonde*, seeing her head in the trunk, pulled the lid of it upon her, and had broke her neck, if, upon her struggles, some of her attendants had not come in, and rescued the princess (8). With all her vices, and with all her crimes, she was a woman of a surprising and a superior genius, bold without being rash, and shewed great firmness without obstinacy (9). At the time of her demise she was upwards of fifty; her corpse was interred in the church then stiled *St. Vincent*, now *St. Germain des Prez*, where her tomb is still preserved, with her figure in *Mosaic*, as the inscription says; but this is not altogether certain, since the inscription is much more modern than the picture (1).

(3) *Hadriani Valesii gesta Francorum*.

(4) *Greg. Tur. l. viii. c. 31.*

(5) *Hadriani Valesii Gesta Francorum*.

(6) *Greg. Magn. Epist. l. ix. ep. 51.*

(7) *Hist. de France, par le P. G. Daniel.*

(8) *Greg. Tur. l. ix. c. 34.*

(9) *Nouvelle Histoire de France, par M. Louis le Gendre.*

(1) *P. Daniel.*

been torn from their family on the death of their father; and procured from *Reccared*, king of the *Visigoths*, a strong body of auxiliaries. This measure was so acceptable to *Theodobert*, that he likewise raised a numerous army, and, having joined the king of *Burgundy*, they marched directly into the territories of *Clotaire*. That monarch, remembering his former victories, moved with his forces to give them battle^r. Their armies engaged near the village of *Dormelle*, in the *Senonais*; and perhaps history has scarce recorded an instance of such young captains; for the age of the three kings, taken together, did not exceed forty. The dispute was obstinate and bloody, but the two brothers were victors in the end, the army of *Clotaire* being almost entirely cut to pieces. It was with some difficulty that he retired, with the broken remains of his forces, to *Melun*, and from thence to *Paris*. He halted there but for a very short time, and, finding himself vigorously pursued, chose for his retreat the forest of *Bretagne*, where his grandfather *Clotaire* the first had withdrawn from the fury of his two brothers. His forces were so weak, and so fatigued, that he foresaw, if he was attacked in his retrenchments they must be defeated and destroyed^s. He sent, therefore, to his cousins, to demand peace; and though the terms they prescribed took from him the best part of his dominions, and left him a very precarious tenure in the rest, yet he found it necessary to submit, and remained, for some time, a quiet spectator of their endeavours to extend the dominions of the *Franks* on the other side of the *Rhine* on one frontier, and by pushing the fierce nation of *Gascons* on the other^t. His indignation was, however, never the less, from the want of an opportunity to let it appear. *Fredegonde* had taken due care of his education, and had instructed him herself in the art of government; and, particularly, advised him to command his army in person, to hear his ministers with patience, but to take his own measures, and to observe with the greatest diligence, the causes of his success, and the sources of his disappointments, recommending to him above all things a settled temper of mind, equally superior to the smiles and to the frowns of fortune.

A second war between those princes, in which *Clotaire* was very near being undone.

604.

THE conduct of *Brunebaut* had never been extremely regular; but this great flow of prosperity induced her to throw off all restraint, and to make use of that plenitude of power, which was now in her possession, to gratify her desires of every kind. She remembered the mistake she had made at *Metz*, in permitting *Theodobert* to marry, when he was so very young; she thought to correct this, by hindering *Thierry* from marrying at all; but she laid no restraint upon his pleasures; so that by several mistresses he had three natural sons, which so balanced the credit of their respective mothers, that the old queen had nothing to fear. She cast her eyes on a young nobleman, whose name was *Protade*, and whose disposition nearly resembled her own, with a handsome person, and all the accomplishments of a court, great address, and boundless ambition, which she endeavoured to gratify, by making him mayor of the palace; from whence the scandal of those times insinuated he was her gallant. But there was a great obstacle in the way of his preferment. *Bertoalde*, a man in years, of great virtue and distinguished valour, was in possession of this employment, and could not be removed^u. However, a pretence being found to send him to the frontiers, *Protade* performed the functions of his office in his absence. *Clotaire*, who had exact information of all that passed, thought he had now a favourable opportunity of surprizing *Bertoalde*, and of making a great impression on the kingdom of *Burgundy*. With this view he sent duke *Landri*, and with him his son prince *Meroveus*, tho' he was then but in the fifth year of his age, with instructions to surprize *Bertoalde*, who had but a small guard, and then to march directly to *Orleans*, where he knew there were many malecontents. *Landri* did all he could, and indeed all that could be expected, but succeeded in neither. *Bertoalde* made his escape, and threw himself into *Orleans*, which he gallantly defended, till his master *Thierry* came with a potent army to his relief^w. The war was carried on the next spring with great vigour; the king of *Burgundy* at length forcing *Landri* to a battle, near *Estampes*, in the beginning of which *Bertoalde* having discovered the intrigues of the old queen, in a fit of despair threw away his life, and at the same time opened a path to victory for his ungrateful master, which *Thierry* so well improved, that *Landri's* army was entirely beaten, the unfortunate *Meroveus* surrounded, and, as *Clotaire* believed, or affected to believe, massacred, to gratify the hatred of *Brunebaut*. *Thierry* marched on to *Paris*, fully bent on the destruction of his cousin, which appeared indeed inevitable; for *Theodobert* had invaded his dominions on the other side, and the two armies were on the very point of engaging, when the news of the battle of *Estampes* arrived, and produced a very wonderful effect. *Theodobert* became of a sudden jealous of his brother's success, and offered *Clotaire* such terms of peace as he readily accepted; and, being thus delivered from all fear of danger on that side, he quickly obliged the king of *Burgundy* to listen also to terms of accommodation; and thus, very unexpectedly, the nation of the *Franks* was again blessed with peace^x.

^r FREDEG. Chron. c. 20.
Regum Francorum, c. 37.

^s Gesta Regum Fra um c. 37.

^t FRED. Chron. c. 20.

^u Gesta

^w FRED. Chron. c. 24. ^x HADRIANI VALESII gesta Francorum, tom. ii.

THIERRI,

- a** THIERRI, who wanted not abilities, was extremely provoked at his brother's behaviour, and furnished many things in relation to the peace at *Compeigne*, which had rescued *Clotaire* out of their hands. *Brunebaut*, who, tho' she had long dissembled, never forgave the insult received from *Theodobert* and his ministers, did not fail to heighten the king of *Burgundy's* resentments; and, it is said, went so far as to assure him, that *Theodobert* was not the son of king *Childebert*, but of a gardener, and imposed upon that prince to answer some particular purposes^y. The war being declared, the king took the field with a very numerous army, commanded under him by *Protade*, his mayor of the palace. The nobility of *Burgundy* in general disapproved this war highly; and when the armies drew near each other they dealt very plainly with the king, and advised him, instead of fighting, to treat with king *Theodobert*, since it would be an impious as well as impolitic action to shed the blood of the *Franks* on both sides, merely to gratify the pride of an ambitious minister, and the rage of his imperious mistress. When the king would hear nothing, the soldiers surrounded the tent where the mayor of the palace was playing at chess with the king's physician, in *Thierry's* presence; upon which that monarch ordered one of the lords of his court to go and pacify the troops, by assuring them that he would pay a proper respect to their remonstrances; he thought proper, however, to deliver quite another message, assuring the forces that the king did not enter into their quarrel with *Protade*, but left him to their disposal; on which they entered immediately, and cut him in pieces^z. *Thierry* saw now the necessity of a peace, which was easily concluded; and in the room of the late unhappy favourite, *Claudius*, who was also a *Gaul* by descent, and a man of abilities and honour, was raised to the post of mayor of the palace. He very honestly represented to his master, that it was time for him to reform the disorders of his court, and to make choice of some princess of equal birth for his queen, to which *Thierry* readily consented, and, at his persuasion, demanded the daughter of *Witeric*, king of the *Visigoths*, whom he obtained, upon condition that his ambassadors should swear that this princess should never be degraded from her dignity^a. *Brunebaut*, who could not prevent the marriage from being concluded, had the address to hinder it from being consummated, or even celebrated, by engaging the king's sister to give him a distaste to the *Spanish* princess; who, after bearing a great deal of ill usage for a full year, was sent home upon some frivolous pretence, which irritated the king of the *Visigoths* to the last degree. He endeavoured to negotiate a league with *Clotaire*, *Theodobert*, and the king of the *Lombards*; but *Brunebaut*, by a dextrous distribution of presents, and coining a multitude of plausible excuses, parry'd this blow, and preserved the kingdom in peace, that is with regard to other nations, for otherwise *Thierry* was far from enjoying quiet at home^b. His subjects in general were highly dissatisfied, and some of the clergy expostulated with him very freely. Amongst these was *Didier*, bishop of *Vienne*, who was soon after assassinated, either by the express orders of *Brunebaut*, or by those who thought it would be acceptable to her. The famous *Irish* abbot *Colombanus*, who had the reputation of being a saint and a prophet, was ordered to depart the kingdom, and to return to his own country, for having reproached the queen in very rude terms; and very probably had not escaped so well, if his credit with the people had not been raised to such a pitch, that the taking away his life might have occasioned public confusion^c.

f We have before observed that, in the division of *Childebert's* dominions, some districts were detached from the kingdom of *Austrasia*, and added to that of *Burgundy*: these *Theodobert* now demanded by an embassy, and *Thierry* prepared to defend them by force of arms. The nobility of both kingdoms were averse to a war, and constrained the two kings to consent to a conference, attended by an equal number of troops; but *Theodobert*, by a scandalous breach of his faith, brought double the number, and compelled his brother to accept of what terms he pleased. Instead of extinguishing, this heightened the flame, for *Thierry* was bent upon revenge; and his nobility conceiving that he had right on his side, concurred in his design of doing himself justice by the sword^d. One obstacle remained; *Clotaire* had many causes of complaint, and was not likely to let slip so fair an opportunity of mending his condition; it was therefore necessary to secure him by a negotiation, and upon a promise to restore to him what had been taken when the war should be over, he consented to a neutrality. *Thierry* then invaded *Austrasia* with a numerous army, commanded by all the great lords of *Burgundy*. He pushed his conquests as far as *Toul*, before he met with his brother *Theodobert's* army: but there, believing he had an advantage, the king of *Austrasia* attacked him with great vigour. The dispute was very obstinate, but in the end the king of *Burgundy* gained a complete victory; in consequence of which he became master of *Metz*, and compelled his

^y FREDEG. Chron. c. 27. PAUL DIACON. l. iv. c. 31.
History of Spain. tom. i. p. 555.

^z FREDEG. Chron. c. 30.

^a See the JONAS in vita S. Columbari.

^b DU CHESNE,

brother to take shelter on the other side the *Rhine*^c. The place *Theodobert* chose for his retreat was *Cologne*, where he laboured to form a new army out of his German subjects; and in a short space of time he accomplished it, vast numbers of *Saxons*, *Thuringians*, and other nations, subject or tributary to his crown, repairing to his standards. *Thierry* also having recruited his victorious army, penetrated the forest of *Arden*, and encamped at *Tolbiac*, where *Theodobert*, who believed that his advantage lay in being the aggressor, endeavoured to surprize him. The forces of *Thierry* received those whom they stiled barbarians with great intrepidity, and having stood the first shock, broke and defeated them. *Theodobert* endeavoured to make his escape by passing the *Rhine*, but he was taken and carried to *Cologne*, where his brother treated him with the utmost inhumanity, and, after stripping him of all marks of sovereign dignity, sent him to his grandmother at *Chalons*, but caused his son *Mérovée*, though a child, to be put to death upon the spot; and some say another likewise, whose name was *Clotaire*^f. *Brunebaut* had no sooner *Theodobert* in her hands, than she ordered him to be shaved; but suspecting afterwards that he might make his escape, and believing herself secure of governing both kingdoms if they remained to *Thierry*, she ordered the unfortunate king of *Austrasia* to be put to death, who was not then above twenty-seven years of age^g.

The death of
Thierry, and
the miserable
fate of queen
Brunebaut.

CLOTAIRE, king of *Soissons*, foreseeing that *Thierry*, proud of his late victory, and relying on the great acquisition that he had made, would infallibly refuse to comply with his promise, thought it both the surest and the wisest way to take possession of what had been consigned to him before his return from his expedition, which he accordingly did. It appeared from the event that he had formed a right judgment; for *Thierry* was no sooner acquainted with it, than he dispatched certain persons to summon him to withdraw his forces out of the places he had seized, and, in case he refused, to declare war. *Clotaire*, who expected this, was prepared; and believing it better to fight for the whole than for a part, assembled the whole forces of his dominions, and resolved to give *Thierry* battle^h. That monarch, who flattered himself with the hopes of becoming the lord of all *France*, began his march with the whole forces of *Austrasia* and *Burgundy*, but in passing by *Metz* he was seized with a dysentery, of which he died in a few days, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reignⁱ (K). *Brunebaut* appeared so little disconcerted by this extraordinary event, that it gave occasion to a report that her grandson was poisoned by her orders, which however is very improbable. She caused immediately *Sigebert*, the eldest of his four sons, to be proclaimed king. He was then in the tenth year of his age; and it seems to have been the view of that ambitious princess to have governed both kingdoms in his name: but *Clotaire* did not leave her so much time as to discover her plan. He had great intelligence in *Austrasia* and in *Burgundy*: he knew that the nobility in both kingdoms hated *Brunebaut*, and were little attached to the sons of *Thierry*; and therefore he advanced with his army, without giving himself much pain about the forces that *Brunebaut* laboured to assemble, tho' they might easily have been rendered much superior to his own^k. The infatuated *Brunebaut* became an accomplice in her own destruction: she suspected *Garnier*, who was mayor of the palace in *Austrasia*; but knowing he had a great interest amongst the nations on the other side of the

^c FRED. Chron. c. 37, 38.

CHESNE, tom. i. p. 557.

^k Gesta Regum Francorum, lib. xl.

^f Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. xxxviii.

^h Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. xxxix.

FRED. Chron.

^g DU

ⁱ FRED. Chron. cap. xxxix.

(K) At the time of *Theodobert's* death, and the destruction of his family, we are told that *Thierry* was so exceedingly struck with the beauty of *Berthaire*, that he was inclined to marry her; which alarmed his grandmother to such a degree, that she presently interposed, and represented, in the strongest terms, how much it would tarnish his reputation, if, in the sight of the world, he should be guilty of so flagrant an act of incest, and how much his person and authority might be exposed by taking to his bed the daughter of a prince whom he had deprived of his life, and of his dominions. This opposition irritated *Thierry* to such a degree, that he told his grandmother in a rage, that it was her ambition, and not her zeal for his reputation, that induced her to talk after this manner; since, if what she affirmed was true, that *Theodobert* was a supposititious child, *Berthaire* could not be his niece, and that she had

no right to upbraid him with murders, in which she had so great a hand (1). This quarrel swelled at last so high, that he was on the point of killing her; and from hence the suspicion arose, that, having made use of him to destroy his brother, she, to secure her person and power, removed him by poison (2). In the slaughter of his family we have mentioned the escape of his son *Childebert*, which it seems gave infinite disquiet to *Clotaire*; who, as an antient writer tells us, cruelly persecuted a certain pious abbess in the city of *Arles*, upon a rumour that a king was privately educated in her monastery (3). It appeared from hence, that, in the sense of those times, all the children of *Thierry*, whatever their mothers might be, were considered as kings of the *Franks*: however, this unhappy young man was never afterwards discovered.

(1) *Fredeg. Chron. c. xli. Append. ad Chron. Greg. Turon. Aimon, lib. iii. Aimon, lib. iii. Append. ad Chron. Greg. Turon. sec. 2. Bened.*

(2) *Fredeg. Chron. cap. xli.*

(3) *Fredeg. Chron. cap. xlii. Vita S. Rustic. nn. 17, 18.*

- a *Rhine*, she confided to him the command of the army, and the person of *Sigebert*; but at the same time sent an order to *Alboin*, who accompanied him, to dispatch *Garnier* as soon as he had rendered the army complete. *Alboin* tore this order to pieces, which some person, who observed him, gathered up; and having put it together, so as that the sense might appear, carried it to *Garnier*, who dissembling his knowledge of what was intended, engaged the nobility both in *Austrasia* and in *Burgundy* to abandon *Brunebaut*, as soon as *Clotaire's* army approached near them. Of *Thierry's* four sons, *Sigebert* and *Corbon* were put to death by *Clotaire's* orders: *Childebert* was carried away and never seen afterwards: as for *Mæroveus*, to whom *Clotaire* had been sponsor, he sent him into his own dominions, and caused him to be bred up there as a private man¹. In the end, *Brunebaut* herself was betrayed into his hands; and to gratify the nobility, whom she had generally provoked, after the bitterest reproaches, some that were well and others that were ill founded, he suffered her to be led for three days about the camp, and exposed to the clamours and outrages of all who could be mean enough to insult a great queen in her misery. At length she was tied by the leg and the arm to the tail of an untamed horse, which running full speed quickly dashed out her brains; after this her mangled body being taken up by some charitable person, or, as others say, by the soldiers, was consumed to ashes; but these wretched remains afterwards found a tomb, in which they remain at this day^m (L). In succeeding times some attempts have been made to vindicate her memory.
- c *CLOTAIRE II.* was now the absolute master of the whole empire of the *Franks*, and resolved to continue so. He settled the three mayors of the palace, who from this time became a sort of viceroys, and treated the nobility with much mildness and familiarity. He was not one of those refined politicians who put on the appearances of virtues, of which they have no feeling in their hearts, but thought the shortest method best; and that to become a good prince, was the most effectual means of being believed so. He established that freedom which the great lords were afraid he would suppress, but with it he established the power of the law, which he observed with great punctuality; for which reason people saw no harm in his requiring the same degree of respect should be shewn to it by othersⁿ. He might have extended his dominions, but he chose rather to govern them, and to extirpate those vices that, from the licentiousness of the times, were grown both frequent and flagrant. In order to this he held a general council at *Paris*, where he recommended it in a particular manner to the prelates to restore the ancient discipline of the church. He instituted also a kind of parliaments, or courts, held in his palace, for determining what in the *Latin* of those times was stiled *placita*, in *French* *plads*, and in our own language *pleas*^o. He carried this so far, that when the governor of the remoter part of *Burgundy* conspired against him, and he had him in his hands, he remitted him to the justice of that court, and by their sentence he was beheaded; and this example prevented any other conspiracy in his reign^p. He permitted the *Lombards* to redeem the annual tribute they paid his predecessors, by laying down the amount of three years at once, for which he is severely censured by modern writers, who think that in this he departed from his dignity; but it seems *Clotaire* thought the dignity of a king consisted in governing his own subjects well, and in being upon good terms with his neighbours^q.
- d THE king, in order to lessen his fatigues, sent his eldest son *Dagobert* to reside at *Metz*, with the title of king of *Austrasia*, detaching however from thence some districts that lay at a great distance, and some others that were requisite to a due communication between the territories
- Clotaire, sole master of the three kingdoms of the Franks, changes his conduct, and becomes a mild prince.*
Reigns with glory, and dies in peace.

¹ FREDEG. Chron. cap. xl. xli.^m ADON. Chron. FREDEG. Chron. AIMON.ⁿ FREDEG. Chron.

cap. xliii.

^o Gesta Regum Francorum. AIMON.^p FREDEG. Chron. contin. cap. xlv.^q Gesta

Regum Francorum.

(L) If we were to take the character of *Brunebaut* from the epistles written to her by *Gregory the Great*, or even from the history of the bishop of *Tours*, we should suppose her a very different person from what other historians represent her. But both these *Gregories* died many years before her, and both had very particular reasons to speak well of her as long as they lived (4). It is true she has been defended by *Mariana*, as being a native of *Spain*, and by *Cordemoy*, a learned and judicious *French* writer; but rhetoric and conjectures will do nothing against facts. We may, and indeed we ought to agree, that those who wrote under the immediate descendents of *Clotaire*, might make their court by exaggerating the wickedness of this princess. We ought also to allow that she was a very extraordinary woman: she founded many monasteries, erected several churches, built many

hospitals, raised prodigious causeways, and, in short, was the founder of so many other public works, that the monk *Aimon* expresses the utmost amazement that a single queen could perform so many and so great things in such different places; but this shews that she had boundless authority, and immense wealth at her disposal (5). The tomb of this queen *Brunebaut* is still to be seen in the abbey of *St. Martin* at *Autun*, which she founded, and where in 1632 it was opened, and nothing discovered that could at all discredit the general tradition on this head of what the old historians have asserted, since there were ashes, burnt bones, and the rowel of a spur, which it is known was the custom in those times to fix to the sides of the horses that were used in such executions, in order to render them the more furious (6).

(4) *Gregor. magn. lib. v. ep. 5, 51, 59. lib. vii. ep. 5. Greg. Turon. lib. x. cap. 1. P. Fauchet.*

(6) *Fredeg. Chron. cap. xlii. Gesta Regum Francorum, P. Daniel.*

(5) *Aimon, lib. iv.*

A. D. 622. reserved under his own power. He also appointed him for his ministers, *Arnoul*, bishop of *Metz*, and *Pepin*, mayor of the palace in that kingdom¹. His government resembled that of his father's: so that, by the mildness of it, many of the barbarous nations, that hitherto had preferred freedom in woods and morasses, voluntarily submitted themselves, and became his subjects. As soon as he arrived at a proper age, *Clotaire* caused him to be married; and upon that occasion entertained him in a most splendid manner at one of his country palaces, declaring at the same time, that he associated him in the government². This did not hinder the young prince from demanding, in a very peremptory manner, that all the cities and districts, formerly belonging to it, should be re-united to the kingdom of *Austrasia*, which highly provoked *Clotaire*. At length this dispute was left to the decision of twelve prelates and barons, who determined that such of the places as lay most conveniently for the young king should be yielded to him, and that he should quit all claim to the rest³. An insurrection happened among the *Gascons*, which was quickly suppressed, without any effusion of blood; but it was otherwise with the *Saxons*. *Bertoalde*, their duke, despising the pacific temper of the two kings, and having drawn many barbarous nations into his alliance, threw off his dependence on *Dagobert*, and made an irruption into *Austrasia* with a powerful army. The young king marched against him with all the forces that he could immediately assemble, but had the misfortune to be defeated, and very narrowly escaped being killed, his head-piece being cleft by the stroke of a sword. He retired with the remains of his forces to an entrenched camp, and sent to his father for his assistance⁴. *Clotaire* marched with all possible haste to join him, and immediately after advanced towards the *Saxons*, who were encamped on the other side the *Wefer*. The two armies being drawn up in order of battle, *Bertoalde* abused the king in the grossest language, which so provoked *Clotaire*, that he plunged into the river on horseback, followed by his guards and some of the principal nobility, when charging the *Saxons* with great fury, he killed their duke with his own hand; and having caused his head to be cut off, ordered it to be placed on the top of a pike and carried at the head of his army, the best part of which had by this time passed the river: the enemy were soon routed with prodigious slaughter⁵. He did not survive this victory many months, but lived and died in full possession of the hearts of his people, as appears from his being stiled in some antient monuments *Clotaire le Grand*, and in others, *le Debonnaire*⁶. On the death of *Garnier*, who was mayor of the palace in *Burgundy*, he summoned the nobility to chuse another: but having intimated his inclinations in a short speech, they waved the election, and chose to live under his immediate administration, which was the highest mark of popularity and confidence that they could bestow, and a very singular instance of his policy, who chose to obtain, in the most gentle manner, what he might have taken thro' the plenitude of his power; but he knew that an absolute monarch must reign in the minds, as well as over the bodies of his subjects⁷. He died in the forty-fifth year of his life⁸.

628. Dagobert succeeds his father in all his dominions, and becomes the fourth monarch of France.

DAGOBERT succeeded his father in the kingdoms of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, partly thro' his intrigues, and partly thro' the terror of his army, to the prejudice of his younger brother *Charibert*; who, according to the custom, not to say the law, of the *Franks*, ought to have had at least one of these kingdoms⁹. He had indeed a small party for him: after a faint struggle *Dagobert* prevailed. By the advice of his ministers however, he, of his own accord, bestowed on *Charibert* the country between the *Loire* and the *Pyrenees*; upon which he took the title of king of *Aquitaine*, and fixed his residence at *Toulouse*¹⁰. *Dagobert* began his reign by visiting the kingdom of *Burgundy*, where his father had not been in person since the office of mayor of the palace had been suppressed; and where, having no superior, the nobility had ran into great excesses and disorders; the king applied himself to redressing these with all the spirit and diligence possible. He was not only accessible, but affable to all sorts of people, and borrowed from his meals, and from his sleep, time to enquire into and redress grievances¹¹. But all was not after this manner; for, on his return from this progress, he repudiated his wife, under pretence that she was barren: and having once transgressed the bounds of virtue and religion, he left them every day at a greater distance, insomuch that he was not ashamed to have three queens at a time¹². The truth is, that *Arnoul*, bishop of *Metz*, had a great influence over this monarch, who had bred him from a child, and, so long as he remained in the ministry, *Dagobert* retained the character of being the greatest prince that had hitherto reigned over the *Franks*: but *Arnoul* having quitted his see and his employment, for a life of solitude and retirement, *Dagobert* became careless and dissolute, notwithstanding all that *Pepin*, and the remains of the old ministry, could say to restrain him;

¹ AIMON.

Chron. contin. c. liii.

² Gesta Regum Francorum.

FRED. Chron.

Regum Francorum.

³ FREDEG. Chron. contin. c. liii.

⁴ Gesta Regum Francorum. AIMON.

⁵ FRED. Chron. Gesta Regum Francorum.

⁶ Gesta Regum Francorum.

⁷ Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. xlvii.

⁸ FRED.

⁹ FREDEG. Chron. P. DANIEL,

¹⁰ Gest. DAGOBERT,

¹¹ FRED. Chron. Gest. DAGOBERT.

¹² Gesta

^a and yet, by a piece of injustice but too frequent, the people of *Austrasia* imputed to the ministers all the mischiefs to which they were exposed, and earnestly pressed the king to give up *Pepin* to their resentment; but *Dagobert*, thoroughly acquainted with his innocence, had both the courage and the honour to protect him. *Charibert*, king of *Aquitaine*, dying, *Dagobert* took possession of his dominions and of his treasures, though he left several children, who were the victims of their uncle's ambition^c: an action, in all respects, as iniquitous as it was unnatural and inexcusable.

ABOUT this time a war broke out with the numerous and potent nation of the *Sclavonians*; *The war with* who, like the *Franks*, were divided into several tribes, occupied a vast country, and were *the Sclavonians is attended* not inferior in valour to any of their neighbours^f. They had at this time for their king a *with many* stranger, who came amongst them at first in no higher character than that of a pedlar; his *unforeseen and* name was *Samon*; but whether a native of *France* or of *Hainault* is very uncertain. He *unfoward consequences.* managed his private affairs so well as to become rich; the *Sclavonians* judged from thence that his talents might be useful to the public; they made the trial, and they had no reason to repent it. In compliance with the custom of the country, he married twelve wives, by whom he had twenty-two sons and fifteen daughters. He was wise and brave. *Dagobert* had sent an ambassador to complain of some injuries that had been done to traders who were his subjects^g. This minister was very unfit for his employment. *Samon* expressed a concern for what had happened, and offered to concert proper measures to prevent the like for the future. The *Franks* took this ill, and told *Samon* he might think himself and his people ^c honoured, if they were considered as servants to the king his master. *Samon* answered, with great moderation, that they should not disdain that title, provided the king honoured them with his friendship. Friendship! replied the *Frank*, What friendship can there be between Christians, worshippers of the true God, and such pagan dogs as you and your subjects? Be it so, friend, said *Samon*; but since it is your custom to cheat, to abuse, and to insult us, you must not wonder we make use of our teeth, who are dogs, or that we bite you as often as you deserve it. Upon the representation of this accomplished minister, *Dagobert*, having first engaged the *Allemands* and the *Lombards* to act as his allies, began the war, in which he was very far from being successful^h. This gave him such an aversion to these barbarous people as produced an action, which did no great credit either to his religious or political principles. The ^d *Bulgarians* being ill-treated by the *Abares*, with whom they had hitherto lived united as if they had been but one people, took shelter, to the number of nine thousand, in the country of the *Bavarians*, who were subjects to *Dagobert*, and desired to put themselves under his protection. They had winter-quarters given them for the present, and a promise that lands should be assigned them; but from a jealousy, or rather timidity, unworthy of a great prince, orders were sent to the *Bavarians* to cut them off as they lay dispersed through their country; which was so completely executed, that not above seven hundred escaped, who threw themselves into the territories of the *Sclavonians*ⁱ. About this juncture *Dagobert* assisted *Sisenand* to mount the throne of *Spain*, on a promise that he should send him the famous gold basin weighing five hundred pounds, which the *Roman* general *Aetius* ^e presented to *Torismond*, king of the *Gotbs*; but he, not being able to keep his word, was obliged to compromise the matter by paying him an immense sum of money^k. The *Saxons* perceiving how much *Dagobert* was disturbed by the continual irruptions of the *Sclavonians*, which with all his care he could not prevent or suppress, conceived this to be a proper juncture for them to be rid of the annual tribute of five hundred head of cattle imposed upon them by *Clotaire* the first. The method they took was very singular; for instead of taking up arms, or joining themselves to the *Sclavonians*, they petitioned *Dagobert* to remit their tribute, in consideration of defending their frontiers against the *Sclavonians*, which they offered to take upon themselves, to which *Dagobert* readily consented; but from this time the *Saxons* did not either pay the tribute or defend the frontier^l. But the king ^f was so much perplexed by the depredations of one nation of *Barbarians*, that he had not either leisure or force to subdue the other; so that they procured by their cunning what they had attempted in vain by force of arms. It may be *Dagobert* acted right, and avoided an insurrection, which, in his circumstances must have given him much trouble.

At length another expedient was found, which, though it might not be very acceptable to *Dagobert*, he thought requisite to admit. This expedient consisted in declaring his son *Sigebert*, then a child of three years old, king of *Austrasia*. This he did, and appointed *Cunibert*, bishop of *Cologne*, to be his governor, and *Adalgise*, duke of the palace, which some think was a different office from that of mayor, which was still preserved to *Pepin*, though others believe *Adalgise* to have been his successor, and that the king chose rather to appoint

Dagobert subduces the *Ges-
cous, obliges
the count of
Britagne to do
him homage,
and dies soon
after.*
A. D. 633.

^c FREDEG. Chron. cap. lxvii.

^f *Gesta Regum Francorum.*

^g FREDEG. Chron. c. 68.

^h *Gesta*

Regum Francorum.

ⁱ FREDEG. Chron. c. 72.

^k *Gesta Regum Francorum.*

^l FREDEG. Chron.

c. 74.

him to that office than part with *Pepin* from about his person^m. We cannot pretend to a say how this expedient operated; but that it did operate is certain. It is very probable that the people of *Austrasia* found great inconvenience in the king's residing constantly at *Paris*, or some of his country palaces, a small distance from that city, and were very desirous of having a court of their own, in which, though a child bore the title of king, yet, having all the prerogatives annexed to that dignity, and the proper officers to carry them into execution, they found themselves much more at their ease; and, to preserve these advantages, acted so vigorously under their own officers on the frontiers, that they quickly cured the *Sclavonians* of any inclination to approach themⁿ. The same year the king had another son born, to whom he gave the name of *Clovis*. The rejoicings upon this occasion were scarce ended, when the prelates and nobility of the kingdoms of *Neustria* and *Burgundy* intreated *Dagobert* to declare him his successor in regard to those two crowns. This he accordingly did, and, by an authentic instrument, settled the manner in which all his dominions were to be divided between these two infant princes^o. The *French* historians differ much in their sentiments as to the reasons which induced the lords in *Neustria* and *Burgundy* to take this step; but it seems pretty evident, that the king's own conduct, at the beginning of his reign, was the source of it; his ambition inspired him with the design of making himself master of the whole monarchy, which they, judging to be prejudicial to their interests, though they could not prevent it then for want of an army and a successor, declared they resolved to avoid for the future by such a precaution. The *Gascons* and *Bretons*, presuming on the indolent temper of *Dagobert*, had renewed their excursions into his dominions; the former were the most troublesome, and had the greatest force. Against them, therefore, *Dagobert* sent a numerous army, commanded by the flower of his young nobility, under a general in years, of distinguished bravery and great reputation. He quickly reduced the *Gascons* to such distress, by closing up their caves and burning their cabins, that they were constrained to implore the king's clemency; which *Dagobert* was sure to extend, as having nothing more in view than to spend his days in quiet^p. He then sent a minister to the *Bretons*, a man of character, very different from him who occasioned the war with the *Sclavonians*; this minister was *St. Eloi*, originally a goldsmith, now a statesman, and afterwards bishop of *Noïon*. He managed his negotiation with such address, that he engaged the prince of *Bretagne* to renew the antient treaties, to give an hostage for the due performance of them, and for his coming in person to *Paris* to do homage to *Dagobert*. The name of this count of *Bretagne* was *Judicaël*, who had a high reputation for prudence and piety; whom the king received with kindness, and dismissed with honour. The duke of the *Gascons*, was forced to follow his example, and brought many of the chiefs of his little nation with him^q. These events must have been very grateful to a monarch of his disposition; but he did not long survive the satisfaction they gave him, since he died of a dysentery, on the 19th of *January*, in the year six hundred and thirty-eight, at *Epinai*, a palace of his upon the river *Seine*, not far from *Paris*, in the sixteenth year of his reign over *Austrasia*, in the tenth from the death of his father, and the thirty-sixth of his age (M). His corpse was carried from thence, and interred with great solemnity in the abby of *St. Denis*^r.

AT

^m AIMON. *Gesta Regum Francorum*.
DAGOBERT. ^p FREDEG. Chron.
 Chron.

ⁿ FREDEG. Chron. ^o *Gesta Regum Francorum*. *Gest.*
^q *Gesta Regum Francorum*. *Gest.* *DAGOBERT*. ^r FREDEG.
 Chron.

(M) It is no very easy task to settle the number and the order of this prince's wives. It is pretty plain, that, by his father's direction, *Dagobert* first espoused *Gomatrude*, the younger sister of his mother-in-law *Sichilde*, and the aunt of his brother *Alibert*; which very probably might contribute, as well as her barrenness, to his repudiating her. He had next *Ragetrude*, but whether as a concubine or queen may be doubted; by her, however, he had *Sigebert*, whom, to content the nobility of *Austrasia*, he placed on the throne before he was well out of the cradle (6). After this, with some extraordinary deliberation, and the consent of the nobility, he espoused *Nantilde*; but one can scarce, from these circumstances, conceive that she was at this time a nun, and that it was by the consent of his nobility he took her out of the cloister, which, however, is expressly said by the old historian, in these words (7): "Cum consilio *Francorum*, *Nantildem*, unam ex puellis de monasterio, in

"matrimonium accipiens, reginam sublimavit." In order to be rid of so strange an absurdity, some modern critics have suggested the reading *ministerium*, instead of *monasterio*, and then of a nun she will become only a maid of honour (8). He had besides two mistresses, whose names were *Colgonde* and *Bertilde*. Notwithstanding this, we find the piety of *Dagobert* magnified by the monk, who undertook to write the history of his reign, chiefly on account of his founding the monastery of *St. Denis*; to which it is said he was excited by a very ridiculous accident, not worth repeating; but inasmuch as he took the liberty to spoil the church of *St. Hilary*, of *Poitiers*, the bishop of that diocese, after his decease, pretended to have seen in a vision the soul of *Dagobert* carried by demons on board a vessel bound for their fiery regions, and cruelly beaten in his passage, till *St. Denis*, having taken to his assistance *St. Maurice*, and *St. Martin*, came to his relief, and delivered him

(6) *Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon*, c. 57. *Les Antiquités & Histoires Gauloises par le P. Fauchet. Hist. de France par. M. le P. G. Daniel.* (7) *Fredeg. Chron.* c. 58. *Histoire de France, par M. Châlons.* (8) *Hist. de France, par le P. G. Daniel. Histoire de France, par M. Châlons.*

- a At the demise of this monarch the wealth of the kingdom was great, and there were few courts in *Europe* more splendid than that of *Paris*. *St. Eloi*, who, as we before observed, was originally a goldsmith, and made for *Clotaire* the second a chair of state of massy gold, and a throne of the same metal for *Dagobert*; but towards the close of his reign things began to decline, yet in no proportion to what they did afterwards^a. It seems that at the time of his demise there was no mayor of the palace in *Burgundy*; but recommending one of his ministers, whose name was *Æga*, to his queen *Nantilde*, as the properest person to direct the affairs of the young king, he was presently advanced to that important post; upon which *Pepin* and some other *Austrasian* lords returned into their own country. He summoned immediately the prelates and nobility to do homage to *Clovis*, which they very willingly performed; but at the same time many of them complained that they had suffered injustice in the former reign, and they hoped redress from the equity of the present government. The new minister promised to content them, and he did all that was in his power to keep his word^b. Soon after came ambassadors from *Sigebert*, king of *Austrasia*, to demand his share of his father's moveables and treasure, pursuant, as it is very likely, to that king's will. A conference was held for this purpose at *Compeigne*, where the bishop of *Cologne* and *Pepin* assisted; there one third of the treasures which the king had acquired since his marriage was set apart for the queen, and the remainder divided between his sons^c. This was one of the last acts of *Pepin's* ministry, who died soon after with the reputation of a saint. *A. D. 639.*
- b performed; but at the same time many of them complained that they had suffered injustice in the former reign, and they hoped redress from the equity of the present government. The new minister promised to content them, and he did all that was in his power to keep his word^b. Soon after came ambassadors from *Sigebert*, king of *Austrasia*, to demand his share of his father's moveables and treasure, pursuant, as it is very likely, to that king's will. A conference was held for this purpose at *Compeigne*, where the bishop of *Cologne* and *Pepin* assisted; there one third of the treasures which the king had acquired since his marriage was set apart for the queen, and the remainder divided between his sons^c. This was one of the last acts of *Pepin's* ministry, who died soon after with the reputation of a saint. *A. D. 639.*
- c which was exercised in succeeding times by the mayor of the palace, and which was in some measure grounded on the behaviour of *Pepin* and *Æga*, both men of great parts, true piety, and uncorrupted probity. To the former of these succeeded his son *Grimoalde*, who made his way to that post by the murder of *Otbo*, his rival, and we may from thence be satisfied that he was no saint^d. His intention of removing *Rodolfe*, duke of *Thuringia*, from his government, produced an insurrection, in which that duke was totally beaten, and compelled to take shelter in a fortress, or intrenched camp, where he collected all the remains of his forces, with a full resolution of making an obstinate defence; but, in all probability, this would have ended in his own destruction, if a spirit of dissension had not broke out in the king of *Austrasia's* camp; for *Grimoalde* carried his master, young as he was, into the field; but those, who hated that minister, prevented his attacking *Rodolfe* with the whole of the army, and by this means that part of it which did attack was beaten. Upon this a negotiation ensued, which ended in a peace very dishonourable to the young king, who consented that *Rodolfe* should retain his government, upon his promise to be faithful for the future^e. He governed after this, if, in truth, he could be said to govern at all, fourteen years, or, as some compute, sixteen; but we know nothing of what he did in that time, except that he built and endowed monasteries, from whence he came to be reputed a saint. *Grimoalde* pretended that, in despair of having a son, he adopted his, and desired that he might succeed him^f. But after this, notwithstanding, he had a son, named *Dagobert*, by his queen *Innechilde*, whom on his death-bed he recommended, with great tenderness, to the care of *Grimoalde*, his mayor of the palace. This monarch died at *Metz*, and was buried in the church of *St. Martin*, in the suburbs of that city; from whence his remains were removed to *Nancy*, on the demolition of that church, when the *French*, in 1552, were preparing to sustain a siege, under the command of the duke *De Guise*^g. *640.*
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- g under the command of the duke *De Guise*^g. *640.*
- The reign of Sigebert II, king of Austrasia, who, after his death, was reputed a saint.

^a *Gesta Regum Francorum*.
Chron. c. 79. Vita St. Eliz.
CHESNE, tom. i. p. 727.

^b *FREDEG. Chron.*
^c *Gesta Regum Francorum*, c. 43.
^d Vita Sancti Sigeberti, n. 15.

^e *Gesta Regum Francorum*.
^f *FREDEG. Chron.* c. 79.
^g *FREDEG. Chron.* c. 84. ADON.

^h *FREDEG.*
ⁱ *DU*

out of their hands (9). It is a melancholy thing to be obliged to transcribe such idle tales, but it is much more melancholy to reflect, that, for many ages together, such idle tales were regarded as serious truths; but as this was really the case, and becomes thereby the characte-

ristic of those ages, we are from thence put under a necessity of transcribing them, since nothing else can persuade the reader, that the facts, which really compose the history of those times, could ever have happened.

(9) *Fredeg. Chron.* c. 58. *Aimoni Monachi incliti Cœnobii S. Germani libri quinque de gestis Francorum*, lib. iv. c. 20.

in the state, if *Flaochat* himself had not died soon after of a fever. The nobility of *Burgundy* ^a did not replace him, so that both kingdoms were governed by *Archambaud*. This minister having presented to the king a very beautiful slave, named *Batild*, whom he had bought of some *English* merchants, the monarch became quickly so enamoured of her, that he took her to his bed, and soon after declared her his queen ^b. She must have been a very extraordinary woman, for she is highly commended by all who mention her, since, to do her honour, instead of reproaching her with the meanness of her former condition, invented a fable of her being a princess born, and since, having a large share in the government, she gave indubitable proofs of her great capacity. The only remarkable action of *Clovis*'s life, was, his causing the silver shrines in the monastery of *St. Denis* to be melted, and coined into money, to purchase corn in a time of scarcity for the relief of the poor ^c. Though by his royal authority, with the consent of *Landeric*, bishop ^b of *Paris*, he exempted this convent from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, yet the monks gave out, that, for this act of impiety, he became disordered in his senses, and that the weakness and stupidity of the father became intailed upon his descendants ^d. Modern historians have truly observed, that this lying judgment was invented, partly to deter other princes from having recourse, in times of public calamity, to the treasures of the church, and partly to make their court to the second race of *French* kings, who deprived the posterity of *Clovis* of their territories, under the plausible pretence of their being unable to govern them (N). He had by his queen three sons, *Clotaire*, *Childeric*, and *Thierri*. We must now return to *Austrasia*.

Dagobert deposed and exiled, Childebert substituted, deposed, & Childeric placed on the throne.

^c GRIMOALDE, as far as can be discovered, caused *Dagobert*, the son of his master *Sigebert*, to be proclaimed and acknowledged king; but how long he suffered him to wear that title is uncertain ^e. He had not the cruelty to put him to death; but having employed *Didon*, bishop of *Poitiers*, to shave him, he sent him to a monastery, in some of the western islands of *Scotland*, and then, giving out he was dead, advanced his son *Childebert*, under pretence of his master's adoption, to the throne; which, however, he did not long enjoy ^f. It does not appear, that the nobility had any suspicion of *Dagobert*'s being alive; but they had no opinion of *Grimoalde*'s setting up his son; and therefore they encouraged queen *Innechilde* to go to the court of king *Clovis*, and to demand his protection and support. This speedily produced a revolution; for *Archambaud*, who was himself allied to the royal line, came with an army into *Austrasia*, where he deposed *Childebert*, carried away *Grimoalde* prisoner to *Paris*, where he perished not long after, and placed his master's second son *Childeric*, then ^d about three years old, upon the throne ^g. It does not appear what became of *Childebert*; but, in all probability, his youth, and his being barely the instrument of his father's ambition, saved him from punishment. *Clovis* did not survive this great event any long time; he is said to have been addicted to women and to wine, and is, properly speaking, the first of those on whom the *French* writers have bestowed the opprobrious name of *Les Rois Faineans*, i. e. *incapable or indolent princes*; though some late writers have suspected this was rather

^b Vita S. Bathildis. Gesta Regum Francorum.

^c AIMON, lib. iv. c. 41, 43. Gesta Regum Francorum.

^d FREDEG. Chron. Gesta Regum Francorum. AIMON.

^e Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. 43. Vita Sancti

Sigeberti. ^f AIMON, cap. 41. Gesta Regum Francorum.

Vita Sancti Sigeberti. ^g Vita Sancti Boniti.

Gesta Regum Francorum. AIMON.

(N) When it is said, as we find it in many of the *French* historians, that *Clovis* the second was the first of the stupid or indolent kings, we are to understand this of his falling, in the two last years of his life, into a state of lunacy, concerning which something has been said in the text: but in cases of this nature it is always best to derive our knowledge from original authors (1). The monk then, from whose relation all that other historians have said is borrowed, speaks thus: "This prince spent all his days in peace; but so fortune would have it, that, towards the close of his life, he came, as if it had been to pray, to the dormitory, where *St. Dionysius* the martyr and his fellow saints were reposed, and, being desirous to have some of their relicks with him, he commanded that the sepulchre should be opened; when looking upon the corpse of the blessed and excellent martyr and priest *Dionysius*, with an irreligious and covetous eye, he broke and seized upon his arm bone, and, being stupified, fell immediately into madness. But it was not on him alone that this fear and terror fell, but on those who attended him, which, the place becoming dark of a sudden, terrified them so much, that they placed all safety in flight. After some space of time, in order

"to recover his senses, he gave certain lands to the convent, and, causing the bone to be richly inshrined in gold, set with precious stones, he sent it back to be deposited with the body. Some lucid intervals after this he had; but in the space of two years, without ever recovering his senses perfectly, he finished his life and reign." Later historians have referred the king's weakness of mind to his voluptuous course of life, and to his excesses in wine and women (2). But it is somewhat strange, that those, who had good sense enough to reject the judgment, should nevertheless think themselves obliged to account for the fact. It is highly probable they were both true alike, or, in plain terms, that there was not a syllable of truth in either (3). His making free with the treasures of this rich convent in a time of scarcity is not to be disputed; and though he replaced them, and was in other respects a great benefactor to the house, yet, to set aside what they esteemed so dangerous a precedent, the monks had recourse to this pious fraud, and, as it came to be afterwards countenanced from a maxim of state, we need not wonder that it gained belief (4). We shall see that this attempt having succeeded so well, tales of the like nature were invented upon other occasions, and met with the same fortune (5).

(1) Monach. Dionys. annal.

(2) Abreg. Chronologique de l'Histoire de France par le Sieur de Mezeray, Recueil des Rois de France leur Couronne & Maison par Jean du Tillet.

(3) Dissertation au Sujet de nos derniers Rois, &c. par l'Abbe Vertot.

(4) Nouvelle Histoire de France par M. Louis le Gendre.

(5) See the next note, L'Abbe Vertot, ubi sup.

- a contrived to gratify the descendents of *Pepin* the short, than the real sense of the people who lived under them, and who expressed great regard for them^b.

CLOTAIRE the third was immediately declared king of *Burgundy* and *Neustria*, being about five years of age, under the tuition of his mother, queen *Batilde*, *Ebroin* being chosen mayor of the palaceⁱ. We find different and very opposite characters of this minister, since the best part of what is styled the history of *France*, under this period, is drawn out of the lives of certain ecclesiastics, who were reputed saints, and lived in these times. Accordingly, therefore, as these saints lived upon good or bad terms with *Ebroin*, his character appears in the writings of their panegyrist. This seems to be tolerably clear, that, while the queen had no other minister than him, she maintained the character of a wise and virtuous princess, governing with great reputation and tranquility, and her son had all the respect and obedience shewn that his birth and dignity required; but after she brought *Leger*, bishop of *Autun*, and *Sigebrand*, who was also a bishop, though history has not preserved the name of his see, into her cabinet, there was nothing but jealousy and confusion. This last prelate was not only a man of a troublesome temper, which embroiled him with *Ebroin*, but of a suspicious character likewise, which drew some censures upon the queen, and, in a popular insurrection, proved the cause of his being sacrificed to the public hate. That princess was so much offended at this, that she not only quitted the regency of her son's dominions, and the court, but withdrew likewise from the world, retiring into the monastery of *Chelles*, which she had rebuilt, and in a manner refounded, and where she passed the remainder of her life in the most irreproachable manner, universally respected and revered^k. *Ebroin*, now left to himself, became in reality what his enemies represent him to have been always; that is, haughty and covetous, vindictive in regard to his enemies, and oppressive with respect to the people, which excited universal discontent. While things were in this critical situation, *Clotaire* died, when he had reigned fourteen, and lived about nineteen years^l. Upon this, *Ebroin* caused *Thierry*, who, being a child at the breast when his father died, had no provision made for him, to be proclaimed king. The nobility and the people, considering his tender age, and conceiving there would be no alteration in the government, rose up immediately in arms, plundered the palace, seized the wealth of *Ebroin*, who retired to a monastery to save his life; and, not content with this, caused *Thierry* likewise to be thrust into a convent and shaved; who it was not so much as pretended had given the least cause of complaint^m.

CHILDERIC, king of *Austrasia*, being called to the throne, in this time of confusion, very readily accepted it; and, coming to take possession of his new dominions at *Paris*, some of the nobility presented his brother *Thierry* to him. The king seeing him in the habit of a private man, and with his locks shorn, shewed great tenderness and concern, and asked him, what he could do for him to comfort him in his distress? *Thierry* answered, "that he left his cause entirely in the hands of God, who, in due time, would avenge him of those who had thus insulted him without the least provocationⁿ." The king ordered him the best apartments in the monastery of *St. Denis*, with liberal appointments for his support. The nobility, as soon as the ferment was a little ceased, held a kind of general assembly, in which they recommended various things to their new king; such as, that he would restore vigour to the laws, oblige the governors of provinces, and other ministers, to act according to them, and that for the future he would not repose his entire confidence upon any single minister. *Childeric*, desirous of peace, and of enjoying his pleasures, promised them whatever they asked^o. But, notwithstanding this, *Wulfoade*, who had been mayor of the palace in *Austrasia*, continued to act in that capacity in all the three kingdoms; but it must be owned his master did not rely entirely upon him; *Leger*, bishop of *Autun*, who had been his mother's minister, and the principal author of this revolt, had a great share in his esteem. He was a man of a singular character; for, with great piety and incorruptible probity, he was opinionative and very narrow. He treated the king as if he had been his scholar; which in a little time disgusted him, and that to such a degree, that suspecting, or pretending to suspect, him of treasonable practices, he caused him to be apprehended, and sent him to the monastery of *Luxeuil*, to pass the rest of his days in retreat^p. It was to this very convent that *Ebroin* had retired, and their misfortunes having extinguished, or at least suspended, their hatred, they became in appearance very good friends, and took their measures together how to get once more abroad; for, having been so long used to courts, neither of them could digest the austerities or the privacies of a convent. In the mean time *Childeric* was employed in paving the way to his own destruction. He was naturally light and inconstant, and being

^b Memoire pour établir que le Royaume de France a été successif—hereditaire dans la premiere Race, par Mr. DE FONGEMAGNE.

ⁱ FREDEG. Chron. cap. 92. Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. 44, 45.

^k Vita Sancti Leodegarii. Vita Sancti Bathildis.

^l FREDEG. Chron. cap. 92. Gesta Regum Francorum. Vita Sancti Leodegarii.

^m FREDEG. Chron. AIMON, Vita Sancti Leodegarii.

ⁿ FREDEG. Chron. cap. 97. Gesta Regum Francorum.

^o Vita Sancti Leodegarii. Gesta Regum Francorum, c. 47.

^p Vita Sancti Leodegarii, c. 6.

young, without experience, and without the assistance of wise ministers, gave a loose to his passions: considering whatever contradicted them as an act of disobedience, though founded in reason and respect to the laws, he became at first wanton and wilful, and in the end cruel. This excited general discontent; and the *Franks* were not in these days silent when displeased^a. *Bodillon*, a man of quality, having represented some grievances to this prince pretty freely, when he happened to be in an ill humour, *Childeric* ordered his guards to lay him flat on the floor, and beat him severely; which they performed. *Bodillon*, who was very brave, and had many friends, assembled them as soon as he was able, surprised the king while he was hunting near one of his country palaces, and, after reproaching him bitterly, thrust him through with his sword. It had been well if his vengeance had stopped here; but proceeding to the palace, with those who had perpetrated this murder, he there killed the unfortunate queen *Blitide*, or *Bilichilde*, then pregnant and near her time, and the innocent prince *Dagobert*, then in his infancy; but another young prince, afterwards named *Daniel*, escaped this massacre, and came in process of time to wear his father's crown^b. There never was certainly a country in a more wretched and deplorable condition than *France* at this time, without king, without magistrate, without law, a wild and bloody anarchy prevailing. Others, imitating the example of *Bodillon*, and being, or believing themselves, injured, armed their friends and dependents, and wreaked their resentments without mercy; or gratified their avarice and their hate, almost without giving themselves the trouble of covering them with specious pretences^c. Such were the consequences of this extravagant and extrajudicial stroke of private justice.

Sigebert restored to his father's dominions, which, however, he enjoyed but a few years.

WULFOADE, mayor of the palace, thought himself so little in safety, that he retired with what friends he had into *Austrasia*, in hopes of restoring some form of government to that kingdom, and perhaps of assembling, by degrees, a strength sufficient to put an end to these disorders. Some think that with this view he proclaimed *Dagobert* the second, son to king *Sigebert*, and who was returned out of *Scotland*, with *Wilfrid*, afterwards archbishop of *York*, king of that part of *Austrasia* which lay on the other side the *Rhine*^d. It seems more probable to others that he found him already king; *Childeric*, who had a great respect for his mother *Innechilde*, having consented that he should enjoy that part of his father's country^e. But, taking advantage of these confusions, it is allowed that he extended his territories, and recovered at length the best part, if not at all, of his father's kingdom; which he enjoyed, however, but a few years, being treacherously killed as he was hunting, together, as some writers say, with his son *Sigebert*, by the remnant of the inveterate faction of *Grimoalde*, who in the end extirminated the whole race of *Clovis*. The bodies of *Dagobert* and *Sigebert* were interred at *Stenai*, where the former was invoked as a saint^f.

Thierry is proclaimed king, and is compelled to receive *Ebroin* for his mayor of the palace.

A. D. 673.

In a short time after his brother's death, *Thierry*, quitting the monastery of *St. Denis*, where he had lived as a private man, but not as a monk, went to *Nogent* on the *Seine*, now called *St. Cloud*, and, being attended there by many of the nobility, declared *Leudesie*, the son of *Erchinoald*, mayor of the palace. The bishop of *Autun*, who, with *Ebroin*, had quitted his monastery and resumed his episcopal function, quickly joined the king, and was very graciously received, though he had been the principal author of that revolt which occasioned his deposition^g. *Thierry* himself, as appears by authentic charters, considered this only as resuming the government, and not as inheriting the regal dignity from his brother *Childeric*. But the hopes that had been conceived of *Ebroin*'s submitting were quickly dissipated. He drew together his old friends, and chiefly such as had suffered for him, and to these he added such of the banditti of all parties as thought it inconsistent with their interests, as well as repugnant to their inclinations, to submit to any government. His party being become very strong, he drove the king, through fear, from place to place, though he did not pretend to question his title; but insisted that he ought to be replaced in his employment^h. He pushed his dissimulation so far as to invite *Leudesie*, who then held it, to a conference; to which the latter, sincerely desirous of restoring peace, willingly consented; but in his way thither was assassinated. This raised so general and so just an aversion to *Ebroin*, that he saw it would be more difficult for him than ever to succeed in his design; upon which, retiring into *Austrasia*, he set up an unknown youth, upon whom he bestowed the name of *Clovis*, and the quality of son of *Clotaire*, which gained him so great an accession of strength, more especially as he affirmed that *Thierry* was dead, that he became more formidable than everⁱ. The first use he made of his power was to send a strong body of forces, under the command of some lords as wicked as himself, and two bishops, who had been deposed for a variety of crimes, to invest *Autun*; where, to preserve the city, the bishop, who was the object of his venge-

^a FREDEG. Chron. c. 98. Gesta Regum Francorum, c. 49.

Sancti Leodegarii, c. 7.

Gesta Francorum.

Sancti Leodegarii, par Anonym.

^b HENSHEN. de tribus Dagobertis.

^c AIMON, lib. iv. c. 45. ADON. Chron.

^d AIMON, lib. iv. ADON. Chron.

^e Vita S. Wilfridi.

^f URSINUS in Vita Leodegarii.

^g Vita

^h VALESII

ⁱ Vita

a ance, surrendered himself into their hands ; and they, by his directions, put out his eyes, and would have left him to starve, if the duke of *Champagne*, out of pure humanity, had not relieved him^a.

It might have been imagined, that the miserable situation of the bishop of *Autun* would have satiated the malice of *Ebroin*, and that the king's accepting him in quality of mayor of the palace, to which he was compelled, and which, in effect, was receiving him for his master, might have gratified his ambition^b. *Ebroin*, however, was not either appeased or content. He published a general amnesty, that he might fix his own power upon the firmest basis; and, when he had brought things into tolerable order, he made no scruple of declaring, that, notwithstanding this amnesty, there were two points, into which, for the safety of the state, it was absolutely necessary to enquire; the first was the deposition of *Thierri*, and the second the murder of *Childeric*. By this contrivance there were none left innocent, whom he had a mind to consider in another light. The bishop of *Autun* and his brother were charged with procuring the death of *Childeric*; the former had his lips and part of his tongue cut off, the latter was stoned. Two years after the bishop, upon a new accusation, was condemned, degraded, and put to death^c. Others, who had provoked him, felt the weight of *Ebroin*'s resentment in as high a degree, the king, who was no less in his power than his subjects, not daring to interpose. We need not wonder, therefore, that the nobility of *Austrasia*, though rent into faction amongst themselves, were universally disposed to hinder *Ebroin* from extending his power into that country; to prevent which they set up two rich and potent men, who were cousins, and bestowed on them the title of dukes of *Austrasia*. The names of these two dukes were *Martin* and *Pepin*; the former had the greater interest, but the latter was the abler man^d. *Ebroin*, who had a numerous and well-disciplined army, marched against them as if they had been rebels to *Thierri*, which they really were not. He had the good fortune to defeat them in battle, and afterwards besieged *Martin* in the city of *Laon*; where, having prevailed upon him to surrender that place, upon a promise of safety made by the bishops of *Paris* and *Rheims*, he was no sooner master of it than he caused him to be beheaded^e. *Pepin* in the mean time had recruited his forces, and, having chosen a strong camp, resolved to defend himself there to the last extremity. The mayor of the palace was preparing to attack him, when he fell by the hand of an enemy whom he did not suspect. *Ermenfroi*, who was steward of the king's household, had been guilty of oppressions, for which *Ebroin* had caused him to be deeply fined. This man had a resentment quick as his own, and, having engaged some of his friends to assist him, they attacked the mayor of the palace as he was going to his devotions on a *Sunday* morning, and dispatched him with their knives, being without other arms to prevent suspicion; after which they fled to the camp of *Pepin*, who very readily granted them his protection^f. Upon this foundation some have supposed him to be the author of the murder.

THE nobility elected *Waraton* to succeed him as mayor of the palace, by which they put into his hands the supreme direction of affairs in the kingdoms of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*. He was a man of a mild and peaceable disposition, and who seemed to have been raised to that eminent employment rather out of respect to his quality than his talents. He carried on the war against *Pepin* timorously and tardily, which provoked his son *Gislemar* to supplant him in a post for which he was much fitter^g. He pressed the *Austrasians* exceedingly, and in all probability had determined the war in his own favour at last, if not in his master's, had not death interposed and removed him at a very critical conjuncture. He was succeeded by his brother-in-law *Bertaire*, a man of a haughty and haughty disposition, who treated the nobility with such disrespect, that some of them retired into *Austrasia*, and many more began to enter into intrigues with *Pepin*, whom they sought to draw into *Neustria*, assuring him that they had much rather see him at the head of their councils and armies than *Bertaire*, who had treated them so unworthily. *Pepin* proceeded slowly and cautiously, and, before he would invade either *Neustria* or *Burgundy*, sent deputies to intreat *Thierri* to restore the exiles, that had retired to him, to their posts and patrimonies, and to redress certain grievances that were highly detrimental to the nation in general. This was rejected with great contempt; upon which *Pepin* advanced towards the frontiers with his forces. *Thierri*, and his mayor of the palace, marched with a numerous army to meet them in the *Vermandois*; they engaged, and though the royal army behaved well, and disputed the victory for many hours, yet in the end they were beaten. The king fled to *Paris*, and *Bertaire* much farther; but, being much embarrassed with his treasures, his own soldiers conspired against him, murdered him, and shared his wealth amongst them^h. This put an end to the dispute, and delivered into the hands of *Pepin* both the king and his kingdom.

^a URSINUS in Vita Sancti Leodegarii.

^d Annales Metenses.

^e Annales Metenses.

^b AIMON, lib. iv. c. 46.

^c AIMON, lib. iv. c. 46.

^h CONT. FREDEG. cap. 100.

^f URSINUS in Vita Sancti Leode-

^g CONT. FREDEG. cap. 100.

Leaves the
king barely the
title and as-
sumes absolute-
ly the sove-
reignty of the
Franks.

It is requisite to say something more particularly of this great man, who had himself the power, and whose grandson assumed the title of king, of *France*. He is commonly called *Pepin d'Heristal*, from a palace of his on the *Meuse*, about three miles above *Liege*, where there is now a town of the same name. He is sometimes denominated, from the figure of his person, *Pepin le Gros*, or *Pepin the Fat*. We find him sometimes stiled *Pepin le Vieux*, or *Pepin the Old*, in, opposition to his grandson *Pepin the Short*; and sometimes *Pepin le Jeune*, or *Pepin the Young*, to distinguish him from *Pepin de Landen*, who was mayor of the palace to *Sigebert II.* This *Pepin d'Heristal* was, in all respects, one of the greatest men that age produced, extremely brave in his person, affable in his manner, easy of access, mild in his discourse, very ambitious, and withal modest and moderate in appearance: in short, a great captain, a consummate statesman, and, which was more than either, so prudent in every thing he did and said, that he seldom lost a friend, and never created an enemy¹. He received *Thierry* as if he had intended to be the most humble and the most dutiful of his servants: he paid him all the respect possible, and took all the care he could to hide his chains from himself and the public. Whenever it was necessary for him to appear, he appeared in state. A chariot, drawn by oxen, rolled him along the street, surrounded by guards, partly for pomp, partly for security, but chiefly to prevent any from approaching him. He gave audience to ambassadors, he received homage from tributary princes, and was present at all public solemnities, with a pageantry that at once pleased and deceived the people. The rest of his time he spent at some country palace, where he had a good table, kept his great officers, and a competent number of domestics, but he was not troubled with affairs^k. *Pepin* bestowed the commands in the army, distributed provinces, appointed dukes and counts, and in short sustained all the fatigues of sovereignty, though he was so humble as to content himself with the title of duke and prince of the *Franks*. Here in fact ended the empire of *Clovis*. *Pepin d'Heristal* might with propriety enough be said to put an end to the *Merovingian* race, since from this time they lost all authority, and were, in reality, not more than breathing shadows, and phantoms of royalty, which, except their hair and their robes, had nothing in them of kings. But whatever became of the family, we must do him the justice to say, that he preserved the empire of *Clovis*, which otherwise must have crumbled to pieces through its own weight, and the incapacity of those who should have supported it^l.

Pepin brings
public affairs
into order, and
is highly re-
spected by so-
vereign powers.

At his entrance on the administration, *Pepin* applied himself vigorously to correct the faults of his predecessors, and to bring all things into order: but he began very wisely with popular measures; he recalled such as were exiled; he restored many to their employments, and many more to their patrimonies; he heard grievances patiently, and redressed them willingly; he shewed profound respect to the clergy, but constrained them to maintain an exact discipline; he brought the finances into good order, and obliged the dukes and counts to govern the people according to the laws, and to be obedient to them themselves. He received the assemblies at the beginning of *March*, at which the prelates, as well as the nobility, were present; where laws were made and repealed, and where the state of the empire, in all respects, was strictly and punctually examined^m. In these assemblies *Thierry* was always present, seated on a throne, and surrounded by his officers; all proceedings being in his name, and all grants said to issue through his favour. This sudden and extraordinary alteration rendered *Pepin* so famous, that not only the *Sclavonians* and the *Huns*, but the king of the *Lombards*, also the *Greek* emperor *Justinian II.* and even the *Saracens*, sent their ambassadors to the court of *France*, where they made their presents, and paid their respects to *Thierry*, and saw with astonishment the plainness and simplicity of *Pepin's* appearance, who took all the pains imaginable to hide from the public that love of power, which, notwithstanding, occupied his whole thoughts. *Thierry* survived this change about three years, and then died, under forty years of age, leaving by his wife *Clotilda* two sons, *Clovis* and *Childebert*ⁿ.

Clovis III.
bears the title
of king.

On the demise of *Thierry*, *Pepin* proclaimed his eldest son *Clovis III.* then about ten years old, without taking any notice of the younger, as, perhaps, not caring to have the trouble of two sons. This young prince bore the regal title about four years; during which space *Pepin* was employed in humbling the *Frisons*, and other barbarous nations, who, disdaining to be the tributaries of the mayor of the palace, thought to have shaken off the yoke of the *Franks*, with the same ease that he had done his master; in which, however, they found themselves extremely mistaken^o. After the demise of *Clovis*, his brother *Childebert* was saluted king, and led the same inactive life his father had done, while *Pepin* humbled the *Allemands* and the *Bavarians*, and other nations, which rendered him highly respected. His care of the public did not hinder his being very assiduous in providing for his family: he had by his first wife *Plectrude* two sons; *Drogon*, whom he made duke of *Burgundy*, and

¹ Annales Meten. Gesta Regum Francorum. ^k AIMON, lib. iv. cap. lxxvii. ADON. Chron. Metens. Gesta Regum Francorum. ^m AIMON, lib. iv. c. 46. Gesta Regum Francorum. FREDEG. cap. 101. ^o Annales Metens. Gesta Regum Francorum.

^l Annales
ⁿ Cont.

- a *Grimoalde*, who was mayor of the palace to *Childebert*^p. Being divorced from her, he married *Alpaide*, and had by her two sons also; *Charles* surnamed *Martel*, and *Childebrand*: but *Plectrude* being restored to his favour, they were not raised to any great post during the life of their father. As for *Drogon*, duke of *Burgundy*, he was of a warm and active disposition; brave, liberal, and magnificent; but he died in the flower of his age, and, as some say, not without issue. *Grimoalde* was of quite another character, mild, humane, pious, but without a man of great parts and prudence, which rendered him the favourite of his father, who depended upon him for the support of his house. *Childebert* II. dying, after a reign of seventeen years, his son *Dagobert* II. was declared king, and *Grimoalde* mayor of the palace: he acted, however, intirely under his father's orders, and obeyed him with all the exactness possible^q. His power, and his good fortune, could not defend him from the effects of age and infirmities. In the third year of *Dagobert*'s reign, he had a dangerous fit of sickness at *Jütil*, not far from *Heristal*: as it was believed he could not recover, the enemies of his family resolved to take this opportunity of destroying it, and with this view entered into a conspiracy against *Grimoalde*, who, in other respects, had no ways deserved it; and *Rengaire*, who was at the head of this plot, stabbed him as he was at prayers in the church of *St. Lambert* at *Liège*^r. *Pepin* recovered, and revenged himself with great severity on all who were embarked in that conspiracy; and, to shew his great power, as well as his warm affection for his son, he appointed his only child *Theudoalde* mayor of the palace, though he was then but six years old. This was one of the last acts of his life, for he died not long after, in the twenty-eighth year of his administration^s.
- b *PLECTRUDE*, in quality of tutorefs to her grandson, assumed the direction of affairs, and had the honour to be at the head of such a government, as scarce any history can shew the like; a woman and a child presuming to rule three kingdoms, while the king was alive and in full health^t! It would have been surprising if she could have carried on this government; and yet it cannot be said to have failed through her imprudence. She was apprehensive of some trouble from her son-in-law *Charles Martel*; to prevent which, she caused him to be imprisoned; she secured the treasure of her deceased husband; and she spared no pains in caressing the nobility whom *Pepin* had intrusted with the principal employments. She quickly found that this was to little purpose; the remains of that faction, which had opposed her husband, took up arms to rescue, as they gave out, *Dagobert* from his confinement. *Plectrude* had recourse to the *Austrasians*, who, out of affection to the family of *Pepin*, raised a formidable army; which, however, was beaten by that of *Dagobert* and *Rainfroi*, whom the nobility had elected mayor of the palace^u. *Theudoalde* was with difficulty saved, and died not long after; so that the vast structure which *Pepin* had erected, was in great danger of being overthrown, and the old constitution restored. It was, however, preserved by an accident; for, in the midst of this confusion, *Charles Martel* made his escape, and going into *Austrasia*, was, without hesitation, received there as duke, and quickly collected a good body of troops out of the army that had been defeated. As for *Plectrude*, she had still a strong party, which enabled her to retire to *Cologne*, with the treasures of her husband. *Dagobert* resolved to pursue her thither, and was on the point of undertaking that expedition, when, very fortunately for the family of *Pepin*, he was removed by death, in the fifth year of his reign, having an only son *Thierry*, surnamed from the place of his birth *Thierry of Chelles*, at the breast^v. This accident threw the mayor of the palace *Rainfroi*, and the nobility of *Neustria*, into great disorder; they wanted a king for their own security, who had some degree of capacity and courage; and, therefore, setting aside *Thierry*, they drew out of a convent *Daniel*, the son of *Childeric* II. though a clerk, and having bestowed on him the name of *Chilperic*, they advanced him to the throne^w. In spite of his education and misfortunes, this young king shewed a spirit suitable to his birth^x; and putting himself, with the mayor of the palace, at the head of his army, prosecuted the design of his predecessor, and marched directly into *Austrasia*^y. He at the same time entered into a negotiation with the duke of the *Frisons*, who speedily assembled a great army, and with it marched directly towards *Cologne*. *Charles Martel* found himself between two armies, and his forces much inferior to either; he ventured, notwithstanding, to give battle to the *Frisons*, over whom he gained no advantage^z. This check put it out of his power to prevent the junction of their forces with those of *Chilperic*, who thereupon laid siege to *Cologne*. *Plectrude* had a strong garrison, and seemed disposed to make an obstinate defence; but, however, she offered the king and his allies a very large sum of money if they would raise the siege. In all probability this tempted the *Frisons*,

A. D. 711.

Dagobert king under the tutelage of an old woman and a young child.

716.

Chilperic Daniel declared king, and Charles Martel duke of Austrasia.

^p Contin. FREDEG. cap. 101.^q Gesta Regum Francorum. ADONIS Chronicon.

Append. GREG. TURON.

^s AIMON, lib. iv. cap. 49.^t Annales Metenses.

ADONIS Chronicon.

^u Annales Metenses.^x Gesta Regum Francorum.^v Contin. FREDEG.^w AIMON, lib. iv.^z Contin. FREDEG.^y Annales Metenses.^z Annales Metenses.

and the king found himself under a necessity of complying with his allies. However it happened, the proposition was accepted, the money received, and the siege raised ^b. The *Frisons* thereupon retired into their own country; and the king, finding it difficult to subsist his army, was obliged to retreat. *Charles Martel*, dividing his forces into several bodies, harassed the king's army continually, and, in the forest of *Arden*, entering the camp by surprise, cut off a great number: this raised his reputation highly, more especially as he treated his prisoners kindly, and dismissed them without ransom. It also revived the spirits of the *Austrasians*; so that, in a short time, he found himself at the head of a very numerous army, and in a condition of acting offensively against his enemies ^c.

Charles Martel compels the king to own him for mayor of his palace.

THE virtues of *Pepin* were inherited by *Charles*; he knew perfectly how to improve good fortune, as well as how to support the want of it. He marched his forces towards *Cambray*, ^b where *Chilperic* and the mayor of his palace had established their head quarters; but being arrived between *Arras* and that city, he did not immediately give the king battle, but, on the contrary, entered into a negotiation, declaring, that he sought no more than to be restored to what his father possessed, and that those who had suffered with him might likewise share in this change of fortune, which was immediately rejected. By this measure he convinced his troops that he had a proper concern for their safety: he persuaded them that right was on their side, and that, without victory, they were not to expect either safety or justice ^d. This had a proper effect; his troops attacked those of the king's with spirit, and continued the engagement with such resolution, that they gained a complete victory, on *Sunday* the 19th of *March*, according to the best computations; after which he ravaged all the country as far as *Paris*, and then returned with his victorious army into *Austrasia*. His view in taking this step was to reduce *Cologne*, and get thereby into his hands the treasures of his father *Pepin*, which he accomplished without much difficulty; for having persuaded *Plectrude* to admit him into the city, a sedition presently ensued, which put him in possession, and her in his power ^e. He used his fortune in this case with great moderation; but perceiving that *Chilperic* would not listen to any terms, and that the people of *Austrasia* were desirous of a king, he took the same step that *Ebroin* had done in like circumstances, and set up *Clotaire*, a prince very probably of the royal blood; but how or from whom descended no history informs us. *Chilperic*, and *Rainfroi* the mayor of his palace, saw clearly that nothing now was to be expected but from arms, and therefore they had recourse to *Eudes*, duke of *Aquitaine*, who, in the course ^d of these troubles, had made himself master of all that the *Franks* had possessed on the other side the *Loire*, and promised him, if he would assist them with his forces against the *Austrasians*, to acknowledge his right to the provinces he had seized ^f. It may be that *Eudes* little regarded this sanction, since he was very well able to defend against them what he had acquired; but it was his interest as well as theirs to lessen the power of *Charles*, who might, some time or other, endeavour to recover this country to the *Franks*: he embraced therefore the offer that was made him, and with a very numerous army joined that of the king. They had scarce time to deliberate on the properest method for carrying on the war; since *Charles Martel*, who had now the means of augmenting and maintaining an army, was advanced as far as *Soissons*, and seemed disposed to find them out, if they did not march to find him. If they had taken ^e this step immediately, possibly things might have succeeded better; but this unexpected march of the *Austrasians* visibly disconcerted them: while they endeavoured to delay coming to an action, their forces dwindled and disbanded, and being rather driven than defeated by *Charles*, *Rainfroi* marched one way, and the king and the duke of *Aquitaine* another ^e. *Chilperic* carried with him his treasures, and persuaded *Eudes* to augment his army, that they might again try their fortune in the field; but *Charles* demanded the king and his treasures, and promised the duke, if they were delivered up, his friendship, and the peaceable possession of all that he now held. *Eudes*, intirely guided by his own interest, and having no reason to expect greater advantages from supporting any longer the side he had taken, accepted these terms, and delivered up *Chilperic* and his treasures ^f.

719.

The civil war ended, and the death of *Chilperic* after an uneasy reign.

THE reception offered the king by *Charles Martel*, was as honourable and as kind as his circumstances would permit: *Clotaire* dying about this time, he caused him to be acknowledged in *Austrasia*; and, as it appears from charters and other authentic instruments, he was owned for the sovereign of all the dominions of the *Franks*. *Rainfroi* was not so easily reduced; he had an interest amongst the nobility; they saw clearly that his cause was theirs; and that, if he was once reduced, as they had nothing to hope from the favour, so their safety must depend upon the clemency, of the victor. *Charles* took the same method to put an end to this war, that he had done with regard to the former ¹. He pushed *Rainfroi* vigorously, till he had shut him up in *Aungier*, where he offered him the county of *Anjou*, with the

^b *Gesta Regum Francorum*.
^c *Gesta Regum Francorum*.
^d *Annals Metenses*.
^e *Annals Metenses*.

^f *Contin. FREDEG.*
¹ *Vita S. Rigoberti*.

² *Contin. FREDEG.*

³ *Chronicon Fontal-*
⁴ *Annals Me-*

- a strongest assurance of his enjoying it peaceably, which *Rainfroi* readily accepted; and the terms, thus settled, were very honourably maintained on both sides^k. *Charles* was equally successful in reducing those who had thrown off the yoke of the *Franks*: he beat the *Suevians* by sea, the *Frisons* by land; twice he defeated the *Allemands*, and gained no less than five victories over the *Saxons*, so much the more acceptable to him, as they were purchased at a small expence of blood. His prudence in taking his measures, and his promptness in the execution of them, were the principal causes of his constant victories; which, while he was pursuing, *Chilperic*, who had a deep sense of his misfortunes, died, after a short as well as a restless and unhappy reign. The critics in *French* history have very justly excluded the name of this monarch from the list of the *Faineans*, as he was personally present in three battles, and upon all other occasions gave incontestable proofs of his activity and address; so that there seemed to be nothing wanting to render him a great prince, but a little better fortune, or less courage or capacity in his competitors^l.

A.D. 725.

- Thierry of Chelles* was brought out of the convent upon this occasion, and proclaimed king *Thierry IV.* of *Austrasia*, as well as *Neustria* and *Burgundy*: he is usually stiled *Thierry III.* but with greater propriety *Thierry IV.* and, at the time of his accession, could not be above seven years old at most. His name was all that was of any use to *Charles*, and that indeed stood him in great stead. He was always in arms, and always in the cause of the king of the *Franks*; the dukes, and the counts, who controverted his orders, he considered as rebels to the king; the barbarous nations that did not pay their tribute, were the enemies of the *Franks*. Thus he never wanted specious pretences for perpetual expeditions, which kept up a numerous army, without being either a burthen or a terror to his own subjects; for the vanquished always bore the expence of the war, the bounds of the empire were continually enlarged, the clergy were constantly sent into the new conquests, and large grants to the church were to him equivalent to garrisons, in which he followed the maxims of his father *Pepin*; and whether his actions were good law or ill, they had always a fair colour, which, with full coffers and veteran troops, secured his fame and fortune^m: but the quality which, of all others, contributed most to his greatness, was his sagacity in foreseeing, and his activity in taking his measures. In consequence of his foresight, *Eudes*, duke of *Aquitaine*, who had the same faculty in a great degree, had more than once infringed the treaty he made with him, and had an intention of proceeding further, if fortune had favoured him; but *Charles* had ever his army at hand to check him, and, by ravaging his country in revenge, obliged him to renew the peace he had brokenⁿ. That prince might, however, some time or other, have created him much uneasiness, had he not had his hands full with another, no less potent enemy, the *Moors*, who were masters of *Spain*. He was continually embarrassed with them for several years together, being sometimes in war, sometimes in league with their chiefs, one of whom he tempted to revolt, by giving him his daughter; but he being defeated and slain, the duke of *Aquitaine* found himself in a very distressed condition^o. *Abderaman*, governor of *Spain* for the *Khalif*, meditated not only the punishment of *Eudes*, and the conquest of his country, but to penetrate into the heart of *France*, and to establish there the enormous swarms of *Moors*, who were continually transporting themselves from *Africa*. *Eudes* penetrating his design from the prodigious army he understood was forming, and knowing how unable he was to defend himself and his country from such an inundation of Infidels, applied himself, though unwillingly, to the duke and prince of the *Franks*. *Charles* readily promised him his assistance; and, having long before expected such an invitation, had his troops in perfect readiness, contrary to his usual custom, and had brought into the field many thousands of his subjects from beyond the *Rhine*^p.

- ABDERAMAN* broke like a torrent into *Aquitaine*, with an army so numerous, that, in attempting to define it, some historians have rendered their accounts incredible. Duke *Eudes* was so little in a condition to resist, that all the forces he could raise served only to form a flying camp, and this was all that *Charles* expected^q. The *Moors* wasted all the country as they proceeded, took and destroyed the great towns, and seemed to place the hopes of their possession in leaving no places of strength, to which, when they recovered from their consternation, the inhabitants might retire. *Charles* marched with his army to meet them, but slowly, and in good order^r. Between *Tours* and *Poitier* the armies came in sight, and spent seven days in skirmishes; at length they came to a decisive battle, in which the troops from beyond the *Rhine* did wonders; their gigantic size in comparison of the *Moors*, and the weight of their battle-axes, ballanced the inequality of numbers. *Abderaman* behaved like a great captain, and his forces defended themselves with great intrepidity; the Christians fought with much bravery and spirit; but though they killed multitudes, the Infidels did not break or give way. At length, a multitude appeared flying, and a great cloud of smoke and dust rose

^k Nouvelle Histoire de France, par LE GENDRE, P. DANIEL.FREDEG. ⁿ ADONIS Chron.FREDEG. ^r Annales Metenses. ADONIS Chronicon.^l Annales Metenses.^p ISIDOR. Pacens. ADONIS Chron.^m Contin.^q Contin.

behind the army of the *Moors*, the duke of *Aquitaine* had broke into their camp, slaughtered a their women, children, and servants, and set fire to their tents: this determined the fate of the day, and obliged the *Moors* to retreat as fast as they were able. *Charles* did not prosecute his victory, which seems to be a clear proof that his loss was much greater than those historians make it, who say this victory did not cost him above fifteen hundred men¹. The next year the Infidels made another attempt on *Aquitaine*, to no purpose; but they had better fortune in *Provence*, which was betrayed into their hands by its governor. This drew *Charles* into those parts with a numerous army, with which he made himself master of *Avignon*². He soon transferred the war into *Languedoc*, and gained another great victory over the *Saracens*, but he was not able to make himself master of *Narbonne*: he had, perhaps, carried the success of his arms farther, but that he was obliged to attend particularly to domestic concerns. b He granted the duchy of *Aquitaine* to *Hunald*, the son of *Eudes*, but upon express condition of being his vassal, without mention of the king, and *Thierry* dying about this time, he made no haste to declare a successor. He beat the *Frisons*, and killed their duke with his own hands: he dissipated more than one conspiracy, made a league with the *Lombards*, and undertook to act as a mediator between them and pope *Gregory III.* who made choice of him for his protector, sent him the keys of the tomb of *St. Peter*, offered to shake off his dependence on the Greek emperor, and to proclaim *Charles* consul of *Rome*³. These propositions pleased him extremely; but, while this great affair was in agitation, all the great persons interested therein were removed by death, the emperor *Leo* on the 18th of *June*, *Charles Martel* on the 22d of A. D. 741. October (O), and the pope on the 28th of *November*⁴. c

Carloman and Pepin succeed their father, and the interregnum continues.

THE singular fortune which had attended *Charles Martel* through his whole life, and which had accompanied him to his grave, seemed to be consigned by him to his family. In an assembly of the nobles, held a little before his death, he assigned *Austrasia* to his eldest son *Carloman*; *Neustria* and *Burgundy* to his second son *Pepin*, surnamed *le Bref*, or *the Short*, because he was short in stature, though very strong and well made. These were the children of his first wife⁵. His second survived him, and to her son *Gripon*, or *Griffon*, he assigned

¹ ISIDOR. PACENS. ² RODERIC Tol. Hist. Arabum. ADONIS Chron. Annales Metenses. ³ Contin. FREDEG. ⁴ Annales Metenses. ⁵ Chronicon Fontallense.

(O) As the second race of the *French* kings are stiled *Carlovingians*, in the opinion of many writers, from this *Charles Martel*, we will in this note give a succinct account of his family and descendents. The most ancient writers rise no higher than his great grandfather *Arnold*, or *Arnoul*, steward of the household to the kings of *Austrasia*, and who had three sons by his wife *Doda*, before he became an ecclesiastic and bishop of *Metz* (3). His second son *Anchisus*, *Anchises*, or *Ansigius*, held the same post his father did, under *Sigebert*, king of *Austrasia*, espoused *Bega* the daughter of *Pepin of Landen*, and the sister of *Grimoalde*, by whom he was the father of *Pepin of Heristal*. This *Anchises* was killed as he was hunting by one *Godwin*, who was his enemy, about the year 674: his name being the same with that of the father of *Aeneas*, gave the flatterers of this house an opportunity to suggest they were descended from the *Trojans*. *Pepin*, as we have shewn in the text, was, by his second wife, the father of *Charles Martel*, who was born about the year 691, received the surname of *Martel*, as some say, upon the defeat of the *Moors* at *Poitiers*. *Martel* signifies a hammer (4). He received from his father the ambitious maxims of his family, which he transmitted to his sons, after having in vain tried the expedient of an interregnum, in hopes of weaning the people from their affection to the family of *Clovis*. The name of his first wife was *Rotrude*, by whom he had four sons and three daughters: *Carloman*, duke of *Austrasia*, afterwards a monk, who died at *Vienne* in 747, leaving several children behind him, the eldest of which was a son named *Dreux*; but, together with the rest, thrust into convents, and never heard of more: *Pepin*, who assumed the title of king of *France*: *Bernard*, who had several children, viz. *Adelard*, count of the palace, and afterwards abbot of *Corbie*, who will be mentioned hereafter; *Walla*, esteemed the wisest man of his time, who succeeded his brother in the same abbey; *Bertier*, who was also a monk; *Gondrade*, and *Theodrade*, both

nuns. The fourth son of *Charles Martel* was *Ferom*, who, by his wife *Ercsfende*, became the father of three sons; viz. *Oduin*, who died without posterity; *Fulrad*, abbot of *St. Quentin*; *Folquin*, bishop of *Terouane*; *Landrade*, who espoused *Sigran*, count of *Hesbui*; *Al-dane*, who married *Theodoric*, count of *Toulouse*; and *Hildetrude*, who became the wife of *Odilon*, duke of *Bavaria*. By *Sonnechilde*, or *Suanechilde*, *Charles Martel* had *Griffon*, of whom enough has been said in the history; he had also a bastard son, *Remy*, who was bishop of *Rouen* (5). The character of this *Charles* is well expressed in the inscription upon his tomb. He chose rather to command kings than to be one; yet, in some of the old chronicles, we find the year of his reign mentioned: but this proves nothing, since that phrase had a different sense in those times (6). We have yet something more to say of this great man. He had made free with the treasures of the church to defend *France*, and indeed all Christendom, against the *Saracens*; the monks were pleased to give out that he was damned. The tale was probably whispered in secret very near his time; but the clergy were so fond of it, that we find the bishops of two provinces, in a letter addressed to *Levis*, king of *Germany*, Anno Domini 858, telling him with great solemnity, that *Eucher*, bishop of *Orleans*, after the death of *Charles Martel*, had his condition revealed to him, and that, at his request, *Boniface*, bishop of *Metz*, and *Fulrade*, bishop of *St. Denis*, and chaplain to king *Pepin*, caused his tomb to be opened, in which they found only a monstrous dragon, which presently disappeared, leaving behind a great cloud of smoke (7). It is true, that *Charles Martel* banished this *Eucher* and his family, so that he was as fit a man as any upon whom to fix this tale; but it happened unluckily for the credit of the story, that this prelate died some years before *Charles Martel*, and so could not possibly be the author of it, as is supposed.

(3) P. Diacon. de Episcop. Metenses. Couronne et Maison, par Jean Du Tillot.

(4) P. Æmil. de Rege Pipino.

(5) Recueil des Rois de France, leur

(6) Histoire de France, par le P. G. Daniel. Nouvelle Histoire de France, par M. Louis le Gendre.

(7) Capitul Caroli calvi, tit. 23.

a only some lands in the heart of *France*, with which he was so much offended, that he presently raised an insurrection, and shut up himself and his mother in the city of *Laon*. *Carloman* and *Pepin* followed him there with an army, invested the place, and pushed the siege with such vigour, that *Griffon* was obliged to surrender at discretion; upon which they sent his mother to a convent, and him to a castle in the forest of *Arden*^r. This troublesome business over, the two brothers concerted together the proper measures for settling the empire of the *Franks*, took such precautions, with regard to the tributary nations and the duke of *Aquitaine*, as rendered some attempts they made to throw off their dependence ineffectual, and acted on all occasions with such a perfect understanding, and so entire a confidence in each other, as filled their contemporaries with admiration, and prevented their power from suffering the smallest
b diminution^z.

WHEN the state of things would permit, *Carloman* went into *Austrasia*, that he might attend more assiduously to his own concerns. *Pepin* perceiving that there wanted something more than his own authority to contain the nobility, in two large kingdoms, within some order, resolved of his own accord to proclaim *Childeric*, the son of *Thierri* of *Chelles*, king, which he accordingly did. His brother *Carloman* did not concur in this measure, or acknowledge *Childeric*; not that there was any dispute or disagreement between the two brothers, but because *Carloman* looked upon *Austrasia* as a sovereignty, in some measure become hereditary in his family; and having the good fortune to establish this opinion among the inhabitants, it was never afterwards called in question^a. It was in this quality of duke and sovereign of *Austrasia*, that he called the council of *Estines*; the ruins of which town are still to be seen near *Binche* in *Hainault*, where, by the advice and with the assent of his clergy, he regulated many abuses, and in the preface to these canons he speaks absolutely in the stile of a sovereign. But, notwithstanding this flow of good fortune, the two brothers found themselves very quickly obliged to vindicate their title, such as it was, by their arms. *Sonnechilde*, their mother-in-law, who was nearly related to *Odilon*, duke of the *Bavarians*, had drawn to their party their sister *Hiltrude*, by negotiating for her a marriage with that prince; and though they were so lucky as to thrust *Sonnechilde* into a convent, and her son *Griffon* into a prison, yet *Hiltrude* found means to escape, and friends who conducted her into *Bavaria*, where *Odilon* espoused her; and knowing that this would be attended with a war, formed a confederacy for his own support, which it required all the force the two brothers could raise to combat^b. *Odilon* very well knew that his neighbours were as little disposed to submit to *Carloman* as himself; and therefore he represented to *Theodobald*, duke of the *Allemands*, and *Theodoric*, duke of the *Saxons*, that if ever there was a time favourable to their desire of rendering themselves independent, it was at this juncture, by the means of a strict alliance: he likewise drew the duke of *Aquitaine* to concur in this scheme, and to engage to pass the *Loire* with a potent army, as soon as *Carloman* and *Pepin* should bend their march towards *Germany*^c. The brothers had some suspicion of this; but the army assembled by the confederates in *Germany* was, notwithstanding, so great, that they found it requisite to march in person against them, with the whole power of the *Franks*, and trust the repressing and punishment of the duke of *Aquitaine*, in case he executed the engagements he had taken, to the next campaign^d.

THE confederates having drawn together a very numerous and gallant army, took post behind the *Lech*, and acted entirely on the defensive. *Carloman* and *Pepin* encamped on the other side of the river, and spent some days in attempting to provoke the confederates to pass, but without effect: the three dukes knew, that if, by covering their country, the *Franks* were obliged to retire, they should not only carry their point, but have a fair opportunity of ruining their forces in a long retreat: but, while the *Franks* seemed to be employed in skirmishing and insulting the *Bavarians*, they with great secrecy caused the river to be sounded, and found that it was fordable at some distance, both above and below the camp of the confederates. At the close of the evening the *Franks*, after making the usual signals, and lighting fires in all their quarters, decamped without noise, and *Carloman* marching up the river with his troops, and *Pepin* following the course of the stream, both passed it without opposition, and both were before the camp of the confederates, almost at the same instant, and when they were least expected. *Odilon*, and the two dukes his confederates, made a gallant defence for near five hours; but, at length, the camp was forced on both sides with great slaughter; the duke of the *Bavarians* retired with the small remains of his forces, and took shelter behind the inn. The *Franks* ravaged and plundered the country for fifty-two days: *Carloman*, with a strong detachment, entered the country of the *Saxons*, and made their duke *Theodoric* prisoner. The close of the campaign, and the war, brought all these dukes to renew their homage, and to promise the most exact obedience^e. There was not time left to chastise *Hunald*, duke of

^y Contin. FREDEG. ADON. Chron. ^z Annales Metenses.

^c ADONIS Chron.

^d Contin. FREDEG.

^a Contin. FREDEG.

^b Annales Me-

^e Annales Metenses. ADONIS Chron.

Aquitaine, who, in discharge of the promise he had made to the confederates, passed the *a* *Loire*, destroyed all the country with fire and sword, and made himself master of *Chartres*, which, upon the approach of the *Franks*, he abandoned, after burning the best part of the city, and the magnificent cathedral, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, to ashes^f. *Pepin*, the next year, entered with a numerous army into his dominions, where they lived at discretion, till the duke, in pity to his subjects, and to extricate himself out of so unlucky an affair, submitted to the hard terms that were prescribed; and swore once again, in the most solemn terms, to remain a faithful vassal; on account of which, and of the cruelties committed at *Chartres*, he thought fit to resign his dominions to his son, and retire into a convent, there to pass the remainder of his days in acts of penitence, as a private man, for the wickedness and folly of which he had been guilty in his public character^g.

Carloman, after reducing the revolted German nations, retires, of his own accord, to a convent.

A. D. 746.

THE two next years were spent by both brothers in various expeditions against the *Saxons*, and other *German* nations, whom interest and inclination led to revolt, as soon as the army that had reduced them was withdrawn: in these excursions they were generally successful: *Carloman* was so fortunate as to make *Theodoric*, duke of the *Saxons*, prisoner a second time, whom he treated with lenity, and, having exacted a fresh oath of obedience, restored him to his liberty. It appears, from the whole series of his actions, that he was a prince of great courage, and of equal capacity; but withal, he was a prince of strict morals, great sweetness of temper, and sincere piety: he saw every day things that displeased him; and that greatness and power, which had so many charms for others, were necessarily attended with so many acts of severity and injustice, as absolutely disgusted him. He had formed a design of quitting the world, and had communicated it to his brother; but *Pepin*, in dissuading him from the immediate execution, imagined, perhaps, that this humour, like a fit of melancholy, would be dissipated by time, and a variety of events. It happened quite otherwise; *Carloman* was of a serious, not a splenetic disposition; time and experience served only to confirm him in his resolution^h. Some modern writers think *Pepin* did not take any exorbitant pains to divert his brother from a purpose that was to put him in possession of a monarchy; but of this there is no great probability, and for it there is no authority at all. He left a son *Dragon*, and perhaps some other children, who, it is said, were shut up in convents by their uncle; but this point is somewhat obscureⁱ: all we know of the matter, with certainty, is, that *Carloman* went to *Rome*, with an equipage suitable to his birth and dignity, made great presents *d* on the behalf of *Pepin*, as well as himself, to the pope; at length being shaved, and having taken the clerical habit, built a monastery upon mount *Soracte*, at the distance of some leagues from *Rome*: but the resort of *French* lords, and other men of quality thither, incommoded him so much, and interfered to such a degree with his design, that he left this convent also, and retired to mount *Cassin*, where, in the famous benedictine abbey, then governed by *Optatus*, he spent the remainder of his days in privacy and quiet, yet not without maintaining a correspondence with his brother, and despising the practice of austerities, dictated only by a childish superstition^k.

Griffon, tho' kindly treated by his brother, revolts, and engages the Germans to join him.

747.

PEPIN was now in possession of all; but, notwithstanding what some have suggested, it does not appear from his actions that the acquisition of his dominions consoled him for the *e* loss of his brother. For, immediately after the retreat of *Carloman*, he took *Griffon* out of prison, lodged him in his own palace, gave him a great many counties, and a considerable revenue; and, supposing that time and his misfortunes might have cured him of his wild and headstrong disposition, he treated him with all the kindness and confidence possible. Some time after this, he held at *Duren*, a place between *Aix la Chapelle* and *Cologne*, a kind of council, in which he made several civil and religious regulations, particularly in regard to the necessary provisions for men destitute of necessary subsistence, for widows and for orphans, for the repairing and rebuilding churches destroyed in the wars, and for establishing tribunals for the administration of justice throughout his dominions^l. But, while he was thus employed, *Griffon* was very far from being idle. If his brother *Carloman* was disgusted with sovereignty, *f* this was not at all his case, and therefore he took under-hand all the measures possible to succeed him. Having drawn many of the nobility to his interest, and resolving to place himself at the head of those who had ever been the enemies of his family, he secretly quitted his brother's palace, and retired to *Theodoric*, duke of the *Saxons*, who received him with open arms, and revolted, for the third time, in his behalf. His first exploits were some incursions into *Thuringia*; but *Pepin* did not give him much time, for he advanced speedily with an army towards the country of the *Saxons*, notwithstanding the forces of *Theodoric* were more numerous^m. The great inequality of numbers made his conduct appear the effects of resentment, or of rashness. It was not long before it took another colour; the *Slavonians*, whom in the

^f Contin. FREDEG. Chron.

^g ADON. Chron.

^h Contin. FREDEG.

ⁱ Annales Metenses.

^j Contin. FREDEG.

^k Annales Metenses.

^l ADON.

- a war of *Bavaria* he had treated with great generosity, fell upon the *Saxons* with an army of one hundred thousand men. *Pepin* charged them at the same time, and *Theodoric* being a third time taken, he was not inclined to trust him any more, so that we hear nothing of him from this time. The miserable people implored mercy upon any terms; *Pepin* extended his compassion towards them, upon condition that they became Christians. *Griffon* having given shelter to the flying *Saxons*, chose a strong camp, and fortified it. *Pepin* advanced towards him; but, when they were upon the point of engaging, *Griffon* sent to make him some propositions, to which *Pepin* answered, that if he would lay down his arms and return to him, he would, notwithstanding all that was passed, receive him as his brother, and retired with his forces, that he might have leisure to reflect upon his offer^a. The true design of *Griffon* was only to gain time; he began to distrust the *Saxons*, and was desirous of quitting their country. It was not long before he did it, in a manner that revived his ambition and his hopes, but which, at the same time, did no great honour to his reputation^b.

- ODILON, duke of *Bavaria*, dying, left behind him an infant son *Tassilon*, by *Hiltrude*, the sister of *Pepin*, and the half-sister of *Griffon*. This princess, who had been always secretly in his interest, offered him a retreat in her dominions, which he accepted; and being quickly joined by a strong body of malecontent *Franks*, he seized his sister and her son, and caused himself to be proclaimed duke of *Bavaria*^c. He was, however, so apprehensive of *Pepin's* obliging him to desist from this usurpation, that he applied himself to pope *Zachary*, to the abbot *Optatus*, and to his brother *Carloman*, to intreat their interposition in his favour. They did accordingly interpose their good offices, but they signified little; *Pepin* was inexorable: he said, it was one thing to forgive injuries done to himself, and another to indulge an intruder, who had despoiled a widow and an orphan. He took, therefore, proper measures, in the first place, to prevent any trouble or disturbance in the kingdom during his absence, and then marched with a potent army into *Bavaria*; where, without listening to any propositions, he pushed *Griffon* from post to post, till at length, having dissipated his troops, he took him and the chief persons of his party prisoners. He restored his nephew *Tassilon* to the duchy, under the tuition of his mother, and he brought his brother *Griffon* along with him into *France*^d: he did not so much as reproach him with any thing that was passed; he only advised him not to make any further trials of his patience for the time to come: he explained to him the interests of their family; he shewed him that those who solicited him to these revolts would be the first to ruin him, when he had answered their purpose; and, that he might have no temptation to enter into fresh cabals, he gave him the town of *Mans* for his residence, with twelve counties for the maintenance of his household, and the title of duke. All this had no effect, he began instantly to cabal again; and knowing that the *German* nations were so thoroughly humbled that they durst not stir, he addressed himself to the duke of *Aquitaine*, and the only enemy his brother had, and therefore the only person he chose for his friend. We shall see in the next section what was the event of this new conspiracy^e.

- THE empire of the *Franks* was now so firmly established, the tributary nations so effectually humbled, the neighbouring states so little in a condition to disturb this strong and spreading power, that *Pepin* grew weary of the inferior titles of mayor of the palace, and duke and prince of the *Franks*, and therefore resolved to execute the design which his ancestor, of the same name, had formed. Having no farther use for the unfortunate *Childeric*, who had hitherto worn the empty title of monarch of the *Franks*, but with less pomp and much less respect than was shewn to any of his predecessors, he determined to lay him intirely aside, and put an end to the race of *Merovingian* princes, who, for a series of years, had been mere phantoms or idols of royalty, rather than kings^f. To resolve and to execute in this case was for him equally easy, as costing him no other trouble than what it might give his conscience: the measures he took to effect this design, and to quiet his mind after it was effected, will appear in the next section, in which we are to treat of the reign of this prince, who was the first of the second race of the kings of the *Franks*, having given the reader the best account in our power of *Clovis* and his descendents, which was the proper business of this.

On the death of Odilon, duke of Bavaria, Griffon usurps the duchy from his nephew.
A. D. 748.

Pepin comes to a resolution of assuming the title and dignity, as well as the power of king.
750.

^a ADON. Chron.
Chron.

^b Contin. FREDEG.
Contin. FREDEG.

^c ADON. Chron.

^d Annales Metenses.

^e ADON.

S E C T. II.

The reign of Pepin le Bref, or the Short, in whom began the second race.

Pepin le Bref ascends the throne, and the remaining princes of the male line are shut up.

WHEN Pepin formed the design of seating himself on the throne of France, he had all the advantages possible, and at the same time scarce any thing to obstruct him. He was in the very flower of his age, the dignity considered to which he aspired, being in his thirty-eighth year: he had the bishops and clergy at his devotion, to whom he had been a great benefactor, and had amply repaired those injuries, which they pretended to have received from his father *Charles Martel*: most of the counts and dukes throughout the kingdom owed their preferments to him and his family: his gracious and affable behaviour had rendered him very acceptable to the people, who, on the other hand, were taught to contemn and despise king *Childeric* as a weak paralytic creature, infirm alike in mind and in body^a. There is, therefore, nothing more easy, more natural, or more probable, than the simple and short account given in the old chronicle, that, in the annual assembly of the great men, in the month of *March*, it was proposed to remove *Childeric*, and to place *Pepin* on the throne; which, being unanimously resolved, was with little ceremony performed^b. The common account is better digested and more plausible. We are told, that the predecessor of *Pepin* had always entertained a fair correspondence with the popes; that he had himself practised the same policy, with the same view; that, by permitting the bishops of *Rome* to exercise authority in the dominion of the *Franks*, the way was prepared to gain an entire submission to that authority, when, in so capital a point as this, it should be exercised in his favour. It is also affirmed, that *Burcard*, bishop of *Wirtzburg*, and *Fulrade*, abbot of *St. Denis*, were sent ambassadors to pope *Zachary* at *Rome*, to lay before him the state of affairs in *France*, and to intreat him to decide whether the regal dignity should remain in one so little capable to execute it, or whether it should be transferred to another, upon whom the welfare of the state had so long depended, and who was capable of adding lustre to the crown he received from his personal merit^c. It is added, that, to give the greater weight to these arguments, it was hinted to the pope how effectually he might be supported against the *Lombards*, and released from all dependence on the *Greek* emperors, if he paid a proper regard to this representation. Upon this, it is supposed, he declared it lawful to exclude one prince, and to set up another; and that this might be done in a manner the most satisfactory that could be to the people, *St. Boniface*, bishop of *Mentz*, the pope's legate, performed the ceremony of his inauguration at *Saissons*: some, forgetting that of *Clovis*, say, that this was the first solemn coronation, with unction, that was ever seen in *France*; and that *Pepin* was particularly pleased to have this ceremony compared to the anointing of *David* by *Samuel* upon the rejecting of *Saul*^d.

Objections to the history of his inauguration by Boniface, arch-bishop of Mentz.

BUT to the whole of this story there are some very strong objections. Such as, that the ancient chronicles are equally silent as to the concurrence of the pope, and as to this solemn coronation; that the pupil of this saint *Boniface* (who, by the way, was an *English* monk, and, till by command of the pope he assumed the name of *Boniface*, was called *Winfrid*), was an entire stranger to this transaction; and that, long after the supposed sanction and coronation, *Pepin's* conscience was uneasy till his scruples were cured by another pope. But, whatever uncertainty there may be as to the means, there was none at all as to the fact^e. *Childeric*, after having his hair cut off, was conducted to the monastery of *Sithieu*, in the diocese of *Tero-venne*, now the abbey of *St. Bertin* at *St. Omers*. There he was received as a monk by the abbot *Nantbaire*, and breathed his last in this place about three or four years afterwards; his consort *Geslie* was likewise put into a convent; and their son *Ethierri*, being shaved, passed the remainder of his days in the monastery of *Fontenelle*, or, as it is now stilled, *Vandrille*, in *Normandy*^f. Thus, in a few years, and without any sensible commotion, this great change was made.

Pepin reduces the Saxons, his brother Griffon is killed, and he humbles the Bretons and others.

THE same vigilance and activity which *Pepin* had found requisite in acquiring the crown, became no less necessary to keep it. The *Saxons*, notwithstanding all they had suffered, were again in arms; against whom *Pepin* marched with an army, chastised them very severely, and augmented their annual tribute. At his return from this war he had an account of the death of his brother *Griffon*; in relating which, however, authors are not well agreed. *Pepin* sent a herald to demand him from the duke of *Aquitaine*, and that duke absolutely refusing to deliver him up, he remained some time at his court; but conceiving, as some say, a suspicion, that, if he should be once attacked, the duke would make his own peace at his expence, or

^a AIMON, lib. iv. c. 60.

^b Annales Bertinian. Annales Franc Breves.

^c ADON. Chron.

^d CONTIN. FREDEG. Annales Metenses.

^e ANAST. in Vita Stephan. III.

^f Chron. Fontan. Chron.

Sithuen. CONTIN. FREDEG.

- a else flattering himself with hopes of being better supported by *Astolphus*, king of the *Lombards*, he endeavoured to withdraw himself, and to retire into *Italy*; but finding the pass of *Maurienne* guarded by a corps of troops commanded by *Theodon*, count of *Vienne*, and *Frederick*, governor of *Burgogne Transjurane*, or the further *Burgundy*, he boldly attacked him with a handful of forces he had with him, in which action all the three chiefs fell^g. Others allege, that, falling in love with the duke of *Aquitaine*'s wife, who was one of the handsomest women of that age, the duke became so jealous of him, that *Griffon* found it requisite, for his own safety, to retire into *Italy*, and was, by that prince's order, assassinated in his passage. Be that as it would, it was a great piece of good fortune to *Pepin*, who lost in this brother the most bitter and determined enemy he ever had, and who, as long as he lived, would never
- b have desisted from giving him trouble. The *Bretons* having made some incursions during *Pepin*'s absence, he made an incursion into their country, and forced the count to purchase peace by renewing his homage^h. This raised his reputation so high, that a noble *Goth*, whose name was *Ansimonde*, and who, having seized the towns of *Nîmes*, *Magalonne*, *Agde*, and *Béziers*, had gallantly defended them against the *Moors*, demanded of his own accord the protection of *Pepin*, and became his vassal. This opened a passage for the *Franks* into the country which the *Goths* formerly held, and which was now possessed by the Infidels, and gave *Pepin* an opportunity of investing *Narbonne*; the siege of which his father had been forced to raise. He found it so strong, and so well defended, that he was forced to turn his siege into a blockade, and, after it had lasted three years, it was rendered into his hands: an acquisition
- c equally valuable in its nature, and honourable in the world's opinionⁱ.

- AN affair of greater consequence now demanded the king's attention. The popes had long thought themselves in a distressed and precarious condition, and *Stephen* the third looked upon his case to be desperate. On one side, *Astolphus*, king of the *Lombards*, had made himself master of the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and almost all that the *Greek* emperors held in *Italy*, insisted upon being acknowledged king at *Rome*, and threatened the city with a siege if the pope did not comply^k. On the other hand, the emperor *Constantine Copronymus*, treading in the footsteps of his predecessor, was zealous in the support of the *Iconoclasts*, or image-breakers, whom the pope treated as heretics, and from whom, therefore, he could expect but little assistance. In this critical conjuncture, he first desired to have a safe conduct given
- d him to come to *Pavia* to treat with *Astolphus*, and when he found him not to be moved by presents, prayers, or tears, he demanded leave to retire into *France*. In this demand he was seconded by the *French* ambassador, so that *Astolphus*, though very unwilling, was obliged to consent, and the pope accordingly proceeded in his journey^l. On his arrival *Pepin* paid him all possible respect, lodged him in the abbey of *St. Denis*, and took all the care imaginable of him during a long sickness. In return, the pontiff shewed himself ready to gratify him in whatever he could desire, and particularly absolved him for the breach of his oath to his master *Childeric*: he also crowned him in the church of *St. Denis*, together with his queen *Bertrade*, bestowing at the same time the regal unction upon his sons *Charles* and *Carloman*; adding to all this, the title of *Romanorum Patricius*, for him and each of his sons, which was
- e to be interpreted, declaring them patrons or protectors of the *Roman* people; an honour of which the pope sufficiently availed himself^m.

- THE king of the *Lombards*, who very easily saw what all this would end in, sent for *Optatus*, abbot of *Mount Cassin*, and for *Carloman*, to whom, having represented the mischievous consequences that would attend a war in *Italy*, he compelled the abbot to enjoin *Carloman* to go with all possible speed to his brother's court, to dissuade *Pepin* from coming to extremities. *Carloman* obeyed his abbot, went into *France*, and, as a certain historian says, pleaded so zealously for his client, that he equally offended the king and the pope, inasmuch that the former, at the persuasion of the latter, put his children into convents, and shaved them; which, with other ill usage, had such an effect upon the mind of that virtuous and honest prince, that he did not long survive itⁿ. His discourse, however, made such an impression upon the *French* lords, that they were by no means inclined to enter into the war, but insisted that ambassadors should be sent to *Astolphus*, to try whether this dispute might not be adjusted. He made great concessions; but the pope would not be satisfied, and at length so wrought upon the nobility, by his intreaties, that the war was resolved. *Pepin* conducted the pope, with an army, back into *Italy*, and, having forced the pass of *Maurienne*, besieged *Astolphus* in *Pavia*, and obliged him not only to renounce all pretensions to the sovereignty of *Rome*, but also to relinquish the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and all his conquests; for the due performance of which treaty, in all its points, he took the king's oath, and that of his principal nobility^o. Being thus master of

Pope Stephen III. implores his protection, and comes to receive it into France.

Pepin conducts the pope back into Italy with an army, forces Astolphus to a peace which he breaks soon after.

^g ADON. Chron.^h AIMON, lib. iv. Annales Franc.ⁱ Annales Metenses. ADON. Chron.^k ANAST. in Vita Stephan. III.^l Contin. Chron. FREDEG.^m PAUL DIACON. Hist. Long. lib. vi.ⁿ Annales Metenses.^o CONT. FREDEGAR.

Ravenna, he bestowed it as a free gift, if the *French* historians may be credited, on the pope and his successors, and at the same time sent the pontif to *Rome*, under the escorte of a considerable body of troops, commanded by his natural brother *Jerom*. How generous soever *Pepin's* intentions might be, or how grateful soever the pope might seem for this benefit, yet he had a secret reserved right, by which he dispensed with the notion of accepting this, in the light of a donation^p. The exarchate of *Ravenna* had belonged to the emperor *Constantine Copronymus*, whom he considered as a heretic; in that light he ceased to have any right to hold it, and, as the spoil of a heretic, it belonged to the church. This singular and extraordinary right could not be defeated either by the conquest of the king of the *Lombards*, or by the taking it from him by the king of the *Franks*; so that the bounty of *Pepin*, in the pope's sense, was only putting him in possession of a thing to which he had a just title, and which had been with-held from him by force. If the pope had his reserves, *Astolphus* had likewise his second thoughts, which were, that he had paid too high a price for raising the siege, and, therefore, as soon as the *Franks* were retired, he refused to comply with the treaty, or to part with a single town of his conquests; the pope, as soon as he was informed of this, dispatched abbot *Fulrade* to carry his complaints, and to demand fresh assistance from king *Pepin*^q.

Pepin returns to the pope's assistance, compels Astolphus to a more ignominious peace.

ASTOLPHUS had foreseen the step the pope would take, and, therefore, to complete his scheme, invested *Rome* in the month of *January*, demanding of the inhabitants to have the pope delivered into his hands; in which case he promised to do him no hurt, threatening otherwise to demolish the city, and to put them to the sword. The people, having so recent an example of the king's preferring his interest to his engagements, rejected the proposition, and prepared to make a vigorous defence. *Astolphus* destroyed all their country, palaces, and ruined every thing in the neighbourhood of *Rome*; which served only to provoke them, and distress his own troops. These acts of severity took from the *Romans* all thoughts of safety but from a brave defence; which, with the help of the *French* officers, was so well conducted, that *Astolphus* was still before *Rome* when he heard the news that *Pepin* had repassed the *Alps*, had invested *Pavia*, and that, in short, he was on the point of losing his capital, and perhaps his dominions^r. He was constrained, therefore, to make peace a second time, upon terms infinitely worse than those to which he submitted before. Besides abandoning *Ravenna* and all his conquests, with the addition of *Comacchio*, he was constrained to pay a large sum of money, under the title of the expences of the war, and to submit to the revival of the old tribute, which had been relinquished by *Clotaire* the second. The peace being made, *Pepin* made a tour to *Rome*, where he was received with great pomp; but finding that his stay gave great uneasiness to the *Greeks*, and was not very acceptable to the pope, he quickly left the city, having renewed and confirmed his donation. Having obliged *Astolphus* to perform the treaty in every respect, he sent the keys of *Ravenna* and the rest of the cities, by the abbot *Fulrade*, who was his chancellor, to *Rome*; who offered them on the tomb of *St. Peter*, in answer, as it may be supposed, to the letter which the pope transmitted to him during the siege, and which was penned in the name of that apostle^s. In all probability things might have once more changed their face, if *Astolphus* had not fallen from his horse, as he was hunting, and broke his neck. This produced great confusion; for he had mounted the throne upon the abdication of his brother *Rachis*, who of his own accord, retired to the monastery of *Mount Cassin*, and lived there with duke *Carloman*. The throne being now vacant, most of the nobility invited him to reascend it; while, on the other hand, *Didier*, general of *Astolphus's* forces, was very desirous of exchanging his sword for a scepter^t. The thing was difficult; he had not so much as the colour of a title; but, to supply this defect, he had recourse to the pope, and began with fulfilling the late treaty to the utmost; next he made a present of the city of *Bologna* and its district; and lastly he promised the most profound obedience for himself and his successors. Upon this, the pope represented to *Rachis*, that his endeavour to resume the crown was a wicked and sacrilegious attempt; which his piety induced him to believe; so that, retiring back again to his convent, he left the kingdom to *Didier*, and the pope in possession of the places he had dismembered from it, with some other advantages arising from his sanction afforded to this settlement^u.

After his return the king settles the interior government of his realm, and regulates other affairs.

A. D. 756.

^p ANAST. in Vita Stephan. III. ADON. CHRON. ^q PAUL DIACON. Hist. Long. Histoire de France, par P. DANIEL. ^r CONT. FREDEG. ANAST. in Vita Stephan. III.. ^s Annales Fuldens. ADON. CHRON. ^t PAUL DIACON. Hist. Longobard. ^u ANAST. in vita Stephan. III. ADON. CHRON. ^w Annales Metenses. Histoire de Fran. par P. DANIEL.

- a the assembly of this year, *Tassilon*, *Pepin's* nephew, and duke of *Bavaria*, did homage for his dominions; and the king of the *Sclavonians*, of his own accord, demanded the protection of *Pepin*, and did the like. The *Greek* emperor sent his ambassadors, to represent the injustice that had been done him, in giving the pope the exarchate of *Ravenna* and other districts in *Italy*, and at the same time made him very magnificent presents; amongst which was the first organ ever seen in *France*, and which was given by the king to the church of *Compiègne*. The next year died the pope; and his brother *Paul*, being chosen his successor, sent to intreat king *Pepin* to continue to him his protection; which the king very kindly promised, and very punctually kept his word^x. The following year the *Saxons* made a general revolt, which constrained the king to turn the forces of his dominions on that side; which gave the
- b *Lombards* an opportunity of disturbing the pope, and endeavouring, in conjunction with the *Greek* emperor, to recover all the places that had been yielded to the see of *Rome*; but *Pepin*, returning victorious, and having constrained the *Saxons*, not only to submit, but to add likewise to their former tribute three hundred horse, which were to be presented annually in the assembly held in the month of *May*, had leisure to look abroad, and to give the pope that protection, of which he stood in great need. He sent for this purpose his ambassadors to *Pavia*, to declare to king *Didier*, that, if he did not immediately put all things on the foot of the treaty made when he was last in *Italy*, he would return thither with an army, and regulate them in such a manner as should put it out of his power to create any farther disturbances. *Didier* was constrained to submit, and to promise all that was demanded; but with
- c a full intention not to keep his word, in case any opportunity offered of breaking it with impunity, which he attempted; but, for the present, without effect. A more promising occasion presented itself not long after, which he did not neglect^y.

- GAIFRE*, *Vaifar*, duke of *Aquitaine*, regarded the prosperity of *Pepin* with an envious eye, and, on the other hand, that monarch wanted only a fair opportunity to despoil him of his dominions. This disposition in both rendered them perpetually restless and uneasy. *Vaifar* spoiled some churches of their lands, the bishops of which had put themselves under the protection of *France*. *Pepin* demanded restitution by his ambassadors; and, the negotiation proceeding but slowly, he passed the *Loire* with an army, obliged him to promise what he demanded, and to give hostages for the performance of what he promised^z. The
- d next year, when *Pepin* was at a great distance, regulating affairs in his *German* dominions, the duke of *Aquitaine* sent an army to *Burgundy*, where they ravaged the country as far as *Chalons*; and, having burned the suburbs of that city, returned loaded with booty. *Pepin* was, by no means, of a humour to endure such an insult; he returned, therefore, with all possible expedition, passed the *Loire* with his army, ravaged all the country as far as *Limoges*; and, that it might remain in defenceless condition, razed all the castles in *Auvergne*^a. The next year he passed the *Loire* for the third time, laid siege to *Bourges*, and, having made himself master of it after a long defence, repaired, and placed in it a good garrison. He pushed things so far this campaign, that *Remistain*, uncle to duke *Vaifar*, believing the ruin of his nephew to be inevitable, submitted to the king, and was extremely well received.
- e The spring following, *Pepin* assembled a numerous army at *Nevers*; with which he passed the *Loire*, wasting all the country before him with fire and sword, under a full persuasion, that, before the end of the summer, he should drive the duke out of his dominions: and it is highly probable this would have happened, if an unforeseen accident had not, for the present, entirely changed the face of affairs^b. An accident, springing from his prosperity, which amazed and alarmed all his neighbours.

- TASSILON*, duke of *Bavaria*, his nephew, had remained at his court from the time he did him homage, and had even attended him in some of these expeditions; but, about the time of the rendezvous at *Nevers*, he feigned an indisposition, and, while his uncle was in the field, retired, with all possible speed and secrecy, into his own dominions; where he acted as an independent prince, married a daughter of the king of the *Lombards*, and discovered plainly, that he did not incline to be a tame spectator of the destruction of the duke of *Aquitaine*. *Pepin*, upon the first intelligence of his nephew's retreat, repassed the *Loire*, leaving behind him many flagrant proofs of his indignation against both dukes, and of his desire to make them feel the full weight of his resentment^c. He was, however, far from departing, even in these circumstances, from the character which he had established for prudence; he determined to chastise these princes, but he would not take any such violent measures as, in their consequences at least, might chastise his subjects and himself. He augmented the fortifications and the garrison of *Bourges*; he repaired several other places on the frontiers, and filled them with troops. By this disposition he covered his own country, while that of

^x CONT. FREDEG. ADON. Chron.
ADON. Chron. ^a Chron. Fuld.

^y PAUL DIACON. Hist. Long.
^b Contin. FREDEG. ADON. Chron.

^z ANAST. in vita Stephan. III.
^c Annales Metenses.

his enemy was exposed to continual incursions. He reckoned himself, therefore, secure on ^a this side, and, for the two succeeding years, held the annual assemblies in *May*, in the city of *Worms*; having always about him such an army, as obliged the duke of the *Bavarians* to respect the king of *France*, though he had visibly disregarded him as his uncle. *Tassilon* was a young prince of parts and of discernment; he had a mind to be independent, and he was jealous of the power of *Pepin*; he was sensible of his displeasure; but, as things stood, he saw it was not his interest to push farther, by committing hostilities ^d. *Pepin* had his reasons likewise for keeping on the defensive; he was endeavouring to detach the king of the *Lombards* from his alliance with the *Greek* emperor; and he had another negotiation on the carpet with that emperor, who had his ambassadors at his court, labouring to persuade him not to hinder his recovering *Ravenna*, and at the same time proposing a marriage between prince *Leo* and ^b the princess *Geslie*, daughter to *Pepin*. As to the first, he answered plainly, that he had conquered *Ravenna* from the *Lombards*, that he had given it to the see of *Rome*, and that he would maintain the pope in his possession. As to the latter, he raised difficulties from the emperor's attachment to the *Iconoclasts*. To which the ambassadors answered, that they admired his zeal for religion; but that, if he caused this dispute to be examined to the bottom, he would find that the emperor was also zealous for the christian faith, and did not deserve to be stiled a heretic for his endeavours to remove what had a manifest tendency to idolatry ^c.

A. D. 765.
The king de-
feats the duke
of Aquitaine,
on which the
duke of Bava-
ria demands
peace.

In the mean time the duke of *Aquitaine*, perceiving how much he was distressed by this new manner of making war, and that *Pepin* was preparing to pass the *Loire* again with a numerous army, had recourse to a very singular and strange expedient. He dismantled most ^c of the great towns that were nearest the enemy, fortified a few of the strongest places he had; and, assembling a great army, resolved to try, what he had not yet done, his fortune in the field. *Pepin* having passed the *Loire*, began to repair and fortify the places which the duke had demolished; to prevent which *Vaisar* advanced directly towards him with his forces, and gave him battle ^f. He had the misfortune to be totally defeated; and this had such an effect upon his spirits, that he sent to desire peace, almost upon any terms that the victor should prescribe. *Pepin* paid little regard to his proposition, pursued his own scheme of restoring the dismantled towns, and receiving into his protection all who submitted. His nephew, the duke of *Bavaria*, who had exact intelligence of his uncle's proceedings, thought it high time to make his own peace, and not run the hazard of being treated as the duke ^d of *Aquitaine* was, when he should be undone. The king made no difficulty of accepting his submission; which, indeed, was all that he wanted, and was, with good reason, well pleased with obtaining all the effects of victory, without so much as running the hazard of a war ^e.

Remistain re-
turns to the
service of his
nephew, in-
vades France,
is taken and
hanged.

767.

To give some content to the *Greek* emperor *Constantine Copronymus*, and that his own proceedings might appear the more impartial, *Pepin* ordered a general assembly of the bishops to be held at *Gentilli*, a royal villa about a league from *Paris*; where the great point of images being lawful or unlawful in churches was solemnly discussed. But what, or, indeed, whether any, resolution was taken does not appear ^b. This assembly seems to have been held about *Christmas*; and soon after, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, the king ^e made his sixth expedition into *Aquitaine*, where he reduced *Thoulouse*, and all the adjacent country. He kept the feast of *Easter* at *Vienne*; and, the summer being very hot, put his army into quarters of cantonment. At length, in the month of *August*, after having held another assembly of the nobility at *Bourges*, he ordered his forces to take the field, and advance towards the *Garonne*; where they gradually forced all the fortified posts, and at length pushed their conquests as far as the *Upper Auvergne* ⁱ. In the course of this campaign, *Remistain*, who had been so well received by the king, returned again to his nephew; and, to make an atonement for his desertion, as well as to convince his countrymen that he was in earnest in this new change, he acted against the *French* with cruelty as well as vigour, and instructed the *Gascons* how to make their incursions. As the length of this ruinous war had ^f scarce left the possibility of subsistence in a settled condition, the country swarmed with men ready to undertake any thing that might preserve them from perishing; and, at the head of these, *Remistain* performed some considerable exploits ^k. But *Pepin*, equally piqued at the depredations he made, and at his ingratitude, not only dispatched several parties to repress him and his associates, but also gave express directions, that, if possible, they should seize his person; which, at length, they did; and, having brought him into *Pepin's* presence, he, after reproaching him severely, ordered him to be hanged ^l. We have related this matter more particularly; because those, who charge *Pepin* with cruelty, insist chiefly on this instance ^m; in which, however, there might be as much of policy as of severity, for reasons which will presently appear.

^d ANAST. Biblioth.
FREDEG. ADON Chron.
ubi sup.

ⁱ CONT. FREDEG.

^c CONT. FREDEG. ADON. Chron.

^b EGINARD ad an. predict. ADON. Chron.

^m LE GENDRE.

^f Annales Metenses.

ⁱ CONT. FREDEG.

^e CONT.

^k EGINARD,

- a PEPIN, seeing all things prepared to his mind, and having no reason to doubt the success of his schemes, marched with a numerous army, the next summer, to the banks of the river *Garonne*, fully determined to put an end to the war, by a judicious and vigorous exertion of the superiority he had in his hands. The people and the nobility, equally terrified and amazed, sent deputies to intreat his clemency towards those, who were no longer able to resist him. The king offered to take them immediately into his protection, upon their submission, and taking an oath of obedience. They willingly accepted these conditions: upon which the mother, the sister, and the niece, of *Vaisar*, came in, and were presented to *Pepin*, who received them kindly. *Eoric*, who had married another sister of the duke's, surrendered likewise, and met with the like treatmentⁿ. It now appeared plainly, that *Pepin* had in view the entire and absolute conquest of *Aquitaine*, which drove the unfortunate duke to despair. He retired, with a small body of determined men, into *Saintonge*, there to sell their lives and liberty as dear as possible; the smallness of his forces leaving him scarce a chance for victory, and the situation of the country taking from him all hopes of escape^o. About this time the ambassadors, who had been sent to the khalif, returned; but what was the nature or the end of their negotiation does not appear^p. At *Rome*, a layman having seated himself in the chair of *St. Peter*, through the countenance of the king of the *Lombards*, addressed himself to *Pepin* for support, as believing him the more powerful patron of the two^q; but, before this application was well made, he was deposed, and *Stephen* the fourth advanced to the see of *Rome*; who likewise sent ambassadors to acquaint *Pepin* with his elevation, and to desire his protection^r.

The war in Aquitaine carried on with vigour, and with a view to absolute conquest. A. D. 768.

- THE king, eagerly desiring to put an end to the war, and of perfecting his great scheme of uniting *Aquitaine* once more to the crown of *France*, leaving his queen and court at *Xaintes*, marched to attack the duke in his fortified posts. Authors relate very differently the issue of this last dispute. Some say, that, after being defeated in battle, *Vaisar* was surrounded and cut to pieces as he endeavoured to make his escape^s. Others allege, that, seeing the day lost, his own people, in hopes of making their court to the victorious monarch, and weary of sharing the misfortunes of a prince, from whom they could now expect no reward, put an end to his sorrows and his life^t. However, it is universally allowed, that he perished with his arms in his hands; and that he died unhappy, but unconquered. Thus, in the space of nine years, *Pepin* finished his conquests, and re-annexed *Aquitaine* to his dominions, from which it had been detached near half a century. He had scarce time to taste the joy of this great event, being seized, at his return to *Xaintes*, with a fever, which increased upon his being carried to *Tours*, out of devotion to *St. Martin*; and, being conveyed from thence to *St. Denis*, he there expired, of a dropsy, and a complication of disorders, on the 23d of *September*, in the year seven hundred and sixty-eight, in the seventeenth of his reign, and in the fifty-fourth of his life^u. He was interred in the church of that monastery, with all possible honours, and his death deplored by all ranks of people as a public calamity; for till that time the *French* had not seen a more wise, active, or fortunate prince; one who had maintained peace and tranquility at home, and at the same time supported, and even augmented, the credit of the nation abroad. But it is necessary to enter into this matter a little more particularly, since, by laying down a few observations founded on facts, the history of this reign, and of those that are to follow, may be very much illustrated.

Duke of Aquitaine slain, and king Pepin dies of a dropsy at St. Denis.

- It appears not a little strange, more especially to modern historians, considering the vast extent of his genius, the great number of his nobility, and the nature of his title to the crown, that, in the course of seventeen years administration, *Pepin* should not be exposed so much as to one private conspiracy, or public insurrection, but maintain a full and absolute authority, as if he had derived his claim of sovereignty from a long train of ancestors. The resolving this difficulty, by saying he was fortunate, would scarce be esteemed satisfactory in so inquisitive an age as this. The true state of the matter is, that it flowed from his policy, and from that singular sagacity, which is discoverable through the whole course of his conduct. He observed, that princes, who affected to govern with a plenitude of power, are very rarely happy or beloved; and that those, who confide their authority to others, seldom preserve it long, whether it be well or ill employed; for, if their ministers be either weak or wicked, themselves in the end bear the blame; and, on the other hand, if they are men of great talents and abilities, they arrogate to themselves, in process of time, that power which was originally delegated to them from their masters^v. He guarded effectually against both evils. He held his parliaments, or great councils of the nobility, regularly. He proposed in them, in such a manner as was most suitable to his ends, the measures that he meant to

Maxims of Pepin's policy in the government of the kingdom, and introducing a new establishment.

ⁿ AIMON, lib. iv. c. 67.

^o CONT. FREDEG.

^p ANNAL. FULD.

^q EPIST. 98, 99, in Codice Caro-

lino. ^r ANAST. in Vita Stephan. IV.

^s AIMON, lib. iv. cap. 67.

^t CONT. FREDEG.

^u EGINARD

in Vita & Gestis Caroli magni. ADON. Chron. AIMON, lib. iv. cap. 67.

^v Origines des Dignitez & Magistrats

de France recueilles, par CLAUDE FAUCHET, MEZERAY.

pursue; and, as these we calculated for the public service, so he undertook the execution of them as a point of duty, and left the glory of advising and contriving them to those assemblies. By this means he interested the clergy and the nobility in all his schemes, and was, in appearance, the minister of their councils, while, in reality, he prosecuted his own; for though no prince was more ready to hear advice, or shewed a greater deference to the sentiments of public assemblies, yet, when he came into action, he performed all. He was no sooner declared king, than he marched against the *Saxons*. He received pope *Stephen* with all the reverence possible, and paid him the most profound submission; but he derived from thence prodigious advantages; he wiped from the remembrance of the people the manner in which he had acquired the sovereignty; so that, in setting up the pope, he set up his own power. The nobility of *France* were averse to the *Italian* expedition; in which he would not embark, till the pope's prayers and intreaties had obtained their assent. His predecessors had lost great armies in that country, and sooner or later drew nothing from it but disgrace. *Pepin* saw their mistakes, and avoided them. He had no ambition to make conquests in *Italy*; but it was of great importance to weaken the power of the *Lombards*, and to leave that country so divided, as that he might never receive any trouble from thence. He raised the power of the popes, and made them truly princes; but he detached them from the *Greek* emperors, and rendered them dependent on himself. In consequence of this wise management, he derived glory and security from those expeditions, that had probably been fatal to any other *French* prince. It was not till he had cut him off from all support, that he began the war with the duke of *Aquitaine*, in which, however, he made a full stop, when his nephew retired into his own dominions; by which he prevented a dangerous diversion, which that prince would otherwise have made. But, though he desisted, he never departed from his design of reducing *Aquitaine*, and he accomplished it, as he did every thing, by a proper mixture of deliberation and vigour; deriving, from his own penetration and perseverance, that success which later writers would attribute to fortune; but nearer his own time it was better understood; for otherwise, *Prudent as Pepin*, had never become a proverb in *France*.*

The measures
he took to pre-
vent the mean-
ness of his
person from
rendering his
administration
contemptible.

THERE is, perhaps, another circumstance that may set his conduct in a more striking point of view. His figure was so far from having any thing in it majestic, that it was rather the contrary. In point of stature, we are told, that he wanted six inches of five feet, whence he was surnamed *the Short*; but, in regard to size, he was of such a make as procured him likewise the appellation of *Pepin the Gross*, or *the Fat*. The monk of *St. Gal*, amongst many idle stories, has preserved one of this prince, which most of the historians have transcribed, and which indeed ought to be preserved^r. *Pepin* had been informed that some of his principal commanders had made themselves merry with his figure; he invited them, therefore, to a spectacle at *Ferriers*, which, in that age, was not uncommon. This was a combat between a lion and a bull: the king was seated on his throne, and all his great officers about him, when the beasts were let out. The lion immediately leaped upon the bull, and brought him to the ground, and was on the point of strangling him. Which of you, said *Pepin*, will make that beast let go his prey? His great lords gazed in silence. That task must be mine, added *Pepin*; and, descending from his royal seat, advanced with his sword drawn directly towards the beasts. The lion, turning his eyes towards him, began to raise himself upon the bull, when, at a single blow, the king divided the head from the body. As he returned to his throne, he said, without any emotion, “*David* was a little man, and yet he triumphed over *Goliath*; *Alexander* too was a little man, but his arm was stronger, and his heart more intrepid, than those of many of his captains, who were taller and handsomer than he.” This taught his officers discretion, and his people respect. We may from these remarks, with great certainty, infer, that this founder of the second race of *French* kings had great personal merit, and might, therefore, have deserved a more honourable inscription than that which is placed upon his tomb, *Cy gist le Pere de Charlemagne*; that is, *Here lies the father of Charlemagne*^z. It is true, this second race are stiled *Carlovingians*; but it is not decided, whether in honour of *Charles Martel*, the father of *Pepin*, or of *Charles* the great his son. Be that as it will, *Pepin* atchieved what the one left imperfect, and opened that path to glory, which the other pursued with so great applause.

* LE GENDRE, Mœurs & Coutumes des François, par P. DANIEL.
Coutumes des François, P. DANIEL.

^r FAUCHET.

^z Mœurs &

S E C T. III.

The reign of Charles the Great, king of France, and Emperor of the West.

- ^a **C**HARLES and Carloman succeeded their father *Pepin*, according to the desire that monarch expressed to the nobility that were about him, at the time of his decease, and were solemnly proclaimed sixteen days after his death, *Charles* at *Noyon*, and *Carloman* at *Soissons*^a. *Charles* was, at this time, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and as remarkably tall as his father was short, being near seven feet in height, well proportioned, but rather inclining to fat, a fresh florid complexion, a majestic air, very robust in his constitution, gay and sprightly in his temper, very active, and capable of bearing much fatigue. His mind was truly heroic, generally speaking, equal and composed in his conduct, so much superior to fortune as never to be either ruffled or elated, of so comprehensive a genius, that he not only aspired to, but excelled in, all that became a great prince, an excellent officer, an able statesman, and as well versed in letters as any man of his time; zealous in religion, and exact in his devotion. His character, fair as it was, wanted not blemishes, which arose chiefly from his ambition, and a notion he received from thence, that many things might be dispensed with from reasons of state. In some instances he was certainly not master of his passions; in others he was misled by the errors of the times; but take him in the whole circle of his character, with those allowances that are commonly made for such as act in so high a sphere, and he must be acknowledged as wise and brave a monarch, as that or perhaps any other age produced^b. His younger brother *Carloman* resembled him very little; his virtues or his vices were not very conspicuous; but he was chiefly distinguished by a contentious, suspicious, peevish disposition, which left him in the hands of such of his courtiers as were least worthy of his confidence, and who gained it by throwing doubts and fears in his way, which kept him perpetually uneasy, and attached to those who made him so^c. Both the brothers were married, in a manner not very suitable to their birth or interests, and both were too much strangers to business, from the warm and enterprising humour of their father, who loved to execute every thing himself. It seems to be, in some measure, certain, that a division of *Pepin's* dominions was projected, and perhaps settled between them, but it is very uncertain in what manner; for the old writers contradict each other; and the modern historians, in order to reconcile them, suppose that there were two divisions, and that by the latter *Carloman* had *Austrasia*, which in the former had been given to *Charles*^d. But it seems to be more probable that the division was never executed; but that, the brothers disagreeing, the dispute was left to be decided in the next assembly of the prelates and peers. This want of union between the two kings revived the hopes of those who were enemies to, or at least jealous of, both. *Didier*, king of the *Lombards*, and *Tassilon*, duke of the *Bavarians*, began to increase their forces, and to enter into intrigues; but the ice was broke, and a war begun by a prince of whom the kings had not the least jealousy, and with whom their enemies had little intercourse^e.
- ^d *HUNALDE*, or *Hunaud*, who resigned the duchy of *Aquitaine* to his son *Vaifar*, after spending between twenty and thirty years in a monastery, quitted it, to return into his old dominions, supposing this a favourable opportunity of recovering his dignity, and restoring independency to that great principality^f. He met in this attempt with more facility than he had any reason to expect; for though his being universally hated was one great cause of his resigning, yet he was now universally received with all apparent marks of reverence and affection, most of the great towns opening their gates to him; so that this great conquest, which had been the business of *Pepin's* life, was in a manner lost, in a few weeks time. *Charles* saw that the recovery of *Aquitaine* was not of greater importance to the *French* nation, than to his own and to his brother's character; and, for this reason, he represented it in the strongest terms to *Carloman*, who consented to assemble his forces with the utmost expedition, and to march, in conjunction with his brother, against their common enemy: but by that time the army was assembled, he altered his sentiments, withdrew the forces under his command, and left his brother to act or to retire as he thought fit^g. *Charles*, notwithstanding this strange behaviour, and the unexpected diminution of the forces that were to be employed in the war, marched directly into *Aquitaine*, and having defeated *Hunalde*, had infallibly made him prisoner, but for his perfect knowledge of the country, the people abandoning him in his distress, as lightly as they had followed him upon his first coming

^a Contin. FREDEC.^b Vita et Gesta Caroli magni, per EGINARDUM.^c EGINARDUM Annal.^d Vita

Caroli magni a Monacho CAROBII Engolismensis.

^e Annales rerum Francorum.^f EGINARD. Vita Caroli magni.^g ADON. Chron.

amongst them; which obliged him to take shelter in the territories of *Lupus*, duke of *Gascony*, who had been his tributary; but who, during the war between *Pepin* and *Vaisar*, had erected his seignory into an independent principalityⁿ. *Charles* made the right use of his victory, in building the fortress of *Fronsac* on the *Dordogne*: while this was doing, he advanced with his forces to the frontiers of *Gascony*, sending a herald to duke *Lupus*, to demand the person of *Hunalde*, who was accordingly delivered up, and confined for the rest of his life. This established the character of *Charles* at home and abroad, brought the nobility to court his favour, and all his neighbours to treat for his friendshipⁱ.

By the death of Carloman, Charles becomes the sole master of the French monarchy.

771.

Revolt of the Saxons, on which Charles marches against them and reduces them to submission.

AMONGST these was *Didier*; who, though naturally an enemy to the *French*, and willing to have taken the advantage of *Pepin's* death, yet perceiving that *Charles* had inherited his capacity, together with his dominions, he demanded his sister *Gilette* for the prince his son, and offered his daughter *Hermengarde* either to *Charles* or his brother. This alarmed pope *Stephen IV.* who wrote to *Charles* in the strongest terms, beseeching him not to bring a scandal on the catholic faith, by putting away his wife, for the sake of taking one out of a house which God had cursed with a leprosy; or, after refusing his sister to the first prince in the world, the son of the *Greek* emperor, bestow her on him, whose father became a king but by his favour^k. The queen dowager, however, had a better opinion of the match, went in person into *Italy* to negotiate it, and had so strong an influence on *Charles*, as, notwithstanding the pope's letters, to induce him to comply with it. In the course of her progress, she paid a visit first to her son *Carloman*, and afterwards to the pope, whom she pacified, by assuring him that she would use her interest with *Didier* to relinquish some places which he still withheld from the see of *Rome*; and, which, having performed, she conducted her new daughter-in-law into *France*^l. There she found things in some disorder; for, notwithstanding all the pains she had taken, *Carloman* had still so strong a distaste to his brother, that he was preparing to attack him, when he was suddenly removed by death^m. His queen, in the first transports of grief and fear, being probably excited to it by those who had been the principal authors of the misunderstandings between the two brothers, and who were apprehensive of feeling the weight of *Charles's* resentment, withdrew, with her two sons, her husband's treasures, and these counsellors, into the dominions of the king of the *Lombards*ⁿ. *Charles* expressed some concern at the news; but he immediately advanced with a body of troops to the frontiers of his brother's territories, and, with the consent of the prelates and peers, took possession of the kingdom that was thus abdicated; and, to express his sense of *Didier's* protecting the widow and her sons, he repudiated the queen whom he had so lately married^o.

THE *Saxons*, who commonly revolted at the beginning of every reign, attempted to throw off the yoke at the entrance of this, which obliged *Charles* to turn his arms on that side. As this war was the capital business of his reign, and lasted, though by intervals, for thirty-three years, it is requisite to say something succinctly of the country and the people, though this subject must be more largely treated of in another place. The territory of the *Saxons*, as it was considered at this time, comprehended a country of vast extent, bounded on the west by the *German* ocean, *Bohemia* on the east, on the north by the sea, and on the south by the *Germanic France*, extending along the *Lower Rhine*, and from the *Iffel* beyond *Mentz*. This was divided into three parts; the *Westphalians* inhabited that towards the oceans, from whence the name of *Westphalia* remains to a small part of their country: the *Ost* or *Eastphalians* held that part bordering on *Bohemia*: the middle belonged to the *Angrians*, who were the immediate neighbours of the *French*. Under each of these names, many nations, or, generally speaking, tribes, were comprehended, each commanded by its own chief or duke^p. Hence their readiness to revolt, and the difficulty of holding them to any terms; because, whenever a few mutinous dukes conspired together, they made inroads into the *French* territories; and when the troops of that kingdom invaded their country in return, the whole *Saxon* nation was involved in the revolt, from a principle of self-defence. Their religion was another cause of these frequent insurrections; for they were pagans, and bigotted pagans, their principle deity being the god of war. *Charles* no sooner heard that they had refused the usual tribute, than he entered the country with a numerous army; and, having beaten them in several small engagements, advanced to their capital post of *Eresbourg*, near *Paderborn*, where was the temple of their god *Irminful*, represented as a man completely armed, with a standard in one hand, placed on a column^q. The natural courage of the people, joined to their religious zeal, induced them to make an obstinate defence; the place too being strong by situation, and fortified to the best of their skill. *Charles* forced it at last, but not without considerable loss, and employed his army three whole days in demolishing

ⁿ EGINARD. Vita Caroli magni.
Chron. magni.

^m Annales rerum Francorum.

^p Poeta Saxonicus.

ⁱ Annales rerum Francorum.

^q EGINARD. Vita Caroli magni.

^k Monach. Engolismensis.

^a Monacho Engolismensis.

^l ANON.

^o EGINARD. Vita Caroli

- a effectually this monument of superstition, in which great treasures were found in gold and silver. This being performed, *Charles* continued his march directly towards the *Weser*, resolved to break the force of this intractable nation so effectually, as to deprive them of the power of disturbing him again^r. But they were already so terrified with the destruction of their temple, and saw so little hopes of opposing in the field troops who had beaten them with such advantages, that they sent deputies to implore his clemency^s; and *Charles*, upon their submitting to the terms he prescribed, and delivering twelve hostages for the due performance of them, granted them peace; the change of affairs in *Italy* making that measure as expedient for him as for them, at this juncture^t. But, before his return, he gave directions for fortifying proper posts, and establishing a certain number of troops on the frontiers, to keep
- b these people in awe, which for some short time they did; but the next favourable opportunity tempted them to excite fresh troubles, though, in consequence of such continual wars, some part of their country was but thinly peopled, and the subsidies they sometimes drew from the enemies of *France*, made but poor amends for the losses they suffered^u.

DIDIER, king of the *Lombards*, having seized and frightened *Stephen IV.* into his grave, He makes an irruption into Italy, by two different routes, with a great army. laboured all he could to reduce his successor pope *Adrian I.* to a state of dependence: in order to which, he not only resumed a great part of what had been yielded by the treaty of *Pavia*, but also tried to surprise the person of the pope; and, failing in that, made an attempt upon the city of *Rome*. *Adrian*, in this distress, sent ambassadors by sea into *France*, to give a true account of the distress he was in, and to implore the protection of *Charles*^w. It was this that induced him to listen so readily to the *Saxons*; and, if he had followed his own inclinations, he had immediately poured his forces into *Italy*: but the nobility of *France*, always averse to these expeditions, shewed so much backwardness on this occasion, that he was obliged to act with great caution and circumspection. He sent therefore several embassies to *Didier*, in which he expressed a great desire to preserve a perfect harmony between the two nations, made very moderate demands, and, at length, offered to give him a large sum, in ready money, if he would restore the places he had taken from the pope^x. All these propositions were civilly rejected, which was what *Charles* expected and desired, for it gave him sufficient leisure to form magazines, to draw together a great army, and to make his subjects believe that he did not embark in this war so much through choice as by force. The motives that induced *Didier* to act as he did, were, the hopes of reducing the pope before he could be succoured, his ambition to become lord of all *Italy*, and his resentment against *Charles* for repudiating the queen. On the other hand, that monarch, exclusive of his zeal in the cause of the pope, had some reasons of a personal nature. *Didier* had given him cause to be offended with the correspondencies he had held in *France* from the beginning of his reign; and the peremptory manner in which he had demanded of *Adrian* the crowning of *Carloman's* two sons, had given *Charles* inexpressible uneasiness^y. For these causes, therefore, he held the general assembly in the month of *May* at *Geneva*; where, by a pathetic representation of the pope's distress, and the indignities himself had received, he procured the consent of the nobility to the war, and immediately marched with a potent army to enter *Lombardy*, by mount *Cenis*, while he sent a small, but choice corps of troops, under the command of duke *Bernard*, natural son to *Charles Martel*, to force the passage of mount *St. Bernard*, having taken all possible methods to render his expedition successful, upon which, in a great measure, he depended^z.

DIDIER, who was well informed of the general dislike the *French* nobles had expressed to this expedition, persuaded himself that, by occupying and fortifying the several passes into *Lombardy*, and opposing their entrance with the whole force of his dominions, he should defeat this invasion, and oblige the forces of *Charles* to retire. He was very near carrying his point, which he pursued with such skill and steadiness, that, upon viewing the dispositions he had made, the *French* officers almost unanimously declared that it was impossible to force them^a. *Charles* himself had almost taken a resolution of decamping in the night, when a sudden panic prevailing in *Didier's* army, they abandoned all their posts, and retired with precipitation. This was occasioned by duke *Bernard's* having forced a passage into the plain with a handful of men, which had been of no consequence at all, if they had remained firm. As it was, they abandoned all; for *Charles* pursued them with such impetuosity, that numbers fell in the retreat^b. *Didier*, with the best part of his troops, took shelter in *Pavia*; the rest, under the command of his only son *Adalgise*, threw themselves into *Verona*. With the king was the old unfortunate duke *Hunalde*, who, having made his escape out of prison, had taken refuge in his dominions; and with the prince, were the sons and the widow of *Carloman*, which very probably induced *Charles* to form the siege of both places at once, in hopes of

^r Annales Rerum Francorum.^s Monacho Engolismensis.^t ADON. Chron.^u Annales

Rerum Francorum.

^w ANAST. in vita Hadriani.^x EGINAR. vita Caroli mag. Annales LOISELLIANI.^y ANAST. in vita Hadriani.^z ADON. Chron.^a Annales LOISELLIANI.^b ANAST. in vita

Hadriani.

destroying all his enemies together^c. Success justifies every measure; the *French* were so charmed with their good fortune, that, notwithstanding their hatred of the climate of *Italy*, and the fatigue of sieges, they persisted in these for many months, though the places were well defended, had numerous garrisons, and magazines perfectly well supplied. *Verona* fell the first; for *Adalgise*, seeing no hopes of succour, resolved to take care of himself, and with this view, making his escape in the night, he found means to retire to *Constantinople*^d. By the surrender of this place, his sister-in-law and nephews fell into the hands of *Charles*, but what became of them is a secret that history has not disclosed. Upon this *Milan*, and most of the great towns of *Lombardy*, submitted. The march of *Ancona* demanded the protection of the pope; and *Didier*, who but a few months before had so large a kingdom, found his dominions now restrained within the walls of *Pavia*, where, as he had nothing to hope, he continued to make an obstinate defence. *Charles*, after taking the necessary measures for continuing the siege, or at least blockade of the place, made a tour to *Rome*^e.

Pavia surrenders, Didier submits, and Charles becomes master of the country of the Lombards.

As to the motive of this journey authors differ; some ascribe it to pure curiosity, others to devotion, but the more intelligent believe there was some secret scheme concealed. The pope was certainly not very well pleased, for the king brought with him a strong corps of troops; and though their first conference was in the suburbs, yet *Charles* having demanded entrance into the city, it could not be refused. He shewed himself upon this occasion a wise and great prince: he promised the pope, under the sanction of an oath, to do nothing to his prejudice; he performed that promise punctually, which confirmed the pontif in his interests. He visited the churches with such a shew of devotion, as gained him the hearts of the people; and at the request of the clergy, he confirmed and enlarged his father's donation, depositing one copy of the instrument on the great altar, and another upon the tomb of *St. Peter*^f. In fine, as he entered *Rome* in triumph, he left more than a conqueror, having captivated all ranks by his generous behaviour, and established his reputation with them in such a manner, as fixed his sovereignty in their hearts. At his return to *Pavia*, he found the siege little, if at all, more advanced than when he left it, yet the place surrendered very soon after: this was owing to an enemy within; for the plague made such devastation, that the people lost all patience, and daily pressed the king to implore mercy of *Charles* for himself and them^g. The old duke of *Aquitaine* opposing the surrender, they beat his brains out, which induced *Didier* to submit. Thus the kingdom of the *Lombards* was extinguished, after having subsisted somewhat more than two hundred years. We know not well what became of the unfortunate king, except that he was carried into *France*, where some say he was beheaded, others, that, being transferred to *Liege*, he became a monk, and some assert that he died of sickness soon after his arrival^h. By the surrender of *Pavia*, *Charles* became master of two-thirds of *Italy*, where he scarce altered any thing, except their taxes, which he diminished considerably. He caressed and employed their nobility; and, except in some places in *Tuscany*, and in the city of *Pavia*, he left no *French* garrisons. He caused himself to be crowned, by the archbishop of *Milan*, king of *Lombardy*, with the famous iron crown preserved at *Modece*, not far from that city: having recommended to the people to make a right use of the benefits he had bestowed, and assured them of his intention to govern mildly, and according to their own laws, he repassed the mountains with his armyⁱ.

He repasses the mountains speedily, and arriving unexpectedly in Germany, quells the Saxons.
A. D. 774.

THE true reason of his quitting *Italy* so soon, was the news he had of some fresh stirrs among the *Saxons*, who, hearing of the siege of *Pavia*, and believing that the *Lombards*, with whom they had some intercourse, could not be ruined in a single campaign, began to flatter themselves with hopes of recovering *Eresbourg*, and repairing, by expeditions into the *French* territories, the losses they had sustained in the last war^k. They were not slow in taking their resolution, or in executing it when taken: they surprised *Eresbourg*, and the garrison left in it; but instead of keeping it, they demolished the fort that *Charles* had erected: they ravaged a large tract of country, and carried away a great booty. They were scarce returned into their own country, when *Charles* arrived at *Ingelheim* on the *Rhine*, with his army^l. He entered *Saxony* by three different passages at the same time, made a great slaughter, and brought back his forces loaded with plunder. He held the great assembly in *May* at *Duren*, in the county of *Juliers*, where a resolution was taken to push the *Saxons* to the utmost. Accordingly he passed the *Rhine*, besieged and took *Sigebourg*, recovered *Eresbourg*, passed the *Wefer*, and defeated the whole force of the *Saxons* on the other side with great slaughter^m. But the greatest part of a considerable corps, whom he had left to guard the passage of the river, were cut off by their own inattention, and by their having a contempt for a barbarous enemy, tho' equal to them in courage, and superior in cunning. This perhaps might be one motive, tho' the turn of affairs in *Italy* was another, that determined *Charles* to treat once more with these people, to

^c EGINARDUM in vita Caroli mag. LOISELLIANI.
^k Annales EGINARD.

^d ADON. Chron.

^e Monach. Engolif.

^f Annales

^g Monacho Engolismensis.

^h ANAST. in vita Hadriani.

ⁱ ALFRIDUS in vita S. Ludgeri.

^l EGINARD. vita

^m ADON. Chron.

accept

a accept of their submission, and of the hostages they offered from every one of their tribes; but what he chiefly depended upon, was the new fortress at *Eresbourg*: for upon a strict examination, he found the *Saxons* had made a right choice, and that it was capable of being made the strongest place in their country, which induced him to order that it should be fortified with all possible careⁿ. The peace concluded, and the hostages delivered, he advised the *Saxon* deputies to keep this treaty better than they had done the last, if they expected either favour or mercy from him, and received on their part the strongest assurances that words could give^o.

After the departure of *Charles* from *Italy*, things quickly fell into disorder. He left indeed no room to complain; he had made many of the *Lombard* lords great, but most of them had a mind to be greater. The archbishop of *Ravenna* put a new construction upon the king's donation; he said, that, as the pope enjoyed the temporalities of the duchy of *Rome*, he thought the title, if not the revenue of the exarchate, should be annexed to the archbishop of *Ravenna*. *Adalgise* encouraged these misunderstandings from *Constantinople*; the Greek emperor, who had still a considerable stake in *Italy*, being as desirous of setting up the king-
 Troubles break out afresh in Italy, which, by his quick return, Charles quite suppresses. A. D. 775.
 dom of the *Lombards* again, as his predecessors had been to pull it down. *Charles* sent his ministers into *Italy*, to let several of the great lords, particularly *Hildebrand*, duke of *Spoletto*, the duke of *Beneventum*, and the duke of *Cluise*, know the reasons he had to suspect them of infidelity and ingratitude, and to learn from themselves what he was to expect. As the emperor *Constantine Copronymus* was just dead, they doubted of *Adalgise's* power to support them, and therefore they gave all possible assurances to *Charles* of duty and submission^p. It was otherwise with *Rotgaude*, duke of *Frioul*, who intended to deceive both parties: he had for himself already raised forces, assumed the airs of a sovereign, and found several of the lesser nobility simple enough to rely upon his promises. While things were in this state, *Charles* passed the mountains with a small corps of choice troops, routed the duke of *Frioul*, took him prisoner, caused him to be beheaded^q, put *French* governors and garrisons into all the places that had revolted, composed the differences that had arose between the pope and the archbishop of *Ravenna*; and having, in the space of four months, once more settled his new dominions, returned into *Germany*, where his presence was again necessary^r.

The *Saxons*, while *Charles* was in *Italy*, made another revolt, destroyed the new works that were raising at *Eresbourg*, and made an attempt to recover *Sigebourg*, which was a place of force. The garrison being very numerous, after they had suffered the *Saxons* to fatigue themselves for some time, in an affair they did not well understand, made a sally, so well conducted, as obliged them to raise the siege, and, not satisfied with this, pursued them as far as the sources of the *Lippe*. Things stood thus when *Charles*, with his forces from *Italy*, arrived in the *French* camp^s. The *Saxons* suspected the first rumour of this for a stratagem; but as soon as they knew it to be a truth, they disbanded, and sent deputies to demand pardon, and to make an offer of becoming Christians. The king, after much intreaty, accepted of this proposition, and took new hostages; but, at the same time, fixed upon other precautions, that they might deter them from breaking their faith. The fortress of *Eresbourg* he caused to be rebuilt under his eye, and, at the same time, ordered a new fort to be erected upon the *Lippe*; into both these he put strong garrisons, and went afterwards to pass the winter at *Heristal*, the patrimony of his family^t. In the spring he marched into the heart of *Saxony*, with a very numerous army, in order to oblige the most considerable of their chiefs to be present, as his subjects, at the assembly in *May*, which was held at *Paderborn*, in *Westphalia*. There the *Saxons* renewed their homage, and the promise they had made of being instructed in the Christian faith; to which they now added their consent to be made slaves, or to be expelled their country, if they ever took up arms again^u. *Witiking*, the most capable and the most enterprising of their chiefs, to avoid being present in this assembly, fled to *Denmark*. Here it was that *Ibinala*, lord of *Saragossa*, presented himself to demand the protection of *Charles*, not barely on his own behalf, but also for many other *Moorish* lords, who were desirous of becoming his vassals. The *French* nobility, in general, were astonished at this; but *Charles*, who was desirous of extending the bounds of his dominions on that side, also readily accepted the proposition. The influence he had in the assembly was so great, that, upon mature deliberation, it was approved, and the king immediately issued the necessary orders for assembling an army in *Aquitaine*^v.

The king passed his *Easter* at *Casseneuil*, a palace of his in the *Aginois*; and having divided his army into two corps, he ordered one to march on the side of *Narbonne* to enter into *Roussillon*, while himself, with the other, took the rout of *Gascony*, in order to penetrate
 Charles being invited by some Moorish

ⁿ Monacho Engolismensis.
 Carolin.
 LIANI.

^q Annal. Metens. Chron. Verdunense.

^t Monacho Engolismensis.

^o EGINARD. in vita Caroli mag.

^r EGINARD. in Annal.

^u EGINARD. vita Caroli mag.

^p Epist. ad Carol. 51 in Cod.

^s Annales LOISEL-

^v Annales Metenses.

lords makes an expedition into Spain. that way into *Navarre*. *Pampeluna* being taken, he passed the *Ebro* with his forces, and his whole army being joined, invested *Saragossa*, which, after a short siege, surrendered, and

received *Ibinala* in quality of governor: the emirs of *Huesca* and *Jacca* came voluntarily and did homage, as did also the governors of *Barcelona* and *Gironne*^x. *Charles*, having taken the best methods he could devise for securing his new conquest, disposed every thing for his return, satisfied with having extended his frontier from the *Pyrenees* to the *Ebro*. It was in repassing the mountains before-mentioned, that the rear of his army was attacked by the *Gascons*, who making a great impression on troops unacquainted with their manner of fighting, many of the principal officers, who had hastened thither to engage the troops to remain firm, were slain^y. This is that famous defeat in the valley of *Roncevaux*, of which so many and so strange accounts are given in romances; and here fell the famous *Roland*, of whom history only records, that he commanded on the frontier of *Bretagne*. *Charles*, exact in all works of piety, ordered a chapel to be erected near the place, under which there is a large, strong, and very beautiful vault, with thirty tombs of white stone, but without any inscriptions^z. He prosecuted his march after this disaster into *Aquitaine*, which he divided into several districts, appointing a count in each, who had the chief power in civil as well as military affairs; and, having cantoned a sufficient number of troops on the frontiers for their security, he returned into the heart of his own dominions. The *French* are very inquisitive why he penetrated no farther into *Spain*? The answer is not difficult: he meant to preserve what he had acquired; and, in order to this, it was requisite to preserve his army; which service, and a *Spanish* summer, would infallibly have ruined^a. His aim, therefore, was to raise in his new conquests a body of troops, capable of enduring the climate, and who, by their being acquainted with the manner of making war, might be more serviceable against the *Moors*. It was with this view that he distributed great quantities of land, indifferently, to *Gauls*, *Goths*, and *Gascons*, as well as *French*, to be held by military tenures: and was also very beneficial to the prelates and abbots, in order to attach them here, as he had done elsewhere, to his person and government^b.

New disturbances in Saxony, which are quelled, and they are obliged to give fresh hostages.

He was scarce out of the frontiers of *Aquitaine*, when he was informed that *Witiking*, being returned from *Denmark*, had engaged the *Saxons* in a general insurrection. His forces were so fatigued, that he was obliged to put the best part of them into winter quarters; however, having sent his officers into *Austrasia* to assemble what troops they could, and being informed that the enemy had committed the most barbarous cruelties on the *Rhine*, he, with a small corps, marched with all possible expedition to join the *Austrasians*. He, in conjunction with them, pursued the *Saxons* with such vigour, that he came up with them in the country of *Hesse*, defeated them, and ordered his troops to give no quarter^c. He held the next assembly at *Heristal*, where a great number of prelates, dukes, and counts, being present, he made some of those laws, or statutes, which are to be found amongst his capitulars, which gave them equal authority with the *salique* laws^d. As soon as the season would permit, he passed the *Rhine*, and advanced towards the *Wefer*, where he received once more the submission of the *Saxons*; and having held a diet, at which most of their dukes were present, he then directed his march to the *Elbe*, that he might have an opportunity of being present likewise in a diet of the *Sclavonians*, where he regulated several points of great moment. At both these diets he insisted upon having securities for the persons of those whom he sent to preach the gospel amongst them; and having obtained this, he sent bishops, abbots, and priests, to convert these barbarous nations, recommending it to them chiefly to insist upon the excellency of the Christian morals, to possess these people with a sense of virtue and decency, and to use their utmost endeavours to reduce them to a state of civility^e. As the country was, in a great measure, uncultivated, and had scarce any considerable towns, it was impossible for him to take the same precautions he had done elsewhere; and therefore, exclusive of his zeal for religion, this was a measure dictated to him by the maxims of true policy^f.

A. D. 779.

New troubles breaking out, he returns into Italy, and makes another visit to the pope.

By this time all things were again disordered in *Italy*, where pope *Adrian* had a quarrel with the *Greek* emperor's governor of the kingdom of *Naples*, where several of the great lords of *Lombardy* held a correspondence with *Adalgise*, and where the people in general, because less oppressed than they had formerly been, were grown wanton, and were ready to join in favour of any innovation^g. *Charles* had intelligence from all parties, and determined therefore to make a new tour into that country with an army. He carried with him his queen, and his two younger sons *Carloman* and *Lewis*; his eldest son *Pepin*, by his first queen, and *Charles* the eldest by the consort he then had, were left in *France*. His journey, after he passed the mountains, was a continued triumph; all disorders ceased at his approach, and all the

^x Annales Moyffiac. Monach. Engolif.

^y EGINARD. in Annal.

^z Annales Rerum Francorum.

^a BALUZ. Lim. Hispan.

^b EGINARD. vita Caroli mag.

^c ADON. Chron. Monach. Engolif.

^d Annales LOISELLIANI.

^e EGINARD. in vita Caroli mag.

^f Monach. Engolif.

^g ANAST.

in vita Hadriani.

- a dispute that remained was, who should be most forward in paying their duty. *Charles* took all in good part, and dissembled the informations he had received. He treated the people with great kindness and favour; the nobility with an obliging familiarity, and a flowing bounty; the clergy with much affection and profound respect. He passed the winter at *Pavia* in great splendor, and went to keep his *Easter* at *Rome*. There his son *Carloman* was baptized by the pope, who changed his name to *Pepin*, and immediately after gave the regal unction to him, and to his brother *Lewis*; the former being declared king of *Lombardy*, and the latter of *Aquitaine*^h. This ceremony was performed on *Easter* day, immediately after high mass, with the loud acclamations of the people, who love such pompous spectacles, though they comprehend nothing of the motives. Those who thought themselves wiser, held it
b strange that the father, being but in the thirty-ninth year of his age, should already divide his dominionsⁱ. But *Charles* had framed a system, according to which this seemed to be necessary: in his return, therefore, he left his son *Pepin* at *Pavia*, with a council on whom he could depend, in hopes that the *Lombards*, having now a king of their own, a splendid court, and an easy government, would at length learn to be faithful. He concluded about this time, a treaty with the empress *Irene*, by which he promised his eldest daughter to the young emperor *Constantine VI*. He settled also the dispute between the pope and the governor of *Naples*, conferred fresh favours on the dukes of *Spoletto* and *Beneventum*, tho' they little deserved them, and left the tranquility of *Italy*, in all appearance, firmly established^k.

- As soon as he arrived in *France*, he conducted his son *Lewis* to *Orleans*: there having
c formed a household for him, and appointed one *Arnold*, a lord of great wisdom and integrity, to be his governor, he sent him armed, and on horseback, though a perfect child, with a numerous escorte, into *Aquitaine*, that he might learn the language and the manners of the people; and that, by being accustomed to see, they might learn to love and respect their sovereign^l. He persuaded himself that this division would prevent all disputes in his family, as the antient empire of the *Franks* was preserved intire; as the two new kingdoms were separated from them, by the natural bounds of the *Alps* and the *Loire*; and as it would be the interest of his two elder sons to have their brethren for neighbours, rather than strangers^m. To the satisfaction he enjoyed from this pleasing idea, was joined another favourable event, which could not but be very acceptable. *Tassilon*, duke of *Bavaria*, had hitherto maintained a
d kind of equivocal conduct, never acting openly against *Charles*, and yet declining to resort to the assemblies where his presence was expected, or to renew his homage. The king had signified his displeasure to the pope, and desired him to let the duke know, that if he did not prevent it by an immediate change in his behaviour, he must expect to see the whole forces of his cousin thunder on his dominions. *Tassilon*, excited thereto by his wife, the daughter of the deceased king of the *Lombards*, hated the *French* nation implacably, and *Tassilon* personally had been, for many years, heaping up treasure, augmenting his troops, and fortifying his frontiers, with an intention not to let slip the first favourable opportunity of resenting the death of his father-in-law. But the message delivered him by two bishops sent from the pope, and the summons that immediately followed from *Charles*, softened him so much, that he sent
e to demand a safe conduct, and promised to repair to courtⁿ. This being readily granted, he was constrained to keep his word; and having sworn fidelity to *Charles* and his sons, and given such hostages as were required, he returned, more incensed than ever, tho' treated with great respect, and loaded with presents^o; while the king, pleased with the prospect of peace, which he scarce ever enjoyed, determined to hold the next assembly in *May*, at *Cologne*, that, by being at no great distance from the *Saxons*, he might hinder them from creating any fresh disturbances.

- THE season of the year no sooner rendered it practicable, than he marched with his army to the sources of the *Lippe*; having encamped as advantageously as possible, he there summoned a dyet of the *Saxons*, and therein gave audience to ambassadors from the king of the *Danes*, or
f *Normans*, as they were then stiled, and from the monarch of the *Huns* or *Abares*; who, in the most respectful manner, intreated his friendship; which *Charles* readily promised, provided his subjects received no injuries from theirs^p. He was no sooner returned into *France*, than *Witiking* came back into his own country; where he took great pains to persuade the *Saxons*, that embracing the Christian faith would pave the way for absolute subjection, if not slavery, and in a little time raised a new rebellion; to cover which from the *French*, he caused it to be given out, that the *Sclavonians* had made an irruption into their country, and that they were taking up arms to repel those invaders^q. *Charles*, upon the first notice of these stirrs, sent *Adalgise*, his chamberlain, *Geilon*, his constable, and *Worade*, count of the palace,

Tassilon, duke of Bavaria, armed by the power of the king, comes into France to do him homage.
A. D. 780.

A fresh insurrection by the Saxons, suppressed by the king, and very severely.

^h EGINARD. in vita Caroli mag.ⁱ ADON. Chronicon.

Monach. Engolif.

^k Annales LOISEL-

LIANI.

^l EGINARD. in Annal.^m Monach. Engolif.ⁿ Annales LOISELLIANI.^o EGINARD.

vit. Car. mag.

^p Annales Fuld.

EGIN. vit. Car. mag.

^q ANSCHARIUS in vita S. Willchadi.

to assemble the militia in *Austria*, with orders to pass the *Rhine*, to join the *Saxons*, and carry a the war into the enemy's country; but, being quickly informed of the truth, he sent count *Theuderic*, or *Tbierri*, with an army, to support the forces already assembled^r. The four generals advanced to the *Weser*; and, having information that the *Saxons* were encamped at the foot of *Mount Sontal*, on the other side the river, it was agreed, that the first army should pass, and, marching round the mountain, fall upon the enemy, tho' much superior to them in number, while count *Tbierri* remained on the other side, till, upon a signal given, he should likewise pass, and fall upon the enemy's back^s. But the three generals, jealous of the reputation of *Tbierri*, who was the emperor's relation, attacked the *Saxons*, without making the signal; and, by this wise contrivance, were totally defeated. The constable, and those who escaped, fled to count *Tbierri*, who entrenched his forces on the banks of the river, b and sent notice to the king of what had happened^t. *Charles*, with his usual expedition, assembled a numerous army, disengaged count *Tbierri*, and marched into the heart of *Saxony*, where his very name dissipated the rebellion, and the principal dukes of the nation came to meet him trembling, laying all the fault upon *Witikind*, and beseeching him to grant them pardon. This the king offered, provided they would deliver him up; but they answered, he was again fled to *Denmark*. That may be, answered *Charles*, but he did not take with him all his associates. Upon this, on a signal given, his army invested the *Saxons*; and having seized four thousand five hundred, who had been in that battle, and caused them to be conducted to a little river that run into the *Weser*, there cut off their heads^u. An execution, of which scarce any example appears in *European* history. c

A. D. 782.

The resentment of this excites a general insurrection, which occasions a long and bloody war.

THIS struck a general consternation at first; but *Witikind* and *Albion*, who had been likewise embarked in the former affair, returning, a general revolt ensued. This employed the king three whole years, notwithstanding he defeated them totally in three general engagements. One winter he spent at the fort of *Eresbourg*, made several expeditions into the heart of their country, and spilt rivers of blood; his two elder sons being also in the field^w. At length, tired with this carnage, and vexed with a conspiracy that had been discovered in *Thuringia*, and whispers of other dark designs against him, he sent for some of the *Saxon* prisoners of rank, and told them, that he was amazed at the folly and madness of their countrymen, whom he had formerly regarded as his subjects, and to whom, notwithstanding what was passed, he was still far from having an aversion. He requested them to go into the northern parts of d *Saxony*, to find out *Witikind* and *Albion*, and desire them to come to him, that he might learn upon what terms the rest of their nation might be spared^x. They went accordingly; and the two chiefs, surprised at the proposition, unwilling to put themselves into the king's hands, but still more unwilling to be the authors of the total ruin of their country, demanded hostages for their security. The king returned into *France*, that they might have time to recover their consternation, sent one of the lords of his court with hostages on the other side the *Elbe*; upon which *Witikind* and *Albion* came and presented themselves to the king. He received them with great respect, commended their courage, conduct, and constancy; applauded their love of liberty, and assured them of his protection and favour. In a short time, they were both converted to Christianity; and, after being baptized, returned into their own country, where e they kept the people in quiet, and assisted the progress of the gospel with great zeal and fidelity for several years^y. The king, freed from this trouble, obliged the *Bretons* to submit, quashed some stirrs in *Aquitaine* without bloodshed, and awed the duke of *Bavaria*, who had been all along intriguing with the *Saxons*, to silence and submission^z.

785.

Charles makes another tour into Italy, and suppresses the commotions that broke out there.

As soon as he had thus established domestic tranquility, he made a tour into *Italy*, passed his *Christmas* at *Florence*, which he ordered to be rebuilt, and went to keep his *Easter* at *Rome*^a. The people received him with loud acclamations of joy, which, perhaps, might be very sincere; but the pope, and all the principal persons at *Rome*, felt a sensible uneasiness at the sight of their master. *Charles* knew very well what intrigues there were subsisting, and was well satisfied, that those who flew highest in compliment, were deepest in the design of f his destruction. He was aware that the empress *Irene*, who sent to renew the engagements subsisting between them, had entered into contrary engagements for the support of *Adalgise*, the son of *Didier*; he knew, that *Aregise*, duke of *Beneventum*, who had married the sister of that prince, had entered into this treaty; he was sensible that *Tassilon*, duke of *Bavaria*, who had married another sister, was embarked in the same design; and he was not at all ignorant, that pope *Adrian*, and the *Romans*, for whom he had done so much, were no strangers to these intrigues, but secretly wished well to them^b. He had appeared in *Italy* as a great captain before; he distinguished himself now as a great politician. He desired the senate of *Rome*

^r Annales LOISELLIANI. EGIN. vita Car. mag.^s Poet. Saxonicus de gest. Car. mag.^t Monach.

Engolis.

^u EGIN. in Annal.^w Annal. Fuld. Monach. Engol.^x Poet. Saxonicus. ADON.

Chron.

^y EGIN. vit. Car. mag. Poet. Saxonicus.^z Annales LOISELLIANI. EGIN. in Annal.

ADON. Chron.

^a Annal. Fuld. ANAST. in vit. Hadriani.^b EGINARD in vit. Car. mag. Poet.

Saxonicus. Annales LOISELLIANI. ADON. Chron.

a might be assembled; he laid before them the treasons of the duke of *Beneventum*, and the proofs; he desired their advice how he should act. They, who were accomplices in the conspiracy, to preserve an appearance of innocence, declared, that no treatment could be too severe. The king entered his dominions with an army; the duke fled; but, by his deputies, intreated *Charles's* clemency. Some prelates, by secret instructions from the pope, joined in the request^c. The king granted it; upon condition he sent him his two sons: the princes were sent. The king gave the eldest leave to return to his father, and kept *Grimoalde*, who was the youngest, whom he educated with the same care, and treated with the same tenderness, as if he had been his own^d. *Tassilon*, fearing he had been discovered, moved the pope, by ambassadors, to intercede on his behalf; he did so. *Charles* asked the ambassadors, in his
b presence, if they had full powers from their master to engage for his future conduct? They acknowledged they had none^e. As this exposed the pope, he told them, that, if their master failed in his obedience, he would excommunicate him, and release his subjects from their oaths. *Charles* accepted this, without considering that the power, which he thus acknowledged, might be turned against himself, or his posterity^f. In his return, he stopped for some time at *Pavia*, to give instructions to his son and his ministers, and afterwards passed the mountains into his own dominions; where all was tolerably quiet.

THE next assembly was held at *Worms*; where he laid before the nobility the behaviour of his cousin, the duke of *Bavaria*, and declared, that, since clemency had so little effect, he was
c determined to chastise him. His measures had been taken before-hand; he advanced in person, with a well appointed army, towards the *Lech*; but at the same time the *Austrians* and *Saxons* appeared, with a greater number of forces, on the *Danube*, and the forces of *Pepin*, king of the *Lombards*, were on the point of entering *Bavaria*, through the valley of *Trent*^g. *Tassilon* saw his destruction inevitable; instead, therefore, of attempting a defence, he came privately into the king's camp, and threw himself at his feet. *Charles* beheld him with pity; he recapitulated all his treasons; he demanded his eldest son as a hostage; and, having once more taken his oath of fidelity, dismissed him, with an assurance, that all that was past should be forgot^h. He instantly resumed his intrigues, negotiated with the *Huns* to make an irruption into *Germany*, while himself, with all his forces, invaded *France*, and *Adalgise*, with a *Greek* army, and the lords of his faction in *Lombardy*, fell upon *Pepin*. His
d own subjects, whom he trusted, foreseeing the ruin of their country, discovered all to the king. The duke, who did not at all suspect them, went to the next assembly at *Ingelheim*, that *Charles* might conceive no umbrage; and no sooner arrived than he was arrested. On the testimony of those he trusted, he and his two sons were condemned to lose their heads. The king commuted this into passing the remainder of their days in a convent. His duchess, the cause of all his misfortunes, is supposed to have shared the same fate, and *Bavaria* was annexed to the crownⁱ. In all probability succeeding times would have doubted the truth of this conspiracy; but the events that followed put it beyond question. The *Huns* made a prodigious irruption; and, after being twice defeated with great slaughter, invaded *Bavaria*, to revenge the duke and themselves. But the *Bavarians*, secure of support, gave them such a
e reception, that very few of them returned^j. *Adalgise*, with a *Greek* army, appeared likewise in *Italy*, notwithstanding *Aregise*, duke of *Beneventum*, and his eldest son, were both ready, and *Charles*, contrary to the sentiments of all his nobility, bestowed his territories on *Grimoalde*. The mother of that prince depended upon her influence over him; *Charles*, on the obligations he had conferred upon him. *Grimoalde* did justice to the king's sentiments; he commanded the van of the *French* army: the *Greeks* were totally defeated, their general killed, and *Adalgise*, being lucky enough to make his escape, laid aside all hopes of reviving the kingdom of the *Lombards*^k. This was one of the most fortunate years of the king's life. Towards the close of it he went to *Aix la Chapelle*; where, in a general assembly, he made many excellent laws for the government of his extensive territories, and caused many canons to be
f made for regulating the discipline of the church^l. At his last being at *Rome*, the pope had made him a present of a code, containing the canons of the *Oriental* and *African* churches; out of this code he took such as he most approved, and, having properly adapted them to the use of the clergy in his own dominions, procured them the sanction of that assembly^m. He also introduced what was commonly called the *Gregorian* song, or manner of chanting, which was the mode in *Italy*, instead of that method of singing which had prevailed till then in *France*; and this not so much by the exertion of his authority, as by the force of his example;

^c ANAST. in vit. Hadriani. EGIN. in vit. Car. mag.

^d Annales LOISELLIANI. ANAST. in vit. Hadriani. ADON. Chron.

^e EGIN. in vit. Car. mag.

^f Annales LOISELLIANI.

^g EGIN. in Annal. ADON. Chron.

^h EGIN. in vit.

ⁱ Aunal. Fuld.

^j EGIN. in vit. Car. mag.

^k Annales LOISELLIANI.

^l ANAST. in vit. Hadriani. EGIN. in Annal.

^m Annales

ⁿ Concil. Gall. tom. ii. in Capit. Aquisgran.

^o Monach. Engol.

for he suffered his own choir to contend with that of the pope's at *Rome*, and, upon his preferring the latter, it gained the approbation of his clergy ^a.

The constant and assiduous application of this monarch to all affairs of government.

THE leisure, which the king now enjoyed, enabled him to carry many things into execution, which hitherto had only floated in his mind. We have observed, that he was a universal genius; it is but fit that we should give some proofs of it. The plans of government he laid down in every country immediately followed his conquests, and it was by this that he secured them. He took care to be well informed of the errors and mistakes in the preceding government, and he took no less care to remove these effectually ^b. He shewed particular attention to whatever regarded religion, and was very respectful, as well as very beneficent, to the clergy. He reviewed the laws, and made such alterations in them as he thought absolutely necessary, without going farther. He knew, that the people revered old customs, and the constitutions they had lived under from their youth; he took, therefore, all the care possible to preserve them; but he would have the law every-where animated, and suffered none to be exempt from its reach. He was particularly tender of the common people, and, where-ever he came, studied their ease and advantage. This induced him to repair public roads; to construct bridges where they were wanted; to render rivers navigable, and to encourage agriculture and commerce ^c. His being in continual motion enabled him to see his orders were complied with; and, as he made the public service the sole road to favour, his counts and dukes vied with each other in making improvements. In the summer, he was commonly in the field; where his habit and his table were little superior to those of private men. He was naturally very temperate, patient of fatigue, and always took his full share in every kind of hardship. In the winter, and in the spring, he held his great courts and general assemblies; there he affected a display of royal magnificence, proposed himself such laws as were for the public benefit, and indulged the same liberty to others ^d. But in the camp, and in the court, he had his set hours of study, which he seldom missed. He spoke and wrote *Latin* well; he composed and wrote verses in that language; he understood *Greek*; he had a tincture of most sciences; but his favourite study was astronomy ^e.

His love of learning, and zeal for promoting and encouraging it amongst his subjects.

HE invited *Alcuinus*, or *Albinus*, over from *Britain*, and made him his companion and favourite: by his advice he established public foundations for the encouragement and support of literature. He had a kind of private academy in his court; every member of which took the name of his favourite author; one stiled himself *Aristotle*, another *Augustin*, a third *Horace*; *Albinus* assumed that of *Flaccus*, and the king himself took the name of *David* ^d. He condescended to examine all the young noblemen about their progress in learning; rewarded such as were diligent, and made others so by promises; for he dealt not at all in reproofs and punishments. In all the great abbeys and cathedrals he caused schools to be set up for teaching writing, arithmetic, and the elements of polite learning; and, to shew of how much importance he thought these things, he composed a grammar himself. In a word, he believed ignorance and idleness the greatest vices; and, to explode them, he took care to shew he held nothing beneath his own notice. Inquisitive and judicious, he was continually improving his stock of science; and yet had so little of jealousy or of envy; that, to foil him in a dispute was the surest way to his favour. His father *Pepin*, who felt the want of it, had given him, for those times, a good education; his frequent journeys into *Italy*, and his conversation with learned men of all nations, had given him a correct taste; and the signal advantages derived to him from his application to letters, induced him to look upon the restoration of learning as the great glory of his reign ^e. To have said nothing of this would have been injurious to his character; to insist longer upon this subject would exceed the bounds prescribed by our plan.

The war with the Abares, the conspiracy of prince Pepin, and punishment of him and his associates.

As his dominions augmented, he found himself embarrassed with new enemies. The *Abodrites*, or inhabitants of the country now called *Mechlenburgh*, were either his subjects or his tributaries; they were extremely harrassed by some of the tribes of the *Slavonians*, called, by some authors, *Witse*, seated on the shore of the *Baltick* ^f. They sent their complaints to *Charles*; who marched immediately to their relief, passed the *Rhine* at *Cologne*, and, taking with him the whole force of the *Saxons*, he constructed two bridges on the *Elbe*, which he took care to fortify: having left a corps of good troops to guard them, he gave the *Saxons* licence to enter the enemy's country, and take what they could find. This terrified the *Barbarians* to such a degree, that they submitted to any conditions he prescribed, and gave hostages for the performance of them; so that his dominions were now bounded by the *Baltick* ^e. The *Huns* gave him much more trouble; they harrassed *Bavaria* in such a manner, that he found it necessary to penetrate into their own country, which at length he did, with a numerous army, composed of most of the nations that were subject to his government ^f. The

^a EGIN. in Annal. EGIN. in vit. Car. magni. ^b Annales LOISELLIANI. EGIN. vit. Car. mag. ^c FLAC. ALBIN. Epist. ^d EGIN. vit. Car. mag. ^e Monach. ENCOL. ^f JOAN. LELAND de Script. Brit. cap. lxxxviii. ALBIN. Epist. ^g EGIN. vit. Car. mag. ^h EGIN. in Annal. ⁱ Annal. Fuld. & Metenf. ^j Annales LOISELLIANI. EGIN. vit. Car. mag.

- a *Huns* had a singular method of fortifying their country, with entrenchments of a vast extent, defended by the whole tribe whose territories they covered: these were attacked and defended with equal resolution, and, where-ever they were forced, a prodigious slaughter ensued. He pushed this expedition as far as *Raab* upon the *Danube*; and by marching his troops on both sides of that river, which the *Bavarians* had covered with boats, they were plentifully supplied with provisions; but, a distemper breaking out among the cavalry, he was constrained to return to *Ratisbon*, where he passed the winter; in which he met with more chagrin than he had hitherto done in the course of his life². One night, after he had retired to rest, he heard a disturbance in the outward apartment; and rising hastily to know what was the cause of it, he found a priest, whose name was *Ardulfe*, by nation a *Lombard*, of an unpromising figure, b and in a very mean dress, who was very clamorous to speak with the king. *Charles* called him immediately into the room; where he told him, that, dropping asleep in the corner of the church to which he belonged, he was waked by a number of voices, and found that his eldest son, prince *Pepin*, was there taking the last measures with his associates, for executing a design against his father's life; that this assembly discovered him as they were breaking up, and most of them were for securing themselves, by putting him to death; but the prince, having sworn him at the altar not to divulge what he had heard, let him go. The king caused *Pepin*, and the rest of the conspirators, to be arrested immediately; and, being convicted on full proof, they were condemned to suffer death; but the king chose rather that his son should live as a penitent, than die as a parricide; he sent him, therefore, to spend the rest of c his days in a convent. He soon after rewarded the priest for this service, by making him abbot of *St. Denis*³. His sons, *Pepin*, king of *Lombardy*, and *Lewis*, king of *Aquitaine*, hearing of this conspiracy, hastened to *Ratisbon*, where they found things tolerably quiet; but a train of fresh misfortunes followed^b.

- It was expected that the *Abares*, after what they had suffered from the last expedition, would have sent their deputies to demand peace; instead of that they returned to their habitations, restored their old works, threw up new retrenchments, and declared their definitive resolution, to cover with their dead bodies, rather than desert, the country in which they were born. *Charles* saw, with concern, the necessity he was under of acting against this determined nation^c. He ordered count *Thierry* to march, with a considerable body of forces, composed d chiefly of *Frisons*, to join the *Saxons*, who had behaved well the last campaign; but the first news he had was, that this whole nation was revolted, and count *Thierry's* army defeated, and the best part of them cut to pieces^d. Immediately after, he received intelligence, that the *Moors* had over-run most of his conquests in *Spain*; and, not satisfied with this, had made incursions into *Languedoc*, as far as *Narbonne*^e. His accounts from *Italy* were far from being pleasing; inasmuch that, from a state of absolute peace and tranquility, he found his dominions, on a sudden, almost attacked on every side. His conduct on this occasion was great almost beyond example; he sent some able officers, with instructions to his sons *Pepin* and *Lewis*; he recruited and augmented his own army till it became very numerous; but he undertook nothing against the barbarous nations, that he might see what turn affairs would e take^f.

- As he hated idleness, and knew that a great army, inactive, would soon grow seditious, he employed them in the execution of a design which he had long before formed, and which will ever do honour to his abilities: this was opening a communication between the ocean and the *Euxine* sea, by uniting the *Danube* and the *Rhine*. He foresaw the vast advantages that would result from thence to numberless nations, in succeeding times, and had likewise in view the facilitating the present object of his politics; which was the absolute reduction of the *Abares*, whose spirit and courage he admired, and therefore wished to see them converted to Christianity, and civilized^g. His scheme was to draw a canal from the river of *Rednitz*, the source of which is not far from *Weissembourg*, to the river of *Altmul*. The first of these rivers falls f into the *Mein*, near *Bamberg*, and the *Mein* into the *Rhine*, at *Mentz*, and the river *Altmul* joins the *Danube* between *Ingoldstadt* and *Ratisbon*. The canal he projected was to have been three hundred feet in breadth, and was to extend from *Weissembourg* to the river of *Altmul*, which is little more than six miles; but the soil, partly rocky and partly marshy, and the rainy season, with the want of those machines which art has since invented, rendered his endeavours abortive, by ruining all his works as fast as they were made; but the glory of forming this design, and the honour of having attempted it, were out of the power of accidents; and posterity must do justice to his memory, in acknowledging that he was one of those few heroes who had the advantage of mankind at heart, and who laboured to distinguish his conquests by monuments of his munificence and true public spirit^h. In the mean time, what

² EGIN. in Annal.
LOISELLIANI.

³ Annales Metenses.
^d Annales BEATINIANI.

^b Chron. Moissac.

^c EGIN. in Annal. Annales
^e ROD. Tolet. de rebus Hispaniæ.

mag.

^f Chron. Moissac.

^g EGIN. in Annal.

^h EGIN. vit. Car.

the king expected came to pass; the *Moors*, being totally defeated in *Spain* by *Alonso* the chaste, king of *Leon*, were obliged to abandon all their conquests; so that *Lewis*, king of *Aquitaine*, and his ministers, found no great difficulty in restoring things on that side. In *Italy* the malecontents fell out among themselves; and pope *Adrian* was firm to the *French* interest, being convinced, by experience, that he could depend upon no other support: the clouds on that side likewise dispelled, which gave *Charles* an opportunity of renewing his former extensive projects; but that he might execute them with more ease, and at the same time efface the memory of past disasters, he resolved to hold a council at *Frankfort*; which he did with the consent of the pope, and presided therein with all the majesty of the antient emperors¹. But the transactions therein belong not to our present subject, for two reasons; first, as they regard ecclesiastical affairs, and next, as they belong properly to the history of *Germany*: we shall only observe, that the monk *Tassilon* resigned here, in the most solemn manner, all his rights to *Bavaria*; and *Charles's* fourth queen, *Fastrade*, died little regretted, on account of her vices and vindictive temper, either by her husband or his subjects.

The Saxons again reduced, and a third part obliged to quit their country.

A. D. 794.

ALL things being now disposed for chastising the *Saxons*, the king marched in person against them with his army, at the same time that his son *Charles* passed the *Rhine* at *Cologne*, with the best part of the forces that were left in *France*. The *Saxons*, on the other hand, assembled the whole force of all their cantons, determined to put all upon the fortune of a day. But the presence of this monarch had such an effect, that their army began to disband; so that their chiefs were forced to have recourse again to submissions, and to desire peace upon what terms he pleased². *Charles* prescribed only two conditions; the first was, that they should again admit the Christian clergy, and give hostages for their safety; the other, that they should deliver up one third-part of their army, to be sent where-ever he pleased. Hard as this last article was, they obeyed, and *Charles* distributed these *Saxon* troops on the maritime coasts of *Holland* and *Flanders*, where they did admirable service³. The next year, the king marched into the country of the *Saxons*, with a numerous army, in order to hold an assembly upon the *Elbe*; to which resorted, among other princes, the king of the *Abodrites*, at whose request he had chastised the *Sclavonians*, and who, in times of greatest danger, had invariably adhered to him; for which he was hated by the *Saxons*, who assassinated him upon the road. This provoked *Charles* to the last degree, who, in the heat of his resentment, abandoned the tribe who were guilty of this action to the discretion of his army; who slaughtered many thousands, and took every thing that was worth taking⁴. It appears from hence, that all submission in that fierce nation was the pure effect of fear, and subsisted no longer than that continued.

After an obstinate war, the Abares are reduced, and the Moors humbled.

THE death of pope *Adrian* gave the king real concern, which he expressed particularly in an epithet in *Latin* verse; in which there is less of elegance than passion⁵. *Leo* the third was chosen the same day that his predecessor died; he sent immediately his legates to *Charles*, with rich presents, the keys of *St. Peter's* tomb, and the standard of *Rome*; desiring that he would send some person of confidence to receive the oaths of the *Roman* people, in quality of patrician, or protector of the holy see. The king immediately dispatched his secretary *Engilbert*, abbot of *St. Riquier*; and his instructions, written with great piety and dignity, are yet extant. The war with the *Abares*, or *Huns*, was by this time in a manner finished: *Henry*, duke of *Frioul*, defeated them in a general engagement, and made himself master of their capital, called *Ringa*, though obstinately defended, with prodigious slaughter of the inhabitants, and found therein immense riches, consisting in the spoil and plunder of various nations, which they had been amassing for many years⁶. *Pepin*, king of *Italy*, completed this conquest, and in another battle killed the *Khan*, which put an end to the war; and, as some writers say, to the people, who were in a manner extirpated; only one canton, of which *Thudin* was the chief, submitted, were baptized, and received into the king's protection. This did not hinder the northern *Saxons* from taking up arms again, and murdering one of the lords of *Charles's* court, who was returning from an embassy; which was attended with the usual consequences, rapine, slaughter, and, at length, a forced submission⁷. The king now spent his winter at *Aix la Chapelle*, with his fifth queen, and there received many embassies, that did him great honour, and some that must have given him great satisfaction. Amongst the former we may reckon that from *Irene*, empress of *Constantinople*, to apologize for her own conduct in putting out the eyes of and deposing her own son, and to propose a marriage between herself and the king. These ambassadors were entertained very honourably, though *Charles* very well knew she was at that time embarked in several intrigues that were prejudicial to his interests⁸. On the other hand, we may comprehend, among the latter, the submission of several *Moorish* lords, and application for protection on the behalf of others, whom he referred

¹ ANAST. in vit. Hadriani. Concil. Gall. tom. ii. EGIN. in Annal. ² EGIN. vit. Car. mag. Annal. Fuld. ³ Monach. Engol. ⁴ Annal. Fuld. ⁵ EGIN. in vit. Car. mag. ⁶ Annal. Fuld. ⁷ Monach. Engol. ⁸ EGIN. vit. Car. mag. ⁹ Annal. Fuld.

a. His son *Lewis*, king of *Aquitaine*; who, by his direction, sent an army to their assistance, and, with the help of the natives, recovered the islands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*; which, by this means, were annexed to his dominions^r. But if these events gave him joy, there was another that gave him pain. *Pascal* and *Campule*, nephews of the late pope *Adrian*, attacked pope *Leo* in the streets of *Rome*, on the feast of *St. Mark*, and dragged him into the church, with an intent to put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue, and from thence remove him into a monastery, where they intended to have kept him prisoner; but, being happily delivered by his friends, the duke of *Spoletto*, then general of the *French* forces, came and took him into his protection, and soon after, with a good escorte, he set out to lay his own case before the king. *Charles*, at the time of his arrival, was at *Paderborn*; from whence he set out to meet him, and shewed him, upon this occasion, all possible marks of respect. He sent him back some time after with numerous guards and attendance, and appointed commissaries to enquire into this affair at *Rome*; at the same time he promised him, that he would come in person to render him justice, and to settle the affairs of *Italy*, which were again in great disorder^s. A. D. 799.

At this time the *Normans*, that is, the inhabitants of the northern nations (for some tribes of the *Saxons*, as well as the inhabitants of *Denmark*, and perhaps some other nations, were included under that name), began to render themselves famous by their piracies. This obliged the king to be very attentive to the safety of the sea-coasts, for which he provided very effectually; establishing fortresses at the mouths of most of the great rivers, a regular militia, destined for that purpose only, along the shore, and squadrons, properly stationed, to cruize in quest of these invaders: that he might see how well his intentions were executed, he went in person, and examined them with the strictest attention^t. In the month of *March* he finished his tour; and, having passed the *Seine* at *Rouen*, went to perform his devotions at the tomb of *St. Martin*; where the counts of *Bretagne*, who had been in rebellion, and were but lately reduced, came to pay their respects, and to make their presents. He made a longer stay than he intended at *Tours*, by reason of the sickness and death of his last queen *Lutgarde*^u. He returned from thence, by *Orleans* and *Paris*, to *Aix la Chapelle*, and in the month of *August* held a general assembly at *Mentz*; where he declared, so far as was fit, the motives which induced him to make a journey into *Italy*^v. He set out soon after, though we have no distinct account of his route, and came, with an army, to *Ravenna*: from whence he dispatched the king of *Italy* to reduce *Grimoalde*, duke of *Beneventum*; which he performed, or, at least, we learn of no considerable resistance made by that duke^x. The measures taken to secure all the frontiers of his dominions.

CHARLES in the mean time proceeded to *Rome*, with a small corps of troops, was met at some distance by pope *Leo*, and made his entry with him into that city on the twenty-fourth of *November*^y. After some days spent in proper enquiries, the cause was solemnly heard; and none appearing to prove the crimes that had been alleged against the pope, he rose up of his own accord, and declared in the most solemn manner, upon oath, that he was not guilty of them, by act, order, or connivance^z. The trial of the assassins was next brought on; and, being convicted in the presence of the king, they were condemned to death; but the pope interposed, and desired that he would spare their lives: he went farther, and intreated that they might not suffer in their persons, but that they might be exiled, so as to give him no farther apprehensions^a. This was in itself a very extraordinary scene; but there followed, on *Christmas* day, one much more extraordinary. The king going to assist at mass, while he was upon his knees before the altar, the pope came and placed a rich crown upon his head; upon which the people cried aloud, "Long live *Charles* the august, crowned by the hand of God; Long life and victory to the great and pacific emperor of the *Romans*." During these acclamations, the pope conducted him to a throne, which had been prepared for him; and, as soon as he was seated, paid him those respects which his predecessors were wont to pay to the antient emperors. He then declared, that, instead of the title of patrician, he should stile him for the future emperor and *Augustus*, and at the same time presented the imperial mantle; with which being invested, he returned, amidst the acclamations of the people, to his palace^b. His secretary *Eginard* affirms, that he was so far from shewing either joy or satisfaction upon this occasion, that he declared he was not in the least apprised of the pope's intention; and that, if he had, he would, notwithstanding the solemnity of the feast, have forborn going to church. The reason he assigned was, that this ceremony added nothing to his power, and would only confer on himself and his posterity a pompous title, that might be attended with many inconveniencies^c. Whether this, all circumstances considered, deserves credit, we pretend not to decide, the fact rests upon its author; but this is certain, that Is crowned by pope Leo III. emperor of the west, at Rome, with universal applause. A. D. 800.

^r BALUZ. Limes Hispan.^s ANAST. in vita Leonis.^t Annal. Fuld. Monach. Engolif.^u EGIN.

vit. Car. mag.

^v Annales LOISELLIANI. Monach. Engolif.^x Annal. BERTINIANI.^y EGIN.

vit. Car. mag. Annal. Fuld.

^z ANAST. in vit. Leon. Monach. Engolif.^a Annales LOISELLIANI.

Monach. Engolif.

^b Annal. Metens. ADON. Chron. EGIN. in Annal. ANAST. in vit. Leon.^c EGIN.

in vit. Car. mag.

Charlemagne was ever after very tenacious of that title, and insisted upon being owned in this quality by the emperors of the east, whom he treated thenceforward on the foot of equality. in his return he took *Pavia* in his way ; where he made some amendments and additions to the laws of the *Lombards*.

The Persian monarch, by his ambassadors, makes a cession to Charles of the holy place.

THE war against the *Moors*, who had lately thrown aside the respect they had sworn to maintain towards his father, obliged *Lewis*, king of *Aquitaine*, to take up arms against them ; and though it was at the expence of a long and bloody war, yet, in the issue of it, he compelled them to submit, and brought things into very near the same state in which *Charles* had left them ^a. *Pepin*, king of *Italy*, met with more speedy success. The town of *Rieti*, which was near the territory held by the *Greeks*, revolted at their instigation. It was strong, and had some good posts in its neighbourhood ; but *Pepin* quickly took these, and reduced that : upon which, having ordered the people to withdraw, he burnt it to ashes ^b. The governors of *Barcelona* and *Rieti*, who had been the authors of these disturbances, were sent prisoners by the two young kings to the emperor their father. *Charlemagne* had the additional satisfaction of seeing ambassadors from the *Persian* monarch at his court, whom he brought with him out of *Italy*, and carried them through *France* into *Germany*. Amongst other entertainments, he diverted them with the fighting of wild buffaloes, which, however, put them in great danger of their lives, and the emperor, who relieved them, in much greater ; insomuch that he had certainly lost his life, if a nobleman, whose name was *Issembart*, who had lost his favour, and had all his estates taken from him, and was present in disguise, had not killed one of those furious creatures, at the very instant he was on the point of bearing down the emperor and his horse ; for which service he not only restored to him his honours, but loaded him also with many additional favours ^c. By these ambassadors, their master made a cession of the holy places at *Jerusalem* to *Charlemagne*, which furnished the romance writers with an opportunity of pretending the emperor went thither in person, and conquered them from the Infidels, not discerning that the matter of fact, plainly and simply related, was infinitely more honourable to *Charlemagne* than their ridiculous fiction ^d. These ambassadors were men of sense ; and having been treated with some contempt in the places through which they passed in *France*, complained to the emperor that he was least respected in the heart of his dominions ; upon which he removed the governors, and fined the bishops who had afforded occasion for this complaint ^e.

Charlemagne compels the emperor Nicephorus to acknowledge him, and conclude a peace.
A. D. 802.

THE restless behaviour of *Grimoalde*, duke of *Beneventum*, and his continual intrigues with the *Greeks*, induced *Charlemagne* to entertain serious thoughts of depriving him of his duchy, and the *Greeks* of their territories, or, in other words, to render himself the sole master of *Italy* ^f. He could not conduct this design of his with so much secrecy, as to prevent its coming to the notice of the empress *Irene*, the most artful woman of her time, who flattered herself that she had more than once over-reached him in negotiation ^g. To prevent him therefore, and to secure herself, she sent a nobleman of great consideration, to make him a proposal of marriage. This, *Charlemagne*, who had then been a widower two years, and had a great passion for the sex, very readily accepted, and sent two ambassadors of his own to conclude the terms. In this, therefore, *Irene*, with all her skill, was mistaken ; for *Charlemagne* was not to be outwitted, since, whenever he undertook any thing of importance, he provided at the same time for the measures which were fit for him to pursue, in case he did or did not succeed, which was the great secret of his administration, and prevented its being ever disappointed ^h. In this very affair he took such precautions, that, in all probability, *Irene*, whatever her first design might be in the treaty, must have espoused him, if by a conspiracy, undertaken and executed in a night, she had not been deposed by *Nicephorus*, who banished her to the island of *Mitylene*. Yet this did not baffle the schemes of *Charlemagne*, whose preparations for war were so formidable, that *Nicephorus* found himself under the necessity of giving him the title of *Augustus*, and of settling the boundaries between the two empires, by a treaty to his satisfaction, though the peace did not last long ⁱ.

Obliges also the king of the Normans to desist from hostilities, and to conclude a treaty.

WHILE *Charlemagne* was thus employed, *Godfrey*, king of the *Danes* or *Normans*, projected a very dangerous invasion on his dominions, both by land and sea : previous to which, by his intrigues, the *Saxons*, for the eighth time, betook themselves to arms ; but the emperor entered their country so unexpectedly, and with so great a force, that, after sustaining great loss, they were obliged to submit ^j. He punished them by transporting many thousands into *Switzerland*, and a much greater number into *Picardy* and the *Low Countries* ; at the same time he removed the *Abrodites* out of their own country into *Saxony*, which intirely broke the spirits of the *Saxons*, or rather weakened their force to such a degree, that they were never

^a EGIN. in. Annal.

^c Monach. Engol. EGIN. vit. Car. mag.

^f Monach. Sangal. de reb. Caroli

mag. ^g P. DANIEL.

^h Monach. Sangal. de reb. Caroli mag.

ⁱ EL MACIN, Hist. Saracen. lib. vi.

^k THEOPHAN. Confessoris Chronographia.

^l HADRIANI VALESII gesta Francorum.

^m ADON. Chron.

THEOPHAN. Chronographia.

ⁿ Historia de Conversione Boiorum.

- a afterwards able to rebel °. At the same time the guards he posted along the coasts behaved with such vigilance and intrepidity, that the *Normans*, finding it impossible to make any impression, thought it most expedient, for their own interest, to conclude a peace, which *Godfrey* once thought of negotiating in person, and to facilitate which, *Charlemagne* advanced with a corps of troops to the *Elbe*. *Godfrey* came thither also with a very numerous body of horse; but fearing, or pretending to fear, that his person might be seized, they treated by deputies, by whom a kind of convention was concluded, whereby the emperor's subjects were restrained from making incursions into the territories of the *Normans*, who, on the other hand, engaged that his fleets should respect the territories of *Charlemagne* ^p. An agreement founded in the interests of both parties, and which subsisted so long as they considered these in the same light.

A. D. 805.

- b THE emperor beginning to feel himself, notwithstanding the vigour of his constitution, by his continual fatigues, and by his excesses in respect to women, much decayed, held an assembly at *Thionville*, where he made an authentic disposition of his dominions, by which he gave *Aquitaine* and *Gascony*, together with the *Spanish* marches, to his son *Lewis*; his *Italian* dominions he confirmed to *Pepin*, together with the best part of *Bavaria*, and the countries at present inhabited by the *Grisons*; the countries in those days stiled *Neustria*, *Aufirasia*, and *Thuringia*, were left to *Charles*, who, as the eldest, was also the most powerful of the three. In this instrument all things are very clearly expressed, and all possible provisions made, to prevent disputes between the three young princes, during their lives, or with regard to their successions, in case of their decease. This disposition having been publicly read in the assembly, was subscribed by the emperor, and by the principal nobility that were present; after which it was sent by his secretary to *Rome*, in order to render it more authentic by the subscription of the pope ^q. It is very remarkable that in this instrument there is not only no notice taken of the imperial dignity, but also, there is an express reservation of the sovereign authority to the emperor during his life, as well from the three kings, as from all their respective subjects. The very same year, the two kings of *Aquitaine* and *Italy*, who had been present in the assembly, returning into their dominions, obtained several advantages against the Infidels, whom *Pepin* drove out of *Corfica*, and *Lewis* defeated in *Catalonia* ^r. *Charles* also made an expedition into *Bobemia*, where he defeated a tribe of the *Sclavonians*, that had rebelled and killed their duke. In the winter arrived at *Aix la Chapelle*, from that great prince whom the *French* stile monarch of *Persia*, and who makes so great figure in oriental authors under the name of the Khalif *Aaron al Raschid*, several ambassadors, who were kindly received, and most magnificently entertained: amongst their presents was a clock, the first ever seen in *France* ^s.

Settle the distribution of his dominions, amongst his three sons.

806.

- c THE next year *Lewis*, king of *Aquitaine*, found himself involved in a war with the *Moors* in *Catalonia*, which he managed with indifferent success, and was, at the same time, embarrassed with several squadrons of *Norman* pirates upon his coasts; but, having received early intelligence of these from his father, he took such precautions for the security of his coasts, that they were able to give his subjects but little trouble ^t. As we have already used this word often, and shall be obliged to repeat it frequently, it is requisite to observe, that we comply in this with the *French* historians, within the compass of this period, who stile all the northern nations, without distinction, *Normans*; nor is it of any consequence to history, or at least to this part of our history, to inquire minutely into this matter, since the usage of these times makes it necessary to use the term; the sense of which, once settled, can lead us into no mistake. There happened, about this period, some new broils in *Italy*, which historians attribute to the *Venetians*, who, by the last treaty, were left to live under their own laws and their own dukes, but, at the same time, were to render just homage to both empires; which, as they found it difficult to do, and were desirous of independency, they conceived it their interest to embarrass them in new disputes. Pope *Leo*, who foresaw the consequences of their intrigues, judged it requisite to make a journey into *France*, to give the emperor a right idea of the state of things in *Italy*. In consequence of his informations, *Charlemagne* sent instructions to his son *Pepin*, to keep his naval force in constant order, as the most effectual means to preserve the peace of his dominions; and it was by following this advice exactly, that he repelled both the *Moors* and the *Greeks*, as often as they gave him any disturbance ^u. In like manner *Charlemagne* covered the rest of his extensive territories, having ports at the mouths of all considerable rivers ^w, guardships on the coasts, fortifications along the shore, and a militia properly disposed for the defence of these fortifications.

By his wife and firm conduct the Norman and other pirates are kept from making any impressions.

807.

It quickly appeared that the emperor had judged rightly of the precautions necessary against the *Normans*. Their king *Godfrey*, though, as we shall see in its proper place, the *Norman* ^x *war breaks out with Godfrey, king of*

° EGINARD. Annal. Chronicon.

^p Annales Rerum Francorum. ^s Monach. Sangal. Poeta Saxon.

^q GOLDAST. tom. i. p. 145.

^r ADONIS

^t EGINARD. Annal.

^u Vita Ludovici Pii.

^w EGINARD. Annal.

the Danes or
Normans,
who proves a
formidable
enemy.

A.D. 808.

The progress of
the war, other
incidents, and
the domestic
employments
of Charle-
magne.

nations give him another name, had the courage not only to break again with the *French*, but to project and to undertake a war of continuance. He began with making an irruption into the country of the *Abodrites*, than whom no *German* nation had ever more steadily adhered to *Charlemagne*, and not only drove *Traficon*, one of their dukes, out of his dominions, but also caused another, whose name was *Godelaibe*, whom by some means or other he got into his hands, to be hanged up, merely for opposing his passage: after which he reduced a great tract of country, and had certainly pushed his conquests much farther, if the emperor had not ordered his eldest son *Charles* to advance, with a great army, towards the *Elbe*^a. This had the effect that was expected; for the *Norman*, who, in the course of the campaign, had bought his victories dear, retired into his own dominions, where he shewed both his spirit and skill, by providing at the same time, with equal vigilance, for the defence of his own domi-
nions, and for a fresh irruption into those of the emperor in the spring; while prince *Charles*, having erected a fortress upon the *Elbe*, at or near the place where *Hamburg* is now situated, returned and put his troops into winter quarters^y. *Lewis*, king of *Aquitaine*, made another expedition in person against the *Moors*, from whom he recovered several places; *Pepin*, king of *Italy*, with the assistance of his father's squadrons, repressed both the *Moors* and the *Greeks*, and gained some advantages over the *Venetians*, by their general's being averse to making war by sea, in person. This year, by the interposition of the emperor and the pope, *Ædulf*, king of *Northumberland*, who had been dethroned and driven out of his kingdom by his subjects, was restored^z; the emperor, through his whole reign, holding a fair correspondence with the *Saxon* kings in *Britain*.

In the spring there was a negotiation for peace, between the emperor and the king of the *Normans*, which was broke off by the latter; and upon *Charlemagne's* threatening, for so it was in effect, to come and settle these disputes on his frontiers, *Godfrey* gave him to understand, that possibly he might save him that trouble, by coming with an army to the gates of *Aix la Chapelle*^a. He was indeed the most formidable enemy that, in the course of his long reign, the emperor had to deal with; who notwithstanding prevented his making the irruption he intended, by sending count *Egbert*, with a numerous army, on the other side the *Elbe*, while duke *Traficon*, at the head of his own subjects, the *Saxons*, and other vassals of the empire, recovered the country he had conquered the preceding year, and gave him full employment at home. The *Greeks* made a descent not far from *Ravenna*, with an intent to besiege the city of *Comachio*, but were beaten, and obliged to retire to their ships. The *Moors* also made a descent upon *Corfica*, and ravaged a great part of the island^b. In *Spain*, the king of *Aquitaine* attempted the recovery of *Tortosa*, which had been surprized in the winter, without effect, and one of his generals was also obliged to raise the siege of *Huesca*^c. In the mean time *Charlemagne* held a council at *Aix la Chapelle*, with all the state of a Christian emperor, in which he shewed great zeal for the doctrine and discipline of the church. He spent also no small portion of his time in revising the several codes of laws, by which his subjects, in different parts of his empire, were governed, and made such alterations in them as he thought necessary; for he persisted in his maxim of governing every nation by their own laws, without making any changes, but those that were absolutely requisite for their own benefit^d. He likewise heard the reports that were made to him by the governors of provinces, and such as administered justice. He heard also the complaints of all such as held themselves aggrieved, whether laity or clergy, and had set times for receiving and answering petitions. It is very wonderful that, with all these great affairs upon his hands, he should find leisure to collect, as he did, all the old poems and historical songs, relating to the exploits of his predecessors, which he did with a view to a complete history of the monarchy; and it is a great misfortune to posterity, that these collections are dissipated and gone^e. It is the surest mark of an universal genius that it finds time for all things. *Charlemagne's* dominions were more extended than those of any Christian monarch, and yet they were less extensive than his capacity.

The successes
of the kings of
Aquitaine
and of Italy,
against the
Moors and
Greeks.

THINGS at the opening of the year had but an unpleasant aspect. The officer who commanded in the marches of *Spain* dying, the *Moorish* governor of *Saragossa* and *Huesca* easily over-ran them, more especially as he pretended to hold them as a vassal of the empire. The *Gascons* likewise began to murmur, and to pay little or no obedience to king *Lewis*: the party of the *Greeks* also became the strongest in *Italy*; and this obliging *Pepin* to withdraw some of his forces out of the islands, the *Moors* took the advantage, and in a short space of time made themselves masters of the best part of *Corfica*^f. To heighten this gloomy prospect, the whole north was in motion, to put it out of the emperor's power to send either of his sons the succours which the situation of their affairs required. *Charlemagne*, however, without being

^a Annales Metenses.

Chronographia.

^c Monachus Sangal. ADONIS Chron.

^y Poeta Saxon.

^b Vita Ludovici Pii.

^f Monach. Engolif.

^z Vita Alfred magni.

^e ADONIS Chronicon.

^a Annales Bertin. THEOPHAN.

^d EGINARD. vita Caroli mag.

- a disconcerted, applied himself with vigour to dispose all things on every side for the support of his government; and, while he was thus employed, the cloud gradually dispelled. *Lewis*, king of *Aquitaine*, entered the rough country of the *Gascons* with a well appointed army, from which, as they were not able to resist, they fled, but with a full resolution to attack his rear, upon his return out of *Spain*. *Lewis* took no pains to pursue; but, having taken a single man, caused him to be hanged up, and declared his resolution to treat all in the same manner who did not submit^e. He seized their old men, together with the women and children, as hostages, for the safety of his troops in their return. Having recovered the frontiers from the *Moors*, he repassed the mountains, without any loss, upon which the *Gascons* thought it their interest to submit. *Pepin* had the like success against his enemies, insomuch that *Nicephorus*
- b judged it expedient to send ambassadors to *Charlemagne*, with whom they concluded a peace. But it was otherwise with respect to *Godfrey*, king of the *Normans*, against whom the emperor provided, as he had done formerly, by causing a numerous army to pass the *Elbe*, and advancing several other corps towards the frontiers^h.

- THAT king, who was not inferior to *Charlemagne* in martial abilities, having left a considerable army to support the *Sclavonians*, with proper instructions how to act, embarked his best troops on board a fleet of two hundred sail, and, before the emperor had any intelligence of his design, attacked the islands on the coast of *Friezland*, reduced them, and then made a descent, with all his troops, upon the continent. The *French* and the *Frisons*, that is, the marine, militia, and the natives, assembled as great a force as they could to oppose his passage; but *Godfrey* having attacked and defeated them, struck the adjacent provinces with a general consternationⁱ. *Charlemagne* assembled all the troops he could, which were not very considerable upon the *Rhine*, in order to make head against this bold invader; but, when he expected a decisive battle, he had intelligence that the enemy had abandoned their conquests, and were embarking on board their fleet. This strange turn was occasioned by the assassination of *Godfrey*, by one of his guards. His son was of a different temper; his first care was to acquaint *Charlemagne*, that he was sincerely disposed to peace; he assured him, in return, that he had the same inclination; upon which a cessation of arms ensued, the conferences being deferred to the spring^k. The satisfaction he received from hence was very much qualified by the death of his beloved daughter, the princess *Rotrude*, and by that of *Pepin*, king of *Italy*, who,
- d with great courage and abilities, had a profound respect, and a most tender affection for his father. He left behind him a son, *Bernard*, and five daughters. The emperor expressed more grief than some thought consistent with his dignity; but *Charles* was none of those heroes who are unaffected by the softer passions, or of those politicians who thought it requisite to dissemble them. He wept for his son, and, at the same time, he declared *Bernard*, though an infant, and a natural son, king of *Italy*^l. In this it seems he had the consent and concurrence of *Lewis*, king of *Aquitaine*, upon which he very much depended.

- THE spring opened with the negotiations with the new king of the *Normans*, and a congress was held in *Jutland*, at which twelve ministers from each of the monarchs assisted, who concluded a solid peace. This did not hinder the emperor from sending two numerous armies, one on the other side the *Elbe*, the other into *Pannonia*, to settle a dispute between the *Huns* and the *Sclavonians*: at the same time, a third marched into *Bretagne*, where they put an end to some stirrs that had happened, when the emperor's affairs were thought to be in a bad posture. In the mean time *Charles* went in person to see all things restored on the sea coast; and having passed as far as *Bologne*, caused the port to be fortified, made it a capital station for one of his squadrons, and erected a noble pharos, to prevent any accident by vessels entering in the night^m. At his return to *Aix la Chapelle*, he met with a new mortification, in the death of his eldest son *Charles*. His grandson, *Bernard*, going into *Italy*, under the direction of count *Wallon*, found all things in great confusion, the *Moors*, both of *Africa* and *Spain*, being ready to make a descent on *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, and *Grimoalde*, duke of *Beneventum*, in arms. In
- f *Sardinia*, where the *Moors* actually landed, they met with such a reception, as left them no inclination to try their fortune in *Corfica*ⁿ. Count *Wallon* marched into the dominions of *Grimoalde*, and gave him so severe a check, that he was glad to submit, and to pay an annual tribute of twenty-five thousand pieces of gold, as the price of his folly. The emperor *Nicephorus* being killed, and his son deposed, *Michael*, his son-in-law, who mounted the throne, renewed the peace with *Charlemagne*, and sent his ambassadors to *Aix la Chapelle* to assure him of his cordial friendship: as a proof of it, they studied in their harangues to give him all the titles annexed to the imperial dignity, so that now his dominions were on every side at peace, which the *Moors*, after their late defeat, were glad to renew^o.

Godfrey, king of the Normans, makes a dangerous irruption, but is assassinated.

A. D. 810.

The emperor loses his eldest son Charles, and finds most of his enemies inclined to peace.

^e Vita Ludovici Pii.

^h EGINARD. vit. Caroli mag.

ⁱ Annales Rerum Francorum.

^k ADON.

Chron.

^l EGINARD. vit. Caroli mag.

^m Monachus Sangallensis de rebus Bellicis Caroli magni.

Chron. var. antiq.

ⁿ EGINARD. Annal.

^o THEOPHAN. Chronograph.

He associates
his only sur-
viving son
Lewis, king
of Aquitaine,
in the empire.

As the emperor was now towards seventy, had been for some years infirm, and was particu- a
larly subject to the gout, of which he had a very severe fit in the winter, he bent his thoughts
intirely to the preservation of those advantages to his subjects after his demise, which it had
been the study and the endeavour of his whole life to procure. He judged it the shortest
method for this purpose, to associate his only son *Lewis* in the empire. With this view
he sent for him to court, where a general assembly was held of the prelates and nobility
throughout his dominions, with whom he consulted upon this occasion, and who chearfully
and unanimously gave their consent^p. On the day fixed for the ceremony, *Charlemagne*,
invested with all the ensigns of the imperial dignity, and attended by the great officers of his
household, went with his son, in state, to the church or chapel which he had built, and
from which the city of *Aix* derives the distinction of *la Chapelle*. There they both b
presented themselves before the high altar, where, after having spent some time in prayer,
the emperor told his son, that being by birth called to that high dignity, it should be
the business of his life to endeavour to discharge it worthily. In order to this, he recom-
mended to him a serious zeal for religion; charged him to look upon the prelates as his
fathers, and upon the people as his children; exhorted him to be kind to his relations,
gentle in his administration, but, at the same time, steady and firm in the execution of
justice: he added, that he should be ever ready to reward merit, should prefer his nobility
gradually, use great deliberation in the choice of ministers; but, when once chosen, never
remove them from caprice, or support them when clearly convicted of crimes. He then
asked him, if he was willing to govern in this manner? *Lewis* answered, that he esteemed c
it his greatest felicity to obey his commands, and that his memory should never let slip his
counsel. The emperor ordered him then to take a rich crown, which was set for that pur-
pose on the high altar, and set it on his own head; and after divine service was performed,
they returned to the palace^q. In a few days *Lewis* returned into *Aquitaine*, where his pre-
sence was requisite; and *Charlemagne* caused, the same year, councils to be held at *Arles*,
Rheims, *Mentz*, *Tours*, and at *Chalons* on the *Soame*, being very desirous that all things
should be reduced into the best order possible while he was yet alive (D). He likewise
renewed the peace with the *Normans*, who had lately a new king. The *Moors* had broken the
peace lately concluded at their own request, and having no other war upon his hands, *Charles* d
employed the naval force of his empire to make them sensible of their perfidy, in which he
was very successful, though at first they did some mischief, by invading the continent, and
the coast of *Italy*. There happened a new revolution in the *Greek* empire, which, however,
did not alter the harmony which had been lately re-established, the new emperor being as
desirous of preserving it as his predecessor had been, and for that purpose dispatched ambassa-
dors to *Charlemagne*, who did not arrive till after his decease^r.

A. D. 813.

The death of
Charle-
magne.

ABOUT the middle of the month of *January*, at his coming out of the bath, the emperor
felt himself feverish: he was always averse to physic, believing exercise the best means of pre-
serving, and abstinence the surest way of recovering, health. His maxim failed him on this
occasion, for in three or four days his disease became a pleurisy, and from this time he applied
himself only to prepare for his great change; on the 27th he fell into an agony, and on the

^p Annales Rerum Francorum.

^q Vit. Ludovici Pii.

^r THEOPH. Chronograph.

(D) The magnificence of *Charlemagne* appeared in
the dyets, or general assemblies, where he was attended
by his vassals, prelates, governors of provinces, and all
who held great employments under him. We are not
to suppose that these were always present; but when
this duty was omitted it was by the emperor's permis-
sion, and those that were excused sent their agents or
deputies, qualified to give the emperor such informa-
tions as he required. At these seasons of festivity he
appeared in all his imperial ornaments, and received
presents from all the members of the assembly, which,
in succeeding times, were stiled free gifts. In these
assemblies those laws were made which were intituled
Capitulars, of which we have a complete collection
extant, and appear to have been all made by the advice,
and with the assent, of the nobility and prelates assisting.
Some of the vassals or princes of barbarous nations, and
some of the great lords in *Italy*, held their estates by
hereditary right; but the dukes and counts among the
French were officers, removeable at his pleasure, and
he was equally cautious in displacing them, and in
giving their honours to their sons. For the young no-
bility, they were generally bred up at his court, and
under his eye, so that he was better acquainted with
their inclinations and capacities than their parents, and
he preferred them accordingly, pursuant to his own

maxim, that lands were to be inherited, but that ho-
nours and employments were the reward of merit. At
these seasons the time was spent in business and diver-
sions of every kind, in which the emperor was very in-
dulgent. At other times he was modest in his dress,
frugal at his table, and a declared enemy to luxury, as
appears from his sumptuary laws, which were very
strict, and from the following odd instance, sharper than
any law. He observed the nobility about him dressed
one winter in very fine silk robes, lined with fur of great
price. He carried them with him to hunt one rainy
morning, through woods, and other places; and, when
they came in, permitted nobody to change their habits,
saying, they would dry better by the fire, which shri-
velled all the torn furs, and spoiled them entirely. The
next morning he directed they should appear in the
cloaths they wore the day before. When the court was
pretty full, "What a tattered company have I about
me," said he; "while my sheep skin cloak, which
I turn this way or that as the weather fits, is not at
all the worse for yesterday's wear. For shame, learn
to dress like men, and let the world judge of your
ranks from your merit, not from your habit: leave
silks and finery to women, or to those days of pomp
and ceremony, when robes are worn for shew, and
not for use."

- a 28th, feeling his strength quite exhausted, he said with a low voice, *Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my spirit*, and so immediately expired, in the seventy-first year of his age, the forty-seventh of his reign, the forty-third from his conquest of *Italy*, and the fourteenth from his being crowned emperor^a. He made a new will, as a private man, by which he distributed his treasures amongst his children, and to several churches throughout all parts of his dominions. He gave no directions as to the place of his burial, and therefore those about him caused his corpse to be interred in the church of *Aix la Chapelle*, and erected a tomb, covered by a triumphal arch; with a short and modest epitaph^b. He was most sincerely regretted by his subjects of all ranks, but more especially by those who were nearest his person, with whom he lived in great familiarity, being one of the few princes who could enter into the companionable pleasures of private life; without prejudice to his dignity. His application to public affairs was very great and very constant: he was very easy of access, and scarce thought any thing too mean for his notice; but he was far from being suspicious, credulous, or cruel. By the mildness of his government he acquired the affection of his subjects, but kept his vassals within the bounds of their duty, by never suffering them to transgress it with impunity. He rewarded all services speedily and suitably; and, in order to this, he rarely bestowed more than one office upon the same man. He had his failings; and, amongst these, the greatest was indulgence to the failings of others; for he would not punish in his neighbour the liberties he took himself^c. In a word, he was extremely amiable in his private life, as well as very illustrious in his public character; and this we may say with the greater assurance, since we have very ample memoirs of his life, written by his secretary; as well as some other pieces by cotemporary writers.

S E C T. IV.

The reigns of Lewis the Gentle, Charles the Bald, Lewis the Stammerer, emperors and kings of France; Lewis and Carloman, kings; and Charles the Gross, emperor and king, or regent of France.

- d **A**T the time of his father's death, *Lewis*, king of *Aquitaine*, held an assembly of the states of his dominions, which he speedily dismissed, in order to comply with the desires of the nobility, who thought his presence requisite at *Aix la Chapelle* (A). His territories were of a vast extent, and demanded all the attention that could be given, even by a

Conduct of Lewis at his entrance on the administration of the western empire.

^a ADON Chron.^b EGINARD, vita Caroli mag.^c ADON. Chron.

(A) *Lewis*, the youngest son of *Charlemagne*, who attained the age of manhood, was crowned king, and sent into *Aquitaine*, when a child of between three and four years of age. He was educated with great care and strictness: he understood the *Greek* well, and wrote and spoke the *Latin* tongue correctly and eloquently. He was no less adroit in his exercises; so that there was not a better horseman, a better archer, or one who handled a lance with a better air than he in his whole dominions. He was tall and strong, though not either so tall or robust as his father: his countenance was high-coloured, and his aspect always serious. He fell into some licenses in his youth, and had one natural son, *Arnold*, to whom he gave the county of *Sens*; but he reformed early and sincerely, became very religious, and not only exact but austere in his morals. His father sent for him frequently to court, instructed him in the art of government, carried him to the wars, and laboured to inspire him with sentiments suitable to his condition, in which he did not altogether succeed. His administration, however, in *Aquitaine*, after he came to years of discretion, was such as gained him very high reputation. The regularity of his manners procured him the surname of *Pious*. His attention to his domain, and the frugal management of his revenues, enabled him to live with all the splendor of a prince; and, at the same time, would have kept his coffers full, if his charity and liberality had not found other uses for his money. He gave with his own hands, and with so good a grace, that from thence he was stiled the *Debonnaire*. He found his country full of disorders, and in the worst condition possible; the nobility headstrong, haughty, and oppressive; the clergy proud,

ignorant, and lewd; the common people lazy, indigent, and prone to all sorts of vices. He brought about a general and wonderful reformation, and that by his own example and authority. He applied himself to government, as a profession to which he was called by Providence: he administered justice steadily and strictly: he punished but reluctantly, and without severity: he rewarded liberally, and avowed satisfaction. His father sent commissaries to inspect his behaviour; and their report was such, that the emperor could not help bursting out into this exclamation; "Let us give thanks to God, for having given us a son wiser than ourselves!" There was scarce a grievance known in his whole dominions. His only fault was his being over religious; which inclined him to follow the example of his uncle *Carloman*, and induced him to think of retiring into a convent. This was very disagreeable to *Charles*, who remonstrated to him, with some degree of heat, that Providence had called him to another kind of life: that it was his duty to respect that call, and that he ought to think of serving God as a prince, and not as a monk. He afterwards came to discern that his father was in the right; and it had been happy for him if he had discerned it sooner, and understood it better. We have shewn in the text, in what manner he was associated by his father in the empire; we shall only add, that, at the time he succeeded him, he was thirty-six years of age, and had espoused *Ermengarde*, the daughter of *Enguend*, count of *Hesbai*, in the diocese of *Liege*, who had more of his esteem than of his affection, by whom he was the father of those sons, who, through the course of his life and reign, gave him so much disquiet.

prince of the most extensive genius: *Italy* indeed had been bestowed upon his nephew *Bernard*,^a the son of *Pepin*, upon whom *Lewis* had no other claim than that of homage; but besides the ancient kingdoms of *Austrasia*, *Neustria*, and *Burgundy*, *Lewis* held in *Spain* what are now stiled the countries of *Navarre*, *Arragon*, and *Catalonia*. In *Germany*, beyond the *Rhine*, he held all the country of *Saxony*, the *Upper* and *Lower Pannonia*, *Dacia* on the north side the *Danube*, *Istria*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, and a good part of the country now stiled *Poland*^a. In his passage to *Aix la Chapelle* he was met by *Theodulf*, bishop of *Orleans*, who had great credit with his father; he gave him a distinct idea of the state of the court, and inspired him with a jealousy of count *Wallon*, or *Walla*, the grandson of *Charles Martel*, and esteemed one of the wisest men of that age: he likewise insinuated the apprehensions that a great part of the court was under, but more especially his sisters, from the gravity of his disposition,^b and the severity of his morals, which induced him to send orders for arresting some of those princesses favourites; and one of them making some resistance, was killed, which occasioned his treating the rest with more rigour than he intended. However, he succeeded peaceably to the empire, and *Walla* was the first who did him homage^b. He executed his father's will with great punctuality, except with regard to some of his sisters, who being in his opinion too slenderly provided for, he supplied them with what he judged requisite for their maintenance. He dismissed them, however, from the court, and sent them to the abbeys which *Charlemagne* had assigned them. He retained his three natural brothers, and took care of their education, causing them to eat at his own table. He held an assembly, in which he confirmed all his father's grants; and being informed that some *Spanish* families,^c who had retired into his dominions to escape the tyranny of the *Moors*, were oppressed by his subjects, and reduced to a kind of vassalage, which differed but little from slavery, he redressed that grievance, and set them intirely at liberty^c. On receiving the homage of the duke of *Beneventum*, he lessened his tribute to seven thousand pieces of gold: he restored the *Saxons* and the *Frisons* to their rights of inheritance, of which they had been deprived by his father for their frequent rebellions, for which he was generally blamed; yet the event shewed he was in the right, for they remained inviolably attached to him^d. He received the ambassadors of the *Greek* emperor, and other princes, favourably, and renewed the several treaties of peace that had been concluded with them. He had, at his accession, three sons, *Lothaire*, *Pepin*, and *Lewis*: he sent the eldest into *Bavaria*, the second into *Aquitaine*,^d and appointed ministers to manage their affairs^e. His father's example seems to have been to him a law, perhaps without a due retrospect to his motives.

A. D. 814.

A conspiracy, formed by Bernard, king of Italy, against the emperor, defeated.

AMONG those who addressed themselves to *Lewis* at his accession, was a *Danish* or *Norman* prince, whose name was *Heriolt*, to whom he promised his protection; and an attempt was made this year to restore him, which however did not succeed. The emperor held an assembly at *Paderborn*, where his nephew *Bernard*, king of *Italy*, and other princes, assisted; and it was soon after this, that he received the news of another conspiracy against the life of pope *Leo*, which having been discovered in time, and those who were concerned in it secured, the pope caused them to be executed, with which the emperor being displeased, directed *Bernard*, king of *Italy*, to go to *Rome*, and by his presence put an end to these disorders^f. This was done effectually by the death of the pope, who was succeeded by *Eugenius V*. This pontif did not wait for the emperor's confirmation, which he took amiss, and the pope, to sooth him, made a journey into *France*, where he was received with all possible honour; and having crowned the emperor and empress at *Rheims*, returned into *Italy*, where he did not long survive^g. The emperor caused a council to be held, for establishing ecclesiastical discipline at *Aix la Chapelle*; and there he likewise gave audience to some *Moorish* ambassadors, and to those of the *Greek* emperor. He likewise received ambassadors from the kings of the *Normans*, who solicited him warmly to abandon *Heriolt*; but to break his word, and to desert a prince in distress, was not the character of this monarch: he heard the advantageous proposals they made, but, after hearing them, he sent them back without an answer^h.

Disorders in Italy, where the popes are disposed to shake off all dependency.

ANOTHER great assembly was held at *Aix la Chapelle*, in which the emperor declared his intention to associate one of his sons in that dignity, after the example of his father, though the case was very different, and the reasons which determined the one were not at all applicable to the other. After a fast of three days, to implore the direction of heaven in the emperor's choice, he declared *Lothaire*, his eldest son, his coadjutor; at the same time he created *Pepin* king of *Aquitaine*, and *Lewis* king of *Bavaria*; and, after the ceremonies of their coronations were over, sent them into their respective dominionsⁱ. This news scarce reached *Italy* before *Bernard* took up arms, and having a strong party in *France*, he flattered

^a EGINARD. vita Caroli mag.^b Vita Ludovici Pii.^c NITHARDI ANGILBERTI filii Caroli magni

Imperatoris, ex Bertha filia nepotis abbatis, sancti Richarii, de diffentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.

^d ASTRO-

NOM. in vita Ludovici Pii.

^e ADON. Chron.^f Vita Ludovici Pii.^g EGINARD. Annal.^h ASTRO-

NOM. in vita Ludovici Pii.

ⁱ Chron. Moissiac, Charta divisionis Imperii ap. Ludovici Pii.

himself

- a** himself with the hopes of deposing the emperor. *Lewis* upon this occasion acted with greater vigour than either his friends or his enemies expected: he assembled a puissant army, and began his march directly, with a full intention to pass the *Alps*, and put an end to this defection. But by that time he arrived at *Chalons* on the *Soame*, the face of affairs changed strangely. Some of the great lords in *Italy* refused to join *Bernard*; those who had joined him abandoned him; and his army, seeing this, deserted, which affected him to such a degree, that he passed the *Alps* in person, and came to implore the clemency of his uncle ^k. *Lewis* received him coldly; told him, that, on the death of his father, he was the first who proposed to the emperor declaring him king of *Italy*; that, since his accession, he had confided in him, and, contrary to the opinion of his ministers, had heaped upon him many
- b** favours: that, however, he would not be judge in his own cause, but would refer all to the determination of the next assembly at *Aix la Chapelle*, where *Bernard*, and his associates, who were the chief ministers of the deceased emperor, and *Theodulfe*, bishop of *Orleans*, were condemned to suffer death^l. The emperor caused the laics to have their eyes put out, and the bishop to be deposed; *Bernard* died a few days after of grief, or of pain. The emperor caused his three brothers, at the same time, to be shaved, and put into monasteries; and thus this affair ended. But, before the end of the year, the *Abodrites*, who had hitherto been always faithful, revolted: the cause was this, *Traficon*, their duke, being assassinated by the king of the *Normans*, *Charlemagne* had appointed *Sclaomir* to succeed him; but on the accession of *Lewis*, *Cendrigne*, the son of *Traficon*, represented his father's services
- c** to the emperor, who made him joint duke; upon which *Sclaomir* called in the *Normans*^m.

A. D. 817.

- In consequence of the intrigues that had been set on foot in the beginning of this reign, *Lewis*, by the *Mormon*, count of *Bretagne*, not only threw off his vassalage, but assumed the title of king. *Lewis*, by the persuasion of his ministers, moved directly with his forces on that side, and called a general assembly at *Vannes*; in which having regulated certain affairs, he attacked the *Bretons* with such vigour, pursued them so closely, and wasted their country in such manner, that the people in a sedition murdered their new king, and submitted again to *Lewis*, who thereupon declared *Nomenon*, a great lord of that country, who had never entered into the revolt, count or judge of *Bretagne*ⁿ. The emperor, in his return to *Germany*, took *Angiers* in his way, where he had left his empress *Hermengard* sick, and who deceased there soon after. He proceeded from thence
- d** to *Heristal*, where he gave audience to the ambassadors of several nations. Amongst these were deputies from *Sigon*, duke of *Beneventum*, who, by the rich presents they brought, appeased the emperor on behalf of their master, who had raised himself to that dignity by the assassination of *Grimoalde*; but he would not listen to the complaints made by *Liuduit*, duke of the *Huns*, against the count of *Frioul*^o. While he was thus employed, *Lupus*, count of the *Gascons*, revolted, but he was quickly defeated by *Pepin*, king of *Aquitaine*, taken and sent prisoner to *Aix la Chapelle*, which was likewise the fate of *Sclaomir*: both these rebels were sentenced to death, but the emperor contented himself with sending them into banishment^p. His courtiers and ministers, to divert him from that inclination he had to a life of privacy and retreat, prevailed upon him to marry *Judith*, the daughter of duke *Guelfe*,
- e** descended, by the father's side, from one of the noblest houses in *Bavaria*, and by the mother from the ancient dukes of *Saxony*, beautiful in her person, and a princess otherways accomplished; but who, notwithstanding these rare qualities, proved the author, or at least the occasion, of the misfortunes that beset him and his subjects^q. So liable are matches made from prudence as well as passion, to miscarry.

818.

- The revolt of *Liuduit*, produced a war of some continuance: he was the chief of the *Liuduit, duke Abares* or *Huns*, who inhabited that part of *Hungary* which lies about *Buda*; but he drew into this defection the *Slavonians*, who were seated on the rivers *Save* and *Drave*, from whence he is, by some writers, stiled duke of the *Slavonians*^r. The emperor immediately ordered a body of troops out of *Italy* to reduce him, but that was not so easily effected; he made a gallant and soldier-like defence; and, when fatigues and the rudeness of the season had obliged the emperor's forces to retreat, he entered the adjacent provinces, ravaged them, and repaired, by the plunder taken by his troops; the losses sustained by the war. Attacked by these armies at once, he secured himself by the same conduct, and by maintaining a secret correspondence with some of the auxiliary troops, of which those armies were composed: he likewise, by his intrigues, engaged the *Normans* to renew their piracies, and had also some intelligence in *Italy*^s. But, at length, the emperor's generals changed their method of making war, and instead of ruining the open country, pursued him from place to place, till at length he was forced to quit his own territories, to take shelter in the country of the *Sorabes*. There he

^k Vita Ludovici Pii. THEOPHAN. de reb. gest. a Ludovici Pii.^l Vita Ludovici Pii et al.^m EGINARD.Annal. ⁿ Vita Ludovici Pii.^o NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.^p ASTRO-

NOM. in vita Ludovici Pii.

^q NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.^r Chron. var. antiq.^s NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.

murdered the duke who had given him refuge ; but not able to maintain himself long in that country, he retired to the town of a *Dalmatian* lord, with whom he had long held a secret correspondence. But his friend, perceiving his affairs desperate, and being afraid he might treat him as he had done his former protector, thought it most for his interest and safety to put him out of the way ; and thus ended this war^t.

The emperor
unaccountably
acknowledges
his own mal-
administration,
and does
penance.

WE have before observed, that the emperor held a council for restoring and enforcing the discipline of the church ; and we have more than once remarked, that he was not only zealously but sincerely pious himself ; yet it was from this right action, and from these laudable inclinations, that, for want of penetration and steadiness, the emperor suffered deeply. He had a profound respect for bishops ; but his reformation had disobliged most of that order throughout his dominions. He thought it improper for prelates to be loitering about a court, and was therefore for confining them to their benefices. To this, in the council, they could not but assent, and when they had assented they were forced to obey, but they resented this strictness in the emperor as if it had been an injury. They found means to represent the virtues and self-denial of *Adelard*, abbot of *Corbie*, the elder brother of *Walla*, who was now also become a monk, in so strong a light, that, notwithstanding he was the principal author of *Bernard's* conspiracy against his crown and life, the emperor not only recalled him, and restored him, but soon after employed him as his minister. *Adelard*, in a short space, gained the confidence of *Lewis* to such a degree, that, upon the marriage of his son *Lothaire*, he interceded and procured the pardon of all his associates ; and the emperor, of his own accord, added the restitution of their fortunes and honours. One would have imagined the monk might have stopped here, but he did not. He knew that his master was sincerely grieved for the death of his nephew ; and from thence he took occasion to persuade him, that it would be highly meritorious to make an open confession of his crime, and to do public penance for it, setting the example of the emperor *Theodosius*, who submitted in like manner to *St. Ambrose*, bishop of *Milan* ; and though their actions were very different, yet such an influence had he over the mind of *Lewis*, that he took it for a case in point^u. In consequence of these strange notions, the emperor actually submitted ; and in the face of the public, at the assembly of *Attigni*, acknowledged his faults, begged pardon for the scandal he had given, and desired the bishops to enjoin him penance. He even carried it so far, as to thrust into the catalogue of his faults his discarding the old ministry, and disgracing *Walla*, whom not long after he sent, with his son *Lothaire* into *Italy* ; so that two brothers were the prime ministers, and directed the councils of the two emperors, till the death of *Adelard*, whom his brother succeeded as abbot of *Corbie*^w.

A. D. 822.

Lothaire goes
twice to
Rome, is
crowned by
the pope, and
acts there as
sovereign.

THE emperor's disposition was now so well known, that the pope thought he might avail himself of it. *Paschal* I. was then seated in the papal chair ; he had caused himself to be crowned, without waiting for *Lewis's* confirmation, which he had excused, by throwing the blame upon the clergy and people ; and he had obtained, or at least this is asserted, an extension of the charters of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*, which have made a great noise in the world, but are suspected in several clauses by most, and believed to be all a forgery by many. This pontif thought he might take any liberties under so good a prince, and, in this persuasion, did many things that occasioned loud complaints. *Lewis* hearing these murmurs, directed his son *Lothaire* to go to *Rome*, to inquire into the causes of these disorders, and to rectify what was amiss. *Lothaire*, in obedience to his father's commands, went thither, and, after proper inquiry, made a decree in virtue of his imperial dignity, by which many grievances were removed, and all disorders appeased^x. The pope shewed him great respect, crowned him with his own hands, and testified great satisfaction in his presence. In a short time, however, after his departure, two noble *Romans*, *Theodorus* and *Leo*, who had distinguished themselves by their adherence to the young emperor, were seized, their eyes put out, and at length they were beheaded in the patriarchal palace of *Lateran*. This alarmed the emperor exceedingly, who sent an abbot and a nobleman, his commissaries, to *Rome*, in order to make a strict inquisition into this affair. The pope made a strange apology ; he insisted that the execution was done without his privity ; but at the same declared those great men had suffered justly. He went farther, and, in imitation of his predecessor pope *Leo*, purged himself by oath, and procured thirty-four bishops to swear with him ; which, with the excuses made by his ambassadors, induced the emperor, through an excess of good nature, says the *French* historian^y, to rest satisfied. However, he was speedily called to answer at another tribunal, which was not to be imposed upon ; and, on his demise, *Eugenius* II. was elected, but with so much disorder, that *Lothaire* made another journey to *Rome*, where, with sovereign authority, he examined into and corrected many errors in the administration, occasioned by the avarice, pride, and private resentments of the popes : having by a new decree, consisting of nine articles, restored the public tranquillity, he took an oath of the *Romans*, not to proceed to the

^t NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.
de gestis Ludovici Pii,

^u Vita Ludovici Pii.

^w RADBERTUS in vita Adelharde.

^y NITHARDI de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.
coronation,

- a coronation of any future pope, till confirmed by the emperor, and left also an imperial judge at *Rome*, to prevent things from running again into confusion, promising that, in case he was threatened or corrupted, to send commissaries to hear appeals in the last resort ^z.

WHILE his sons were thus employed in *Italy*, the emperor administered affairs at home, with equal facility and dignity. The *Wilses*, a tribe of the numerous nation of the *Sclovo-nians*, to prevent a civil war, desired *Lewis* to hear and determine the cause between two brothers, who both claimed to be their king. The elder had been deposed, but had still a party; the younger had the good graces of the people in general. Both appeared before the emperor, and said what they could in support of their respective titles: *Lewis* decreed in favour of the latter, but assigned a revenue, and an honourable establishment, to the former, with which he was satisfied ^a. He restored *Heriolt* to his share of the kingdom of *Denmark*, caused him to be baptized, and sent *Ebbo*, archbishop of *Rheims*, into *Denmark*, to convert his subjects: these his endeavours might have been very successful, if it had not been for the imprudence of this prince, on whom he chiefly relied for support. The emperor also chastised the *Bretons*, and entered their country with three armies, commanded by himself, and his sons *Pepin* and *Lewis*, kings of *Aquitaine* and *Bavaria* ^b. On the side of *Spain*, indeed, his forces had received a check from the *Gascons*, which gave him some uneasiness; but this was soon removed by the joy he felt on the birth of his son *Charles*. It was preceded by an earthquake, which was interpreted as an omen of the misfortune that had happened in *Spain*, but was afterwards applied to this event, with equal reason indeed, as having no reference to either. But it was the failing of this monarch to be strangely affected by whatever happened out of the ordinary course of things; eclipses, inundations, famines, were all prodigies alike to him; and the memoirs of his reign were composed by one who, because he held that post in the court of this emperor, is known to posterity by no other title than that of the astronomer ^c.

At the assembly held in the spring at *Aix la Chapelle*, *Viomarque*, who had been at the head of the rebellion in *Bretagne*, came with the principal lords of that country to pay their respects to the emperor, and to give him the strongest assurances of their submission and fidelity. *Lewis*, with his usual good-nature, received them with great affability and kindness, and dismissed them, more especially *Viomarque*, with rich presents. They were no sooner returned into their own country, than the rebellion broke out afresh, and *Viomarque* particularly made an inroad into *France*, in which his troops committed the greatest excesses; but count *Lambert*, who commanded on the frontier, took his opportunity in the winter, by a quick march, and with a choice body of troops, and having invested him in his house, after an obstinate resistance, cut him and his adherents in pieces ^d. Things did not go so well in *Catalonia*, where, through some mismanagement, the *Moors* made a great impression; and soon after happened that in *Navarre*, which, as we have shewn in its proper place, gave rise to that kingdom. Things had gone still worse, if *Bernard*, lately advanced to the honour of count of *Barcelona*, had not been more able, or at least more fortunate, in repelling the enemy; but the force he commanded was so small, that preserving this city was all in his power ^e. In the north new disturbances broke out; in consequence of which, *Heriolt* was again driven out of his kingdom. The *Saracens* made themselves masters of the island of *Sicily*; upon which the people of *Naples*, perceiving it in vain to expect any succours from *Constantinople*, would have put themselves under the protection of *Lewis*, if the circumstances of his affairs had permitted him to have given them relief. But things were so ill-managed by *Lothaire* and *Pepin* on the side of *Spain*, that it was intirely impracticable: yet count *Boniface*, who commanded in *Corfica*, assembled a good fleet, and with a considerable body of troops on board made a descent in *Africa*, where he defeated the *Moors* several times. This distracted the enemy, and raised the reputation of the *French* arms, which in that conjuncture was of the utmost consequence ^f.

By this series of disasters, the enemies of the emperor's government obtained an opportunity of first disturbing, and next subverting it. The empress *Judith* had gained a great ascendancy over her husband, which she employed in persuading him to place her son on a level with his brethren. In this the difficulty was great, as the emperor had already settled the succession to all his dominions. *Aquitaine* and *Bavaria* were small kingdoms, out of which, therefore, nothing could be taken; so that, whatever his share was to be, must be detached from that of *Lothaire* ^g. The empress employed her address so effectually, that she engaged *Lothaire* to consent, and even to promise, with an oath, that in case the emperor died while *Charles* was under age, he would undertake the care of him and his affairs, as his guardian

Birth of Charles, the son of the emperor by the empress Judith, the occasion afterwards of great disorders.

A. D. 824.

Several misfortunes happen on the frontiers, by which all the affairs of the empire fall into confusion.

826.

Intrigues, by which the government and the emperor are brought into the utmost hazard.

^z Vita Ludovici Pii.
FRESNOY. LE GENDRE.

^a EGINARD. Annal.

^d Vita Ludovici Pii.

^b THEGAN. de gestis Ludovici Pii.

^c P. LE LONG.

^e See the Histories of Catalonia and Navarre.

^f EGINARD. Annal.

^g Vita Ludovici Pii.

and protector. But the protector having removed many from their employments, on account of the late disasters, they breathed every-where a spirit of discontent, and, by degrees, the complaints on every side became so general, and so loud, that the emperor appointed commissioners to enquire into the errors of his own government; their title in *Latin* was, *Missi Dominici*, and *Walla* was at the head of them: he had a great reputation for prudence and sanctity, and he made a very ample report in a general assembly, in which he not only treated the ministers, but the emperor himself, with great freedom. Upon this several fresh changes ensued, and four great councils were held for the reformation of the clergy^a. But the empress, through all these mists of religion and public spirit, saw clearly that the emperor's, or at least her, ruin was intended: of this she made *Lewis* so sensible, that he sent *Walla* back to his convent, and, after much deliberation, sent for *Bernard* count of *Barcelona*, whose sister, before he became a monk, *Walla* had espoused, and intrusted him with the chief management of affairs. He was indeed the fittest man he could have employed: he had great sagacity, much firmness, and having once embarked in any design, pursued it without looking back. It happened unluckily, that the post bestowed upon him in the court was that of lord chamberlain, by which having frequent admission to the empress, and being a very handsome, and withal a very gallant man, this gave a new topic to the malecontents; who, seeing all their plots in danger of being unravelled, boldly gave out, that he was too familiar with that princess, and, as such reports easily gain credit, this was speedily and generally believed¹.

The emperor and his son Charles fall into the hands of Lewis and Pepin, and are very ill treated.

COUNT *Bernard*, not in the least moved with these rumours, or intimidated with the intrigues of the ecclesiastics, planned a new kingdom for *Charles*, which would have rendered him a powerful sovereign. It was to consist of so much of *Germany* as lies within the *Danube*, the *Maine*, the *Neckar*, and the *Rhine*; to which were added *Rhetia*, or the country of the *Grisons*, and that part of the kingdom of *Burgundy* which comprehended the district of *Geneva* and the *Swiss* cantons². The malecontents acted in conjunction with the emperor's three sons, though, as yet, they did not affect to appear. Count *Bernard* was no stranger to this; and, under colour of reducing the *Bretons*, who were again revolted, assembled an army, which the emperor was to command in person, and in which *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*, likewise served, and *Pepin*, king of *Aquitaine*, was directed to join the army on the frontiers of *Bretagne*, with his forces. But, when they came to march, part of the forces refused to obey orders; notwithstanding which, *Lewis*, by the advice of the count, advanced with the rest. *Pepin*, with a great army, marched out of *Aquitaine*, and the malecontents having offered him their service, he made no scruple of declaring against his father; upon which, *Lewis* quitted the emperor's camp, and joined him³. In this situation the emperor sent his consort, for safety, to the abbey of *Poitiers*, and *Bernard*, apprehending he should be the victim, demanded leave to retire to his government of *Catalonia*, which he obtained. *Pepin*, by the advice of the malecontents, sent a detachment to the abbey of *Poitiers* to seize the empress; having her in his power, he loaded her with reproaches, and told her, that, if she meant to preserve herself, she must go and persuade his father to two things; that she should take the veil as a nun in the monastery from which she came, and that he, resigning his dignity, should become a monk. *Judith* promised all that he could desire; but, in her interview with the emperor, is supposed to have advised him not to renounce his dignity. However, he permitted, that she should go and take the veil, as she did; and, for himself, demanded a conference with the peers and prelates. His army having abandoned him, he fell, with his son *Charles*, into the hands of the rebels, who treated him very coarsely; causing a small assembly to be held at *Compiègne*, in which they expected he should have resigned the crown. He appeared therein confused and disconsolate, made a kind of apology for his conduct, protested the rectitude of his intentions, and promised to act with more circumspection for the future. He stood while he was speaking, though there was a throne in the hall; but when he had finished his discourse, the bishops and great lords, who were present, obliged him to sit thereon⁴.

Both of them reconciled to the emperor, who dissipates the conspirators.

THIS disconcerted the schemes of *Pepin* and the abbot of *Corbie*. *Lothaire* arrived soon after with an army from *Italy*, and, as it was upon him the malecontents principally depended, *Pepin* and *Lewis* found themselves so little considered, that they thought it their best way to retire each into his dominions. *Lothaire* used his father with much exterior respect, but did not allow him the smallest share of power; and though he did not talk of deposing him, yet he put certain monks about him, who were instructed to persuade him to quit the world⁵. They were so far from succeeding in their commission, that, the emperor discoursing with them very graciously, they entered thoroughly into his interest; and one of

^a EGINARD. in Annal.

¹ THEGAN. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Annales BERTINIANI.

² PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS in Vita Valæ abbatis. ADON. Chron.

³ Vita Ludovici Pii.

⁴ NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.

⁵ ADON. Chron.

⁶ THEGAN. de gestis Ludovici Pii.

- a them, whose name was *Gombaud*, undertook to negotiate a reconciliation with *Lewis* and *Pepin*, in which he succeeded^o. At the great assembly held at *Nimeguen*, the emperor, finding himself surrounded by several *German* princes, attended by their guards, began to resume his courage. He sent for *Hilduin*, abbot of *St. Denis*, who had been very active during the whole affair, and asked him, what he meant by bringing so many men armed in his train, ordered him to dismiss them immediately, and to retire to *Paderborn*. He treated *Walla*, abbot of *Corbie*, in the same manner^p. At length he sent for his son *Lothaire*, to whom he represented, in so strong a light, the folly, as well as wickedness, of this behaviour, that he burst out into tears, and intreated his pardon. At that instant the two parties were on the point of coming to blows; but, the two emperors appearing together, all things were pacified, and the diet, which met to depose the emperor, confirmed his authority. The first use he made of it was to arrest the chiefs of the defection, whom he brought to a trial at the winter assembly held at *Aix la Chapelle*; where they were sentenced to suffer death, but he was content to send them into exile^q.

THE emperor was resolved to recall his consort to court; but, as she had taken the veil, it was thought requisite to have the advice of the bishops, and the consent of the pope. *Gregory* the fourth, then in possession of the see of *Rome*, declared, that, as she had taken the veil by force, her vows were not binding. Soon after her return, count *Bernard* was recalled; but first it was judged expedient, that the empress should purge herself, by oath, with respect to the heavy crimes laid to her charge^r. The return of count *Bernard* created fresh murmurs; the monk *Gombaud* thought, that being made prime minister was the least that could be done for one who had restored the emperor; the kings *Pepin* and *Lewis* were for governing likewise; and the empress judged every attempt of this kind an intrusion upon her province. The exiles were recalled, or, at least, as many as were content to acknowledge their errors, and subscribe to the provision made for the emperor's youngest son^s. *Lothaire* was deposed from being emperor, but was allowed to keep the title of king of *Italy*, provided he did nothing of consequence without receiving his father's instruction. Before the end of the year, count *Bernard*, perceiving that the empress was conducted by other councils, reconciled himself to *Pepin*, king of *Aquitaine*, and, by his intrigues, the three brothers were more closely united than ever in a league against their father^t.

- d THE king of *Aquitaine*, having made his escape from court, made all the haste possible into his own dominions, and where he no sooner arrived than he took up arms. The emperor, being acquainted with this, assembled an army, and declared, that he would hold his great court at *Orleans*; but his forces were scarce in motion before he had intelligence of the revolt of his son *Lewis*, which constrained him to return, and to appoint the assembly at *Mentz*^u. The king of *Bavaria* made no doubt but the *Saxons* and *Allemands* would have joined him, more especially when he knew they had taken up arms; but they marched directly to the emperor's army, which was of the last consequence to his affairs; for it gave him such superiority, and raised his courage so much, that he compelled *Lewis* to come and throw himself at his feet; from whom he exacted an oath, that he would never swerve from his duty any more. Upon his return from this expedition, *Lothaire* met his father at *Frankfort*, assuring him of his fidelity, and that he had no correspondence with the rebels; though, in reality, he was to be at the head of the revolt^v. *Lewis* marched next against the king of *Aquitaine*, held an assembly at *Orleans*, and obliged him to surrender himself, and then sent him, under an escorte, prisoner to *Treves*. On the road he found means to make his escape, returned into his own dominions, and raised a new rebellion; which so provoked the emperor, that he declared the kingdom of *Aquitaine* forfeited, and in that light gave it to his son *Charles*, who was then about nine years of age^x.

THIS revived the murmurs of the people, and created a general discontent amongst the nobility. *Lothaire*, who was returned into *Italy*, where he had a numerous army, applied himself to pope *Gregory* the fourth; representing to him, that, having been crowned emperor by one of his predecessors, and the act, by which himself and his brother were declared kings, being in the papal archives, he ought in justice to espouse their cause. *Gregory*, won by these solicitations, though he had been confirmed in the papal see by the emperor *Lewis*, yet consented to come with *Lothaire*, and his army, into *France*; where the very name of the pope brought many bishops, and other ecclesiastics, to join them, and amongst the rest *Walla*, abbot of *Corbie*^y. On the other hand some of the bishops, and particularly *Dreux*,

^o THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. ^p PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS in Vita Valæ abbatis. THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. ^q Vita Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. ^r THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. ^s Vita Ludovici Pii. ^t THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. ^u Annales BERTINIANI. NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. ^v Vita Ludovici Pii. THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. ^x ADON. Chron. NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. AGOBERT. de Comparatione utriusque Regiminis. PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS in Vita Valæ abbatis.

bishop of *Mentz*, the emperor's natural brother, though he had not been kindly used, adhered firmly to that monarch, and wrote in very strong terms to the pontif; in which they went so far, as to reproach him with entering *France* without the emperor's leave, and being in a camp where sons had displayed their banners against their father. The pope replied in very high terms to them; but had afterwards an interview with the emperor, in which he endeavoured to excuse himself^z. In the mean time *Lothaire* and his friends corrupted the emperor's army, so that he fell into their hands, with his empress, and his son *Charles*; and, in an assembly held hastily on the spot, *Lewis* was deposed, the throne declared vacant, and *Lothaire* placed thereon^a. As for the empress they sent her to *Tortona*, and put her into a nunnery, the young prince *Charles* being sent to a castle in the forest of *Arden*. The pope being returned to *Rome*, and *Lewis* and *Pepin*, who had joined their brother, being retired into their respective kingdoms, *Lothaire*, in another assembly, composed chiefly of ecclesiastics, caused a long charge to be exhibited against his father, degraded him with many ceremonies, caused his sword to be taken from him at the altar, and put him into a habit of penitence, after the model of king *Wamba's* usage in *Spain*. He likewise caused false news to be told him, that the empress, having taken the veil, died soon after; and that his son *Charles*, being shaved, was put into a monastery, in hopes that this would have deter-
 A. D. 883. mined him to become a monk^b. All these contrivances had effects the very reverse of those that were expected from them. The emperor behaved with great humility, but at the same time with much firmness: he acknowledged the chastisement to be just from the hand of God, but he conceived that the notions he had formerly entertained of becoming a monk, and abandoning the rank to which Providence had called him, and brought these misfortunes upon him. On the other hand, the people in general, and the monks in particular, began to alter their sentiments, and to cry out, that the usage of so good a prince, by an unnatural son, was not to be endured^c.

Lothaire after a long struggle, is compelled, in the most humble manner, to demand pardon of his father. WHILE things took this turn in the heart of his dominions, *Dreux*, bishop of *Mentz*, went to the court of his nephew, *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*, and represented to him, in the most pathetic terms, the weakness, as well as wickedness, of his conduct towards his father, since he had very little reason to hope the same tenderness from his brother *Lothaire* that the emperor had shewn him. At the same time count *Bernard*, though the emperor had deprived him of his dignities for the share he had in *Pepin's* rebellion, repaired to the court of that prince, and demonstrated to him so clearly, that it was his interest to restore his father, notwithstanding it was in his quarrel he had been deposed, that he began his march with a numerous army for that purpose^d. *Lewis* of *Bavaria* was first in the field, and had no sooner declared on his father's behalf, than the *Saxons*, with their usual alacrity, assembled their whole force to join him^e. Several of the nobility in *France* took up arms on his side, inso- much that *Lothaire*, perceiving himself in danger of being surrounded, sent his father and his brother *Charles* to the abbey of *St. Denis*, and, with the few forces he still retained about him, retired into *Burgundy*; where, being joined by some of his adherents, he did a great deal of mischief; but was at length reduced to the necessity of throwing himself at his father's feet, and, with the utmost humility, demanding pardon, in the sight of the whole army^f.

Those who were deepest in this treason convicted and punished, but not rigorously. IMMEDIATELY after this happy event, the empress *Judith* was recalled; and though the emperor had been absolved by such bishops as were about the court at *St. Denis*, and afterwards presented by them with his sword and crown, yet such was either the scruples of this prince, or the superstition of his subjects, that a more formal act of restitution was thought necessary. Accordingly, in an assembly held at *Tbionville*, all that had been done in the assembly held at *Compeigne* was declared void, the emperor was again absolved, seven archbishops laying their hands upon his head, and *Ebbo*, archbishop of *Rheims*, who had the boldness to degrade him, which was done with much brutality, though raised by the emperor from the dregs of the people, read publicly his recantation, and afterwards resigned his dignity, from which he would have been otherwise deposed^g. The disorders which these civil wars had occasioned were such, as, in a manner, banished all appearance of government or of justice; but the emperor quickly appointed commissaries to redress these grievances, and to restore the vigour of the laws; which they, in a good measure, performed. He might now certainly have spent the remainder of his days in perfect tranquillity, if it had not been for the intrigues of the empress, who, having a restless desire to see her son settled in a kingdom, recurred to her first project, and entered again into a negotiation with *Lothaire*. He did not entertain this

^z THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. Epist. Pap. Greg. IV. ^a THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. Annales BERTINIANI. ^b Acta exauktionis Ludovici Pii. THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. ^c NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. ^d THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. ^e Vita Valæ abbatis. ^f NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. ^g NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.

- a at first so warmly as she expected, though he sent some ministers of his own to treat in his father's court, at the head of whom was *Walla*, who was kindly received and caressed by the empress, though he had been the principal author of the troubles that, from the very beginning, had disturbed her husband's reign^h. But while this treaty went on slowly, *Lothaire* was taking every possible method to strengthen himself in *Italy*, that in case the emperor, who was become very infirm, should die, he might be able, at all events, to put himself into possession of his dominions. The manner in which he executed this design disoblged many of the nobility, and bore so hard upon the pope, that he joined his complaints to theirs at the court of the emperor; who was at length so much provoked, that he resolved to go in person with an army of choice troops into *Italy*, and sent his orders to *Lothaire*, to provide the magazines necessary for his march to *Rome*ⁱ. What the consequence of this journey might have been cannot be easily conjectured; but the depredations committed on the coast of *France* by the *Norman* pirates, obliged the emperor to lay it aside, that he might more effectually provide for the security of his dominions; which, whatever chagrin it might give to the empress *Judith* and her partizans, was not at all disagreeable to the wiser and better part of the emperor's ministers, who were very far from approving of this expedition^k. A. D. 836.

- At length, after mature deliberation, the empress determined to engage *Lewis* to add to the dominions, formerly intended for her son, the kingdom of *Neustria*, and some other districts. This resolution was at that time kept very secret; notwithstanding which, the three brothers had intelligence of it, and deliberated jointly whether they should renew the war, or dissemble their resentment. The passages from *Italy* were so well guarded, the dominions of the kingdoms of *Bavaria* and *Aquitaine* were at such a distance from each other, and the nobility of *France* and *Germany* so little disposed to begin any new troubles, that they were constrained to be quiet. The emperor, therefore, having summoned an assembly at *Chiersi* on the *Oise*, introduced his son *Charles*, then about fourteen, and with great solemnity declared him king of *Neustria*, *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*, being there in person, and the deputies of the king of *Aquitaine* subscribing with the rest^l. Things did not remain in this state long; the death of *Pepin* opened to a new division. He left behind him two sons, *Pepin* and *Charles*, and two princesses, who were married. *Judith* prevailed on the emperor to revenge the injuries he had received from his son upon his grand-children, who were absolutely innocent, by depriving his eldest son *Pepin* of the kingdom of *Aquitaine*. In order to this an assembly was convened at *Worms*, to which *Lothaire* was invited; and, though not without some inquietude, thither he came. His father received him kindly, but the empress covered him with caresses.

- The great point was to engage him to acquiesce in a new scheme, by which *Charles* was to have, as the spoil of his brother *Pepin*, the kingdom of *Aquitaine*, and to divide the rest of the *French* dominions with *Lothaire*, and, according to the old project, was to be the tutor and protector of his nephew. As he was not in a condition to dispute, he assented, or rather submitted, to what was expected from him; and, by this partition, the *Meuse*, the country of *Switzerland*, the *Rhône*, and the ocean, became the boundaries of *Charles's* kingdom; except on the side of *Spain*, where he had all that the emperor possessed^m. But *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*, though he suffered nothing by this partition, was so much provoked at it, that he assembled the whole force of his dominions, in hopes of extending them as far as the *Rhine*. But upon the first commotion the emperor advanced with a small army to *Mentz*, and, upon his approach, the *Saxons* began immediately to arm; which put the dominions of the king of *Bavaria* in such apparent danger, that, having caused his forces to separate, he sent to intreat his father's pardon. This insurrection was scarce extinguished before the bishop of *Poitiers* came to inform him, that some of the lords, and the greatest part of the people in *Aquitaine*, were extremely discontented, and looked upon the treatment that the young prince *Pepin* had received as a flagrant act of injustice. Upon which the emperor appointed an assembly at *Chalons* on the *Soane*, to which the lords of *Aquitaine* were ordered to repair. Thither he carried the empress and her son *Charles*, and, to the utmost of his power, laboured to give general satisfaction; assigning the motives that induced him to dispose of the kingdom of *Aquitaine* to his son, of whose education he promised to take the utmost care; and assuring them, at the same time, that he would provide for his grand-childrenⁿ. The majority of the nobility and prelates acquiesced; but those who had embraced the party of the young prince, were not to be moved either to acknowledge *Charles*, or to deliver up *Pepin* to his grandfather. Having done, therefore, all that could be done in this assembly, he went to *Poitiers*, where he kept his *Christmas*, fully resolved to march, with the troops he had about him, into *Aquitaine* in the spring^o.

^h THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis.

ⁱ Vita Ludovici Pii.

^k NITHARD. de dissensionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.

^l Annales BERTINIANI. Vita Ludovici Pii.

^m NITHARD. de dissensionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.

ⁿ THEGAN. de gestis Ludovici Pii.

^o Vita Ludovici Pii.

The death of
the emperor in
an island of
the Rhine,
partly of dis-
ease and partly
grief.

A. D. 840.

WHILE he remained there, the season being wet and cold, he became much indisposed; and in this situation, and at the entrance of *Lent*, which it was his custom to observe very strictly, he received the unwelcome news, that his son, the king of *Bavaria*, was again in arms, that the *Saxons* and *Thuringians* had joined him, and that he had already made himself master of the best part of *Germany*. This obliged the emperor to turn his arms on that side, at a juncture when, through the whole course of his life, he had spent his time in fasting, prayer, and retirement, and when he was also in an ill state of health. He left part of his troops to guard his wife and son, and with the rest proceeded, with the utmost expedition, to *Aix la Chapelle*; and making but a very short stay there, he passed the *Rhine*, with an intent to give his son battle^p. But *Lewis*, finding his troops not to be depended upon, withdrew into his own dominions, and abandoned all his conquests. This undoubtedly had given the emperor great joy; but there happened unfortunately at this time a great eclipse, in which the stars became visible. This affected the weak superstitious old man to such a degree, that it rendered his malady, which was otherwise not very dangerous, mortal^q. He caused himself to be carried into an island in the *Rhine*, the air of which he fancied to be very salubrious; there, tormenting himself with anxious thoughts, receiving the communion, and scarce any thing else, daily, he lingered for six weeks. When he found there were no hopes of recovery, he divided his treasures and rich moveables amongst his family, the great churches in his dominions, and the poor. He left a crown, a scepter, and a very rich sword to *Lothaire*; by which it was also supposed that he left him the empire; but it was upon condition that he performed the promise he had made with respect to the empress and her son^r. His brother, the bishop of *Mentz*, perceiving that he left nothing to his son *Lewis*, put him in mind that, as a Christian, it was his duty to forgive him: to which the dying emperor, with some eagerness, answered, "I pardon him with all my heart; but tell him from me, that he ought to think seriously of obtaining pardon from God also, for bringing my grey hairs with sorrow to the ground^s." He died the twentieth of *June* 840, in the seventy-second year of his age, and in the twenty-seventh of his reign: his corpse was interred in the church of *St. Arnold*, at *Mentz*, near that of his mother queen *Hildegard*^t (B).

Lothaire suc-
ceeds as em-
peror and king
of Italy,
Lewis as king
of Germany,
and Charles
the Bald as
king of
France.

As soon as the news of the emperor *Lewis*'s death reached *Italy*, *Lothaire* looked upon himself as his successor in the utmost extent of the word, and resolved to make himself master, if he could, of all his dominions. He was a prince of great subtlety and address; could wear any appearance, that the state of his affairs required; haughty in his manner, affecting great steadiness, which he really had not; and though he laid his plans with much prudence, was nevertheless liable to be disconcerted if he met with any unexpected difficulties in their execution. He judged his own situation to be far superior to that of his brethren, as *Lewis* of *Bavaria* had by no means a great character, and *Charles*, who was scarce seventeen, and under the tuition of his mother, could scarce be said to have any character at all^u. As soon as he had passed the mountains, he seized *Worms*, and, with a numerous army, marched to *Franc-*

^p Annales BERTINIANI. NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii.
^q Vita Ludovici Pii. ^r Annales BERTINIANI. THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. ADON. Chron. ^s Vita Ludovici Pii. ^t THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii, c. xx. ADONIS Chron. Vita Ludovici Pii. ^u Annales BERTINIANI. Vita Ludovici Pii.

(B) We have observed in the text, that the emperor *Lewis* followed his father's example sometimes without considering his motives; in the main, however, it was of great use to him, and served in some measure to preserve the constitution (1). He courted the favour of bishops a little too much, of which, however, he had but a small share; because he shewed himself desirous of confining their cares to the proper duties of their function. He suffered his ministers likewise to have too great an ascendancy over him, which was probably owing to the manner in which he had been brought up, but more especially to his natural modesty and mildness of temper; for his misfortunes were not so much owing to the narrowness of his genius, as to the softness and diffidence of his temper (2). He did not consider that men, who had better understandings, might have worse intentions, than himself; and it fared with him as with many other princes, the uprightness of his own nature made him sometimes an instrument of injustice, as directed by the arts of others. He was governed in her life-time by his first wife *Ermengarde*, who induced him to associate *Lothaire* in the empire, and to make *Pepin*

and *Lewis* kings of *Aquitaine* and *Germany*: the former of those princes had, by his wife *Ingeltrude*, *Pepin*, who died a prisoner in the castle of *Senlis*, *Charles*, archbishop of *Mentz*, and *Bertha*, who married *Gerald*, count of *Berry* (3). Of the posterity of *Lewis the German* we treat elsewhere. By this empress he had also five daughters; *Alpaide*, who married *Begon*, count of *Paris*; *Gesle*, who espoused *Everard*, duke of *Frioul*, by whom she became the mother of *Berenger*, king of *Italy*; *Hildegard*, the wife of count *Thierry*; *Adelaide*, who, some writers say, was first espoused to count *Conrade*, and afterwards to *Robert le Fort*, count of *Paris*; and *Rotrude*, who died unmarried (4). His second empress *Judith* was, in the sentiments of a great historian, a very artful coquet, who, by her intrigues, produced most of her husband's misfortunes, in which she had her share (5). By her he had only one son, *Charles*, who succeeded him, first in the realm of *France*, and afterwards in the imperial dignity, and who, in his life-time, his father, on the decease of his son *Pepin*, created king of *Aquitaine*.

(1) Adon. Chron. Theg. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Reginon. Chron. (2) Theg. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Aimon. lib. v. (3) M. le P. Fauchet. P. Anselme. Mezeray. (4) Fauchet. Dupleix. Le Gendre. (5) Vita Ludovici Pii. Aimon, lib. v. Paul. Æmil. Annal. Francor. lib. v. Annal. Bertin. & Fuld.

- a *fort*, intending to strip *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, before he had so much as a suspicion of his intention. Here he found his first mistake. *Lewis*, who had always fled before his father, appeared at the head of a corps of veteran troops, and offered battle to his brother. This disposed *Lothaire* to a negotiation; upon which followed a truce for three months^w. He did this, in order to see whether he might not succeed more easily in falling upon *Charles*, to whom he sent agents, with assurances, that he meant to adhere strictly to his promises, but desired at the same time that he would forbear pressing their nephew *Pepin*, whose pretensions ought to be examined in an assembly. His views in this were, on the one hand, to acquire the reputation of a just and equitable prince with the vulgar, and, on the other, to raise a formidable enemy on the back of *Charles*, while he attacked him in front^x. To facilitate this scheme, his agents were
- b likewise charged to make use of persuasions, money, and promises, in order to divert the nobility from his brother's interest; he had also his emissaries about *Pepin*, who dissuaded him from going to the assembly at *Bourges*, to which he was invited by *Charles* and the empress dowager, with a promise of safety and satisfaction. As soon, therefore, as *Lothaire* had concluded a truce with *Lewis*, he marched directly, though slowly, towards *Paris*, giving soft answers to the ambassadors from *Charles*, who were sent to put him in mind of his promises and oaths, as well as of his father's dying expressions^y. The affairs of *Charles* were at this time in a very critical situation; many of the lords in *Neustria* were little affected to him, and most had nothing but their own interest at heart; he was far from being beloved in *Aquitaine*, where the party of *Pepin* was daily increasing; and, to add to all these misfortunes, the *Normans*
- c threatened an invasion upon the coasts^z.

- THERE was, however, a small party for him in *Neustria*, composed of the ablest and bravest *Lothaire* and of the nobility; who, considering the youth of *Charles*, and knowing the disposition of *Pepin* the *Lothaire* perfectly, determined to prefer the former to the latter; and, having signified their sentiments to him, *Charles* came and joined them. All this time *Lothaire* was advancing, sending his emissaries on every side to seek out his old friends, and to draw over, by any means, either such as were neutral or affected to his brother's interest. He found many of both sorts; more especially *Pepin*, the son of *Bernard*, king of *Italy*, *Ebbo*, the famous archbishop of *Rheims*, who had presided in the assembly which deposed his father, with others who had been in his party in his father's time, who had suffered for him then, and hoped to
- d be rewarded now. Of the latter sort also there were great numbers^a. *Charles* was not idle on his side; but he had scarce assembled a small army, before he had news, that his competitor *Pepin*, with a considerable force, besieged *Bourges*. He did not hesitate a moment in marching to the relief of that place, where his mother was in danger of losing her liberty; and, having beaten *Pepin* and raised the siege, he returned again into *Neustria*, but with a small force. *Lothaire* had by this time gained all the country between the *Meuse* and the *Seine*; but the nobility about *Charles*, very happily for him, were so far from resenting his leaving them to go to the relief of his mother, that they esteemed him for it, assured him he might rely upon their fidelity, and advised him to offer his brother battle^b. He followed their advice; but fighting was not the thing that *Lothaire* affected most; he had a superior
- e army, and, taking advantage of this, he offered hard terms to his brother; which, in his present circumstances, *Charles* thought fit to accept, upon condition that all things should be finally settled in an assembly to be held in the month of *May*, at *Attigni*; that *Lothaire* should make no attempts to his prejudice in the mean time; that the truce with the king of *Bavaria* should be prolonged; and that, in case any of the articles were violated, the treaty should be void. *Lothaire* consented to all this, and broke most of the articles as soon as he had made them. He disposed a great part of his troops along the river *Seine*; and, having augmented the remainder into a considerable army, endeavoured to surprise *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*; but that prince, who had never confided in him, was in arms, and in a condition to defend his own territories, provided his own subjects remained faithful^c. In the mean time *Charles*,
- f with a small corps of troops, passed the *Seine*, in spite of all the care that *Lothaire's* officers could take, and marched to *Attigni*. This relieved *Lewis*, by drawing *Lothaire* back into *France*, where he might have fought *Charles* with a superior army; but whilst he endeavoured, though without effect, to corrupt and debauch his forces, *Lewis* of *Bavaria* beat the troops he left upon the *Rhine*, passed that river, and marched, with great rapidity, to the relief of his brother *Charles*. Upon the junction of their forces, *Lothaire* retired till he was likewise joined by *Pepin*, who claimed the crown of *Aquitaine*; then, rejecting all the propositions that were made him by his brothers, he resolved to leave all to the decision of a battle. This was fought in the neighbourhood of *Fontenoy*, on the 25th of *June*, and was one of the most

A. D. 842.

^w NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.
^x NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.
^y NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.

^z Annales Metenses.

^a Chron. var. antiq.

^b ADON. Chron.

^c NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludo-

vici Pii, lib. ii.

memorable, as well as the most bloody, that the *French* history records ^d. At length *Lothaire* ^a and *Pepin* were totally defeated; and it is said there fell on the spot, on both sides, not fewer than one hundred thousand men ^e.

After a ruinous war, the brothers make peace, and agree to make a new division.

Lewis and *Charles*, like young men, lost in a great measure the fruits of their victory, the former returning, with the utmost diligence, into his own territories, and the latter following *Pepin* into *Aquitaine*. As for *Lothaire*, he retired to *Aix la Chapelle*, and by the help of those artificial expedients, of which he was a great master, set on foot a new army, with which he once more entered *Neustria*; causing it to be given out by his emissaries, that *Charles* was killed in the battle, and the monarch of *Bavaria* so wounded, that he could not live. *Charles*, perceiving his mistake, returned into *Neustria*, but with so small a force, that he was constrained to entrench himself on the other side of the *Seine*. *Lothaire* marched to attack him with a numerous army, and found the water so low, that he might have done it without difficulty. His irresolution hindered him, till the river, swelling on a sudden, rendered it impracticable. The prelates and nobility of *Charles's* party cried this up for a miracle, by which, in a short time, his army was so much augmented, that he was enabled, without fear of disturbance from *Lothaire*, to continue his march for *Strasburgh* ^f, where he joined the army of *Bavaria*, which his brother *Lewis* commanded in person, and there, in the presence of the prelates, nobility, and troops, they swore perpetual concord and amity, and pushed things so far as to declare, that, if either of them broke this treaty, his subjects were absolved from their allegiance, and at liberty to adhere to the other; which was attended with very pernicious consequences in succeeding times. For the present, their union was in itself wonderful, and produced wonders; they eat together at the same table; they slept under the same roof; their councils, and even their pleasures, were in common: and this harmony diffusing itself through their forces, they pushed the war with such vigour, that *Lothaire*, his troops deserting daily, retired on the other side of the *Rhône*, abandoning all *Austrasia* and part of *Burgundy* ^g. The two princes were very desirous of keeping what they had acquired, but at the same time had a mind to claim it by some better title than that of conquest: in order to this they applied themselves to the bishops; who, after making a kind of enquiry into the conduct of *Lothaire*, both in his father's life-time and since, and reckoning up all the acts of treason, cruelty, perfidy, and tyranny, of which he had been guilty; and having demanded of the two kings, whether they meant to govern like him, or according to the laws of God and the land, they answered, that they intended to govern according to law ^h. Upon which he was declared to have forfeited all title to his dominions, and they were flattered with having a title given them by the declaration of Providence in their favour ⁱ. But, notwithstanding this, *Lothaire* solicited his brothers to establish peace upon settled and solid terms, and proposed several projects for that purpose, which they rejected. At length they accepted this; that the kingdoms of *Italy*, *Aquitaine*, and *Bavaria*, except all the dominions of the deceased emperor, should be divided into three equal portions, of which *Lothaire* was to take his choice, and his brethren were to have the other two ^k. In consequence of this agreement, forty commissioners were named by each of the three kings, a whole year was spun out in their conferences; but at length it was settled, that *Charles*, besides *Aquitaine*, should have all the country between the *Loire* and the *Meuse*; that the rest of *Germany* should be annexed to *Lewis's* kingdom, who from thence was stiled *Lewis the German*; and that the titles of emperor and *Augustus*, being left to *Lothaire*, he should not only retain all *Italy* and the city of *Rome*, but should likewise possess the whole tract of country lying within the rivers of *Rhône*, *Rhine*, *Saone*, *Meuse*, and *Scheld*. The whole of what he held on this side the mountains, was, from him, stiled *Lotharingia*, *Royaume Lotharienne*, that is, the kingdom of *Lothaire*, from whence, by corruption, rose the name of *Lorrain*, though that is now given to a duchy, which contains only a small part of that kingdom ^l; which, in point of extent and situation, was very considerable.

A. D. 845.

Each of the kings exposed to great inconvenience from the common weakness war had brought on all.

THE empress *Judith* died a little before this partition was made. Indeed it was high time for these kings to put an end to quarrels, alike injurious to them all, and which, if they had lasted longer, might have been fatal. The *Saracens* surprised *Beneventum*, and made themselves masters of most part of that fine duchy, while *Lothaire* was engaged on this side the *Alps*; and pope *Gregory* being dead, *Sergius* the second was elected, and took possession of the see of *Rome*, without taking any notice of the emperor ^m; who thereupon sent his son *Lewis*, with an army, to obtain satisfaction; which he did, and the pope crowned him king of the *Lombards*. *Charles* was not less perplexed; *Pepin* defeated and cut to pieces a great

^d ADONIS Chron. Chron. var. antiq.

^e Annales Metenses. ADONIS Chronicon.

^f ADON. Chron. NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.

Chron.

^g NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

^h NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

ⁱ NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Lodovici Pii, lib. ii.

^j Annales Metenses.

^k ADONIS

^l Annales BERTINIANI. ADONIS

a corps of troops, the *Normans* landed at the mouth of the *Garonne*, and ruined all the country; the duke of *Bretagne* revoltedⁿ. The emperor and the kings of *France* and *Germany* were now so well united, that they sent deputies to *Pepin*, to the *Normans*, and to the *Bretons*, to let them know, that, if they attacked any one of the three, they would certainly attack them with joint forces. But this had little or no effect, their neighbours being well apprised, that there was not any sincere affection amongst them; and that this pretended amity was purely the effects of weakness^o. To so low a state was the *French* empire fallen, since the demise of *Charlemagne*.

CHARLES, suffering his resentment or false notions of policy to prevail, caused *Bernard*, Charles, by endeavouring to extend his authority, and by some ill-timed acts of rigour, ruins his affairs.
duke of *Languedoc*, who had once made such a figure in the court of his father, to be arrested; and, after a year's confinement, to be put to death, which had a very bad effect; for his son *William* seized immediately several places of consequence. He, to revenge his father's death, joined *Pepin* with all the force he could raise. The *Normans* made another descent, and pillaged *Toulouse*; the duke of *Bretagne* was inclined, not only to throw off all dependence, but to assume the title of king. In this perplexity he was alarmed with the news of a fresh fleet and army of *Normans*, who entered the mouth of the *Seine*, where they made themselves masters of *Rouen*; and, not satisfied with the pillage of that place, marched directly to *Paris*, which they likewise pillaged; and were at the point of attacking the king, with a small army, in an intrenched camp at *St. Denis*^p. But *Charles*, by the advice chiefly of the prelates, A. D. 845, entered into a negotiation with them, and, by giving them seven hundred weight of silver, engaged them to retire, and to promise, with reiterated oaths, never to return. To pacify the troubles of *Aquitaine*, he yielded the best part of that country to his nephew *Pepin*, who rendered him homage, and took an oath of fealty^q. *Charles* now found himself at leisure to enter *Bretagne*, which he did with the best army he was able to assemble, but had the misfortune to be twice beaten. This great change in affairs was chiefly owing to an alteration in the king himself. While a youth he was very tractable, and took the advice of his principal nobility: now he thought himself of age to govern, and soon gave specimens not much to the advantage either of his own reputation, or of the happiness of his subjects. He amassed wealth, by oppressing his people; from paying a superstitious obedience, he came wholly to neglect the bishops. Selfish, despotic, and wrong-headed, he soon incurred the contempt and hatred of his subjects; shewing, by the flagrant errors in his conduct, that the good qualities, by which he had been formerly distinguished, were only artificial and affected^r. The prince of the *Bretons* seeing also that, neglecting all other enemies, *Charles* was on the point of entering his country with another numerous army, he judged it most expedient for his own safety, and for fear of being over-powered by the *Normans*, to return to his former situation; and, upon his offer of submission, peace was very quickly made. Thus, for the present, domestic tranquility was restored in *France*, where it was exceedingly wanted, the great towns being decayed, the people miserably consumed, and all the naval establishments dwindled to nothing^s.

THE *Saracens* gave *Lothaire* as much disturbance as the *Normans* had done *Charles*; had pillaged the church of *St. Peter*, which was then without the walls of *Rome*; had beaten the troops sent to oppose them, and threatened still greater mischiefs. The *Sclavonians* had revolted against *Lewis*, king of *Germany*. The *Moorish* pirates were become almost as troublesome to *Charles* as the *Normans*; and, in the midst of these disasters, *Charles* and *Lothaire* were still upon bad terms. *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, prevailed upon them both to consent to a new interview at *Mersen*, near *Maastricht*; where (having shewn them that, through their quarrels, the *French* kingdom had lost much of its lustre; that the great lords in their dominions were every day growing more independent; and that nothing but a strict union amongst themselves could prevent the ruin of them all) they settled, while together, a kind of constitution, by which things were to be regulated for the future, more especially in regard to the succession, which even *Charlemagne* had left very loose; and the rule now established was, that the children of the reigning prince, whether of age or not of age, should succeed to their father's dominions, and owe nothing but the respect, arising from the ties of blood, to the other princes of the house of *Charlemagne*^t. The *Moors* having received a great defeat in *Spain*, were content to make peace with *France*; and this negotiation was very luckily concluded with them, when the *Normans*, making a fresh descent with a great force, besieged *Bordeaux*. *Charles* marched immediately to its relief; and having taken and sunk some of their ships, compelled these barbarous invaders to raise the siege: but he no sooner quitted the

ⁿ Annales Fuld. FLODOART Hist. Rem. ^o NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii. ANAST. in vita Serg. II. ^p NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii. ^q Annales BERTINIANI. ^r NITHARDI de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii. ^s Idem ibid. ^t Annales

country, than they returned, and, through the treachery of the *Jews*, having surprized the city, pillaged and burnt it^u. This proved an affair of great consequence to *Charles*; for *Bordeaux* belonging at this time to *Pepin*, and the nobility conceiving that it was lost through some negligence of his, revolted, and submitted themselves again to *Charles*, and he was accordingly crowned and anointed king of *Aquitaine*, at *Orleans*. *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, had enough to do to bridle his rebels; and *Lothaire* was not less distressed by the *Saracens*; notwithstanding which, he solicited his brother *Lewis* to enter into a league with him against *Charles*, which he prudently and peremptorily refused^x.

The Bretons revolt, and from the situation of affairs, oblige Charles to grant their demands.

RELIGIOUS disturbances were quickly added to the rest of the disorders that distracted *France*; and while the king was employed in holding councils for redressing these, the sea coasts of his dominions were ravaged by *Moorish*, *Greek*, and *Norman*, pirates. *Pepin* started out of those obscure places, where, since the last revolution, he had concealed himself, and, in a short space of time, recovered a great part of *Aquitaine*. *Lothaire* and *Lewis* were not at all more at their ease, insomuch that it looked as if the barbarous nations had conspired to destroy the *French*, as they formerly did the *Roman* empire^y. *Charles* marched into *Aquitaine*, and met with great success, taking prisoner *Charles*, the brother of *Pepin*, whom he obliged to enter into holy orders. He had done still more, if *Nominoi*, duke of *Bretagne*, had not revolted, and by the assistance of count *Lambert*, who had formerly made a great figure in the court of the emperor *Lewis*, rendered himself master of *Rennes*, after which he recurred to his old scheme, and assumed the title of king. He held it during his life, and transmitted it to his son *Herispee*, against whom *Charles* led all the forces of his dominions, scarce doubting of success, since count *Lambert* was also dead; but he was mistaken, for the new king of *Bretagne* gave him an entire defeat, in which a great number of troops, and not a few of the nobility, perished^z. *Charles* retiring to *Angiers*, in order to recruit his forces, *Herispee* having demanded a safe conduct, went thither likewise, and concluded a treaty upon very advantageous terms, since the regal honours were conceded to him, together with his conquests, and nothing reserved to *Charles*, but the honour of receiving homage from a king. He had some amends made him for this, by the seizing of *Pepin* the younger, by a prince of the *Gascons*, who delivered him into his hands; upon which he caused him to be immediately shaved, and sent him prisoner to the convent of *St. Medard de Soissons*. The country which his father left him in *Spain* was almost intirely lost, either by the revolt of those who were intrusted with the government of cities and fortresses, or conquered by the *Moors*; so that the king had enemies on every side, and great discontent even in his own court^a.

Death of the emperor Lothaire, and the division of his dominions amongst his children.

As the inconstancy and mutinous disposition of the people of *Aquitaine* had, from the very beginning of his reign, given him a great deal of trouble, he resolved to lay hold of this opportunity to chastise them; and, in doing this, he carried things so far, that the greater part of his subjects determined to throw off their allegiance, with which view they sent deputies, who were likewise to serve for hostages, to *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, beseeching him either to come in person and accept the kingdom, or to send them one of his sons; and the *German*, forgetting the treaties, confirmed by the most solemn oaths, that subsisted between them, sent them his son *Lewis*, escorted by a small body of troops^b. At this juncture, both the brothers solicited the emperor to join with them against each other; and he, instigated by the same motives of ambition, made alliances with both, but took care to assist neither. In the mean time an incident happened, which was not unfavourable to *Charles*. *Pepin* made his escape out of the monastery, and returned into *Aquitaine*, where most of the discontented party joined him; and quitted the king they had sent for out of *Germany*; of which *Charles* taking advantage, attacked *Lewis*, who was at the same time attacked by *Pepin*, who thereupon prudently compromised matters with his uncle, and with his leave returned into *Germany*^c. *Lothaire*, whose whole ambition, perfidy, and other vices, had been so prejudicial to the interests of his family, finding his end draw near, took the habit of a monk, that, according to the superstition of those times, he might, by this second baptism as they phrased it, atone for all his crimes, and, though he lived a tyrant, die a saint^d. In this disguise of a monk, which he did not wear quite a week, he expired, on the 29th of *September*, leaving behind him three sons, *Lewis*, *Lothaire*, and *Charles*. *Lewis*, who had been associated by his father in the government, had the kingdom of *Italy*, and the title of emperor; *Lothaire*, the best part of the dominions his father held in *France*, and was stiled king of *Lorraine*; the rest, consisting of *Provence*, *Dauphine*, and part of the kingdom of *Burgundy*, fell to *Charles*, who thenceforward was called the king of *Provence*^e. One would have imagined there were kings enough in this family; but *Charles*, whom for the future we must stile *Charles the Bald*, though probably that surname was not given him in his life-time, declared his son of the same name,

^u Chron. var. antiq.

^x NITHARDI de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

^y Annales BERTINIANI.

^z NITHARDI de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

^a Annales BERTINIANI.

^b Annales Fuldens.

^c Chron. var. antiq.

^d Annales Fuldens.

^e Annales BERTINIANI.

though

a though a child, king of *Aquitaine*; and the people were so pleased with it for the present, that, the *Normans* landing in their country, they took arms with alacrity, and attacked them with such vigour and valour, that scarce three hundred of them found their way back to their ships^f.

THIS fit of loyalty did not last long; they became more discontented than ever, renounced their allegiance to *Charles*, recalled *Pepin*, whose affairs were so desperate that he had joined with the *Normans*, and, in conjunction, pillaged the countries over which he pretended to reign. In a little time they deserted him, and had recourse once more to *Lewis the German*. *Charles the Bald* had it not in his power to punish or even restrain them. The nobility of *France* were become so turbulent, and the bishops so unruly, that he knew not how to act, or in whom to confide. In these circumstances he demanded the advice of his uncle, by the mother's side, who told him very freely what the malecontents said in vindication of their own conduct; which was, that, at the expence of their blood and fortune, they had raised him to a throne, and that he now behaved to them ungratefully, and like a tyrant. Upon this *Charles* addressed his circular letters to the nobility and prelates, reciting what his uncle had told them, and requiring such as thought themselves really aggrieved through negligence, misinformation, or otherwise, to appear and demonstrate their complaints in an open, free, and general assembly, to be held at *Verberic*, promising ample retribution and justice, as well as oblivion, for every thing past; but declaring, that all acts of disobedience should be regarded for the future as rebellion^g. In full confidence that this would give satisfaction, he marched with all his forces to besiege a strong post, which the *Danes* had taken, in the very heart of his dominions; and, while he was thus employed, the malecontents in *France*, after the example of those in *Aquitaine*, invited *Lewis of Germany* to come and take possession of the kingdom, which he accordingly did, with a formidable army, while *Charles*, abandoned by the greatest part of his subjects, was obliged to raise the siege, and retire into a distant part of his dominions^h. *Lewis*, upon this, assembled the prelates of his party, who declared *Charles the Bald* fallen from the regal dignity for mal-administration; and *Ganelon*, archbishop of *Sens*, in virtue of this decree, solemnly crowned *Lewis*, to whom the nobility and bishops did homage, as king of *France*, notwithstanding the prelates, who still adhered to *Charles*, had declared all to be excommunicated who should attempt any such thing. The princes of the blood also acquiesced in this matter; insomuch that *Pepin of Aquitaine*, who had been lately reconciled to *Charles*, and the king of *Lorraine*, who had entered into a close alliance with him; and in consequence of these engagements served in his army, quitted him, and went to acknowledge *Lewis*; though this was not more the effects of levity than of forceⁱ.

AMONGST those who were the most forward in this enterprise, though they did not enter into it at the beginning, were *Conrad* and *Wolf*, the sons of count *Conrad*, brother to the empress *Judith*, and consequently cousin-german to *Charles the Bald*, who, by their extraordinary zeal and assiduity, quickly acquired the confidence of their new master. These lords represented to *Lewis*, that, being called to the throne by the nobility, having the bishops at his devotion, and no army in the field to oppose him, it would be proper for him to gratify such as had been most instrumental in this change, and also to send back the troops he had brought with him, that he might fix the affections of his new subjects, by appearing to rely intirely upon their attachment; and hinted to him at the same time, that, when this was done, his competitor *Charles* might be prevailed upon, in consideration of some small territory, to renounce his pretensions^k. *Lewis* followed their advice, and then sent them, with full powers, to treat with their cousin *Charles*, with whom they had been all this while acting in concert. They acquainted him that *Lewis* having sent back his own army, and distributed his treasures amongst those who had assisted him, the only thing that *Charles* had to do, was to march with the forces that were still about him towards his brother *Lewis*; and that, having both the hopes and fears on his side, there was little reason to doubt of his success^l. *Charles* executed their scheme immediately, and was restored with as much ease as he had been dethroned; *Lewis*, at his approach, finding himself obliged to retire into his own dominions, and the king of *Lorraine*, who had deserted him, went to compliment *Charles* at his return^m.

THESE intestine disturbances had terrible effects on the general system of affairs. The *Normans* not only ruined the coasts, pillaging sometimes one great town, sometimes another, but had actually seated themselves on the *Seine* and on the *Somme*. *Solomon*, who had killed duke *Herispee*, possessed *Bretagne*, with the title of king; and taking advantage of these troubles, had not only settled his government so as not to be easily shaken, but had also made considerable acquisitions. In the midst of this desolation and disorder, *Charles the Bald* was bent upon revenging the injury he had received from his brother *Lewis*. Their nephew, the king of *Lorraine*, interposed; procured an interview, at which himself was present, and with much

Lewis, king of Germany, supplants his brother Charles, and assumes the crown of France.

A.D. 858.

Charles, by an artful contrivance, recovers the kingdom as easily as he lost it.

859.

Disturbances in the kingdom of Lorraine, revolt of the Bretons; grant of the duchy of France to Robert le Fort.

^f Chron. var. antiq. nales BERTINIANI.

^g Annales Fuldenf. ⁱ Chron. var. antiq.

^h Annales BERTINIANI. ^m Annales BERTINIANI.

^l Chron. var. antiq.

^k An-

difficulty composed their quarrel. In a little time after, he began to entertain suspicions of a his uncle *Charles*; and, to secure himself effectually on that side, sacrificed the fertile province of *Alsace* to the emperor his brother, with whom he made a strict alliance. His motive to this was equally scandalous and unjustⁿ. He had married *Tbeutberge*, the sister of count *Hubert*, against whom, without any cause, he had taken an inveterate hatred: he was therefore desirous of depriving her of the share she had in his bed and throne, in order to admit to both a mistress of his, whose name was *Walrade*, and of whom he was passionately fond. In order to this, he charged his queen with the horrid crime of incest with her brother *Hubert*, for which he put her to the trial of boiling water, according to the barbarous custom of those times; and being declared innocent, he revived the same accusation, pretending to have fresh proofs. These consisted in the queen's voluntary confession of her guilt, supported b by the testimony of *Gontbaire*, archbishop of *Cologne*, who was her confessor; but the truth of the matter was, that he threatened the queen into this confession, by putting her in fear of her life, and brought the archbishop to act the scandalous part he did, by promising to marry his niece as soon as the queen was divorced^o. In the management of this affair several of the A. D. 860. prelates in his dominions concurred: but, while it was depending, both the queen and duke *Hubert Bald*; and it was this that engaged *Lothaire* to purchase the friendship of his brother at so dear a rate^p. The insolence of the *Bretons* at length enraged *Charles* so much, that, having procured from his brother *Lewis*, for a sum of money, a body of *Saxon* horse, he made an irruption into *Bretagne*; and, having engaged the army of *Solomon* two days successively, was at c length forced to retreat, with the loss of the best part of his army: he found means, however, to draw over, or rather to retrieve, *Robert le Fort*, that is, the *Stout*, or the *Strong*, who commanded *Solomon's* army, esteemed one of the greatest captains of that age, upon whom he bestowed the duchy of *France*, comprehending the country between the *Seine* and *Loire*; by which we are to understand he made him governor of this province, with the title of duke^q. We shall hereafter see what the consequences were of this act of royal policy and bounty.

Charles engages one body of Normans to assist in expelling another, for a sum of money.

THE wrong turn his affairs had taken in *Bretagne*, disabled *Charles* from attacking the *Normans* with his own troops; but what he wanted in force he supplied by address. He was informed that *Wailand*, a famous *Norman* pirate, was returned from *England*, and had taken d his winter quarters on the banks of the *Soane*; but not having it in his power to expel him, he thought it best to dissemble it, as he likewise did his pillaging the country of *Terouenne*. This famous free-booter had formerly offered him his service, to dislodge his countrymen upon the *Seine*, for three thousand pounds of silver, which proposition the king rejected, not having the money to give^r. He thought proper to renew the negotiation at this juncture; notwithstanding *Wailand* raised his price, and demanded peremptorily five thousand pounds of silver, which the king, with great difficulty, raised and gave him. In consequence of this subsidy, he, with a fleet of two hundred and sixty sail, came up the *Seine*, and attacked the *Normans* in the island of *Oiselle*, who, after a long and obstinate resistance, were compelled to capitulate; and having paid six thousand pounds of gold and silver, by way of ransom, had leave to go e and join those who had reduced them^s. This produced a new mischief, for they still shewed no inclination to depart; and the king, insensible of the miseries to which his subjects were exposed, employed all his thoughts on the base project he had formed of despoiling his nephew, the king of *Provence*, a weak and infirm prince, of his dominions, in which, however, he failed; and then thought, by denying it, to deceive the world, in which he had as little success. At his return, he attempted and executed a scheme he had formed against the *Normans*, whom he reduced to such distress, that they were forced to capitulate, and give him hostages to depart the kingdom^t.

The restless humour and ill conduct of their children, exceeding vexatious to the French monarch.

THEY executed this treaty but indifferently, since a great part of them entered into the service of the king of *Bretagne*. Upon this *Charles*, by the advice of count *Robert*, recalled f *Wailand*, and for six thousand pounds in gold engaged him and his followers to enter into his service. Count *Robert* had likewise the good fortune to defeat the *Normans*, in the service of the king of *Bretagne*, sinking twelve of their ships, and putting all who were on board them to the sword. These successes might have put it in the king's power to have restored his authority, and his affairs; but now the troubles in his family began. His daughter *Judith* had espoused *Ethelwolf*, king of the *West Saxons*; and, after his decease, to the scandal of all the Christian world, she became the wife of his eldest son *Ethelbald*; and he being also dead, she returned to the court of her father, still a young woman, and full of amorous inclinations^u. This put her upon running away with *Baldwin*, forrester of *Flanders*, with

ⁿ Capitul. Caroli calvi.

^o Annales Metenses.

^p HINCMAR de divort. Lothar.

^q Annales BER-

TINIANI. ^r Chron. var. antiq.

^s Annales BERTINIANI.

^t Annales Metenses.

^u ASSER.

MENEVENS. de gestis Ælfredi Regis.

a the privity of her eldest brother *Lewis*. This drew the displeasure of the king both upon her and the prince, who thereupon fled into *Bretagne*, where he married without his father's consent, in which he was imitated by his brother *Charles*, king of *Aquitaine*. In these misfortunes he was not alone; his brother *Lewis the German*, being rather more perplexed by A. D. 863. his son *Carloman*, who revolted and submitted several times^w, but not without creating great prejudices to the realm of *Germany*, and the *French* empire^x.

THE affair of the king of *Lorraine* broke out again with fresh violence: he caused one assembly of bishops to be held at *Aix la Chapelle*, in which the archbishops of *Cologne* and *Treves* presided; and, having procured their consent, he wrote to the pope to approve his marriage with *Walrade*, which he took care to solemnize before he received an answer^y. The pope, *Nicholas I.* sent two legates to hold a council at *Metz*, in which this affair was to be finally determined; and, in their passage through *France*, they delivered *Charles the Bald* a letter from the pope, intreating him to pardon *Baldwin* and his daughter, which he did; and the marriage being celebrated, he bestowed upon his son-in-law the county of *Flanders*^z. These legates had other letters also to deliver, which they suppressed, being corrupted by the king of *Lorraine*. In consequence of this, they confirmed all that had been done in the assembly at *Aix la Chapelle*, and, in hopes of deceiving the pope, the archbishops of *Cologne* and *Treves* were sent to make a report to him of the whole business^a. He was previously informed by *Charles the Bald*, and was so much provoked, that, by a council held at *Rome*, the council of *Metz* was declared a wicked assembly, and both the archbishops deposed^b. These prelates fled to the emperor, and gave him such an account of the matter, that he went to *Rome* with a body of troops, entered it in a hostile manner, and kept the pope shut up in the church of *St. Peter* forty-eight hours, without meat or drink. At length he was so far pacified as to admit of an interview, in which, being informed of the truth, he ordered the two prelates to quit his dominions immediately^c. About this time died *Charles*, king of *Provence*; and, after some disturbance, the emperor and the king of *Lorraine* divided his dominions between them. *Charles the Bald*, being now somewhat at ease, obliged the king of *Bretagne* to do him homage; after which he marched with a great army into *Aquitaine*, and compelled his son *Charles* to submission. The *Normans* in the mean time, with *Pepin* at their head, penetrated as far as *Clermont*, in *Auvergne*, from whence, though with some difficulty, they made their retreat to the coast; in which, however, *Pepin* was taken, and carried to his uncle. As he was in the habit of a *Norman*, and there were some suspicions of his having apostatized, the nobility and prelates of *Aquitaine* made no scruple of condemning him to death. His uncle, however, sent him to the castle of *Senlis*, where he spent the remainder of his days under a gentle confinement^d. His successor *Charles*, king of *Aquitaine*, being in his father's court, involved himself in some foolish quarrel, in which receiving a cut over the head, he languished for some time, and then died, leaving behind a very indifferent reputation, and no issue by the widow he married^e.

THE *Normans*, notwithstanding their repeated treaties, and the vast sums of money which they had received, continued to make descents perpetually in the territories of *France*, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, which gave the king inexpressible trouble. Some times he repelled force by force; at others he was constrained to procure their departure, by paying them large sums of money, which differed little from tribute; by which the kingdom was at length so exhausted, that, having engaged to pay them four thousand pounds in silver, he was compelled to have recourse to a capitation in order to levy it. What was still a heavier misfortune both to him and to the nation, was the death of *Robert le Fort*, who, with two other generals, fell in an engagement with the *Danes*^f. The king had married his second wife, by whom he had several children, but they died young. He was very desirous to have her publicly crowned, from a superstitious opinion; that the children he might have by her afterwards would survive. This ceremony was accordingly performed; and the king being apprehensive that it might increase the discontent of his eldest son, *Lewis*, whose continual intrigues with the king of *Bretagne* had given him excessive trouble, he resolved, once for all, to try if it was not possible to content both. With this view he declared *Lewis* king of *Aquitaine*, in the room of his brother, with which both the prince and the people were equally pleased; and he consented that the county of *Contentein* should be incorporated, and for ever annexed to *Bretagne*^g. It had been happy for him and his subjects, if all his designs had been as just in their nature, and as fortunate in their issue, as these; for both the kings remained perfectly satisfied with these concessions, and engaged, whenever the circumstances of his affairs should require it, to second him against his enemies, A. D. 867.

^w Annales BERTINIANI.^x Chron. var. antiq.^y HINCMAR de Divort. Lothar. et Theutberg.^z Annales BERTINIANI.^a Epist. NICOL. Pap.^b Chron. var. antiq.^c Annales BERTINIANI.^d Chron. var. antiq.^e Annales Metenses.^f Annales BERTINIANI.^g Chron. var. antiq.

each of them with a certain corps of troops, which was a point of great consequence to his government, and contributed not a little to the repose of France^a.

The king of Lorraine makes a journey to Rome; dies in his return; dispute about his succession.

THE case of the king of *Lorraine* was by this time become of the last importance. *Lothaire* flattered himself, that pope *Adrian* would treat him with more tenderness than his predecessor had done, notwithstanding the discoveries that had been made by the archbishops of *Cologne* and *Treves*, who being abandoned by the king, after all they had done, went to *Rome*, and laid open all that scene of corruption and perjury in which they had been partakersⁱ. It seems indeed to have been the pope's intention; who, having commanded him to put away his mistress, to take an oath to have nothing more to do with her, and to engage twelve of his principal nobility to support this oath by their own, encouraged him to come to *Rome*, in order to receive absolution^k. This did not, by any means, please his uncle; who, in case the sentence of excommunication had been pronounced, would infallibly have dispossessed him of his dominions: and, in order to settle the method of division among themselves, the two kings of *Germany* and *France* had an interview at *Metz*, where the matter was entirely settled between them. This coming to the ears of *Lothaire*, heightened his uneasiness exceedingly. He applied himself, therefore, with great assiduity, to obtain the good-will of his uncle, *Lewis the German*, upon whose word he could better rely than upon that of *Charles*: and after several interviews, and laying before him the difficulties he was under, he carried his point, inasmuch that he promised, not only to make no attempts upon his dominions in his absence, but likewise to protect his son *Hugh*, whom he had by *Waldrade*; and even restored to him the county of *Alsace*, which he had yielded some years before, and agreed that it should be erected into a duchy in favour of that young prince^l. In confidence that his uncle would perform his promise, *Lothaire* proceeded in his voyage to *Italy*, where his brother the emperor declined seeing him; but he sent his consort to meet him, who accompanied him to his interview with the pope^m. *Adrian* gave him hopes, celebrated mass in his presence; and, when they came to communicate, purged him, and the lords who were with him, as to the oath they had formerly taken. *Lothaire*, and the greatest part of his attendants, communicated; though some, upon hearing the pope's exhortation, drew backⁿ. *Adrian* intended to have had the whole affair examined over again by the bishops of *Lorraine* and *Germany*, and, upon their report to a council which was to have been held at *Rome*, to have decided which was the king's lawful spouse; for, in the second cause before the pope's legates, *Lothaire* had affirmed, that he had married *Waldrade* before he espoused *Theutberg*^o. But there was no occasion for these proceedings, since, in his return to his dominions, *Lothaire* died of a fever at *Placentia*, on the 7th of *August*. It was generally believed that he was himself perjured, and that the lords who communicated with him knew it. They all died in a very short space, and he did not survive them a full month. By the demise of this prince, without lawful issue, the succession to his dominions lay open; but *Charles* of *France*, who had an army ready to march, and withal a very strong party in *Lorraine* entered and took possession immediately: and having been solemnly crowned at *Metz*, looked upon this realm as his own, notwithstanding the pope interfered in favour of the emperor, who, as the brother of the deceased, seemed to have the best right, and notwithstanding the king of *Germany* insisted on his claim. But, when the latter had prepared to assert it by arms, *Charles* consented to a division; which took place in the succeeding year^p, by which the flames of war were kept from breaking out.

The treaty of partition between the kings of France and Germany, as to the kingdom of Lorraine.

It was judged necessary, in order to this, that the two kings should have an interview; and with this view *Charles* went to *Herstal*, and *Lewis* came to *Mersen*, and from thence each advanced to a royal palace, at an equal distance from both places, and, after a month's time spent in conferences, the business was amicably settled^q. *Lewis* obtained, by this partition, the cities of *Cologne*, *Utrecht*, *Strasbourg*, *Basil*, *Treves*, *Metz*, and their dependencies, with all the countries between the rivers *Ourt* and *Meuse*, together with *Aix la Chapelle*, and most of the districts between the *Rhine* and *Meuse*. On the other hand, *Charles* acquired *Lyons*, *Besancon*, *Vienne*, *Tongres*, *Toul*, *Verdun*, *Cambray*, *Viviers*, and *Uzes*, together with *Hainbault*, *Zealand*, and *Holland*^r. The pope still interposed very warmly, and left no method untried to have procured at least something for the emperor, if it had been in his power; but it was to no purpose, at least with regard to *Charles*, who, when he found the pontif grew very angry, and treated him but very coarsely in his letters, laid them aside, without giving the pope any answer^s. His son *Carloman*, whom he had put into orders, but whom, notwithstanding, he had suffered to command his forces more than once, having no inclination to that course of life to which he had been destined by his father, left the court^t, and putting

870.

^a Annales BERTINIANI. ⁱ Continuat. ANASTASII Bibliothec in Adriano. REGIMONIS Chronicon. ^k Epist. ADRIAN. vi. vii. viii. Annales Fuldenses. ^l Capitula Caroli calvi, tit. 33. ^m ADON. Chron. ⁿ LOTHARII Regis Gesta Rom. ^o Concil. Gall. tom. iii. ^p Ibid. ADON. Chron. ^q AIMONIUS, lib. v. cap. xxv. ^r Annales BERT. ^s Concil. Gall. tom. iii. ^t Annales BERT.

a himself at the head of a body of desperate thieves, committed horrid devastations in the country between the *Meuse* and the *Seine*, which gave the king great disquiet, and the more, because all the promises of pardon he could make were vain, and without effect^u.

POPE *Adrian* being misinformed, or not having sagacity enough to make a right judgment of affairs, interposed in this business also^w. For the king, taking advantage of *Carloman's* being in orders, resolved to prosecute him by church censures, but first procured the bishops in his dominions to excommunicate those who had seduced his son into rebellion, or who supported and assisted him therein; and *Hincmar*, bishop of *Laon*, having refused to sign the excommunication, was also proceeded against in the same way, and at length *Carloman* himself, who thereupon applied to the pope; and he writing in a very rough stile to *Charles*, gave him an opportunity of shewing him in a very contemptible light to posterity. The circumstances of the *French* monarch were very much changed^x. In the beginning of his reign he courted equally the nobility and the bishops; afterwards, being abandoned by the former, he cajoled the latter, and it was chiefly by the help of their authority that he had emerged from his troubles: but now his power and his experience being greater, he answered the pope with great spirit and good sense, reproached him for the indecent language he had used, and made him so sensible of the rashness of his conduct, that he found it necessary to pen a recantation, which, no doubt, he flattered himself would be kept a secret; and with which posterity being acquainted, is from thence enabled to form a right judgment of the piety and policy of the court of *Rome*^y. He went farther: from affecting to dictate to *Charles*, he became his creature; and, in hopes of raising his own family, promised all the assistance possible in promoting his design of assuming the imperial dignity, and taking possession of the kingdom of *Italy*, in case of his nephew's demise^z. The empress, in the mean time, was negotiating on the same subject with *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, and engaged him to make a cession, by treaty, of that part of the kingdom of *Lorraine* which he possessed, in consideration of the emperor's devolving that title and his dominions, by will, either upon him or on one of his sons. *Adrian*, in consequence of this treaty, solemnly crowned the emperor as king of *Lorraine*; but it is not clear that he ever had the possession: and the pope, notwithstanding this ceremony, remained firm in the interests of *Charles the Bald* to the time of his demise, which happened not long after^a.

The pope is obliged to bend to Charles and promise him his assistance in obtaining the empire.

A. D. 871.

872.

d THE realms of *Germany* and *France* were equally disturbed by the ambition and selfishness of the sons of *Lewis* and *Charles*, and by the incursions of the *Normans*. *Lewis* had but three sons, and two of them were in rebellion. *Carloman* was in arms against *Charles*, and against the peace and property of his subjects, spoiling, killing, and burning, wherever he came^b. The different characters of these kings appeared from the manner they took to deliver themselves from these misfortunes. *Lewis* prevailed upon his sons to return to court, upon his bare promise that they should not be punished; and, having shewn them how little it was their interest to act in the manner they had done, and what good effects would follow from their returning to their duty, and living in harmony with each other, he reclaimed them as he had done his eldest son formerly, and found them ever after both faithful and obedient^c.

e In like manner he compromised matters with the *Normans*, and turned their incursions upon his enemies^d. *Charles*, on the other hand, after much forbearance and indulgence, abandoned *Carloman* to the justice due to his subjects; so that being taken and condemned to death, he ordered his eyes to be put out, and then sent him to a prison, from whence escaping, he fled to his uncle the king of *Germany*, who gave him protection and subsistence, and nothing more, till, in a short time, death delivered him from all his troubles^e. In respect to the *Normans*, *Charles* had so obliged *Solomon*, whom he stiled duke, though the pope and other princes treated him as king of *Bretagne*, by sending him a very rich crown, that he very readily concurred in the proposal made him of attacking those dangerous invaders. This enabled the king to besiege them in *Angiers*, which made a long and obstinate defence; and which certainly had not been taken at last, but by the address of the duke of *Bretagne*, who having reduced them to extremity, *Charles* admitted them to a capitulation, and, for a large sum of money, suffered them to preserve their ships, which the duke would otherwise have destroyed^f. In the succeeding year, this powerful prince, who had governed his country with much reputation, and seemed in all respects (but the manner in which he acquired it, that is, by the murder of his sovereign and relation) to deserve the regal dignity, to which he aspired, became himself the victim of a conspiracy formed by his own subjects, in conjunction with some *French* lords^g. This threw the country of *Bretagne* into dreadful dissensions, which it took some time to appease; and while these troubles continued, the emperor *Lewis II.* died, in the month of *August*, without having issue male, which occasioned a great struggle^h.

Troubles in Germany, France, and Bretagne. Death of Lewis the German.

873.

^u ADON. Chron. ^w FLEURY Hist. Eccles. ii. § 22. ^x HINCMAI Rhemenfis Episcop. tom. ii. p. 701.
^y LE SUZUR Hist. de l'Eglise, A. D. 871. ^z ADON. Chron. ^a Contin. ANAST. Biblioth. in Adrian.
^b Annales Fuldenf. ^c Annales BERT. ^d Annales Metenses. ^e Annales BERT. ^f Annales Metenses et BERT. ^g Annales Metenses. ^h Annales BERT.

Charles the Bald enters Italy with an army, and receiving Carlo-man, marches directly to Rome.

LEWIS, king of *Germany*, claimed the title of emperor, as the elder brother of *Charles*; for, in respect to the deceased, they were uncles alike. He relied upon the intrigues of the empress, the good-will of the *Greek* emperor *Basil*, and had some hopes of the pope *John VIII*¹. *Charles the Bald* took his measures somewhat better, for he relied chiefly on himself. As soon as he had the news of his nephew's death, he sent his only son *Lewis* into *Lorraine*, to assemble an army on the frontiers of that kingdom; and at the same time he began to march with the forces, that he had long held ready for that purpose, into *Italy*². King *Lewis* sent his son *Charles* thither, with a small body, of troops; and, upon the news of his brother's expedition, dispatched his son *Carloman* after him, with a considerable reinforcement. *Carloman* beat the *French* troops that guarded the passages, entered *Italy*, and, though his army was much inferior to his uncle's, would have hazarded a battle. It was a maxim with *Charles the Bald* not to fight if it might be avoided: he therefore dispatched some ministers, in the first place, to sound the pope, and then proposed to his nephew, that both armies should retire till the dispute could be amicably settled between him and his father³. *Carloman* accepted the proposition, and executed his part of it punctually; but *Charles*, in consequence of his message, having received a message from the pope, pretended he was bound in conscience to comply with it; and, while *Carloman* was returning into *Germany*, marched directly to *Rome*, where he was received with applause, and on *Christmas-day* received the imperial crown from the hands of the pontif. This affair was very expensive, but *Charles* took care that it should cost him nothing; for the first act of his imperial power was to seize his predecessor's treasures, and out of them he gratified those who had been instrumental in this business⁴.

The death of Lewis, king of Germany, division of his dominions, and fruitless attempt of Charles the Bald.

AT the opening of the succeeding year, the emperor sent to *Pavia*, and held there an assembly of the states of *Lombardy*, in which he received the homage and oaths of fidelity of all the prelates and great lords in that kingdom. There was, however, one thing that made him still uneasy; his nephew and predecessor had left an only daughter in the care of the duke of *Frioul*, and he was very apprehensive, that some *Greek* prince, by espousing her, might set up a title to the kingdom of *Italy* at least; and, to prevent this, he could think of no better expedient than to advise *Boson*, whose sister he had married, to carry away this young princess, and espouse her by force⁵. This done, he affected to be exceedingly displeased with the ravisher, and to threaten him with the severest punishment; but, as soon as he perceived that the action was not so ill taken as he expected, he suffered himself to be appeased; and, that his brother-in-law might in some measure appear worthy of so illustrious a consort, he created him duke of *Lombardy*, and left him his viceroy in *Italy*⁶. In the mean time, *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, had invaded *France* in his absence, penetrated as far as *Champagne*, and had committed divers devastations; but hearing that *Charles* was returning from *Italy* with a great army, and that the pope was unalterably attached to his interest, he retired into his own dominions; where he continued to make great military preparations, tho' at the same time he did not neglect to make overtures of accommodation⁷. His new title had a great effect on the mind of *Charles the Bald*; he appeared almost always in the *Greek* habit, and with the ensigns of imperial dignity; treated his subjects, ecclesiastics as well as laics, with great haughtiness; and, in conjunction with the pope, sought to lessen the authority of the prelates in his dominions, though he had more than once stood indebted to them for the preservation of his own⁸. By the accession of *Italy* to the rest of his dominions, he was certainly become more powerful than his brother *Lewis*; yet he was very apprehensive of being attacked by that prince, who was not only an able statesman and a great general, but had also a strong party amongst the *French* nobility. However, he was delivered from all these fears by the death of that monarch; who, of all the descendants of *Charlemagne*, resembled him most. His dominions, in pursuance of a partition made four years before in a general dyet, were divided in the following manner; *Carloman* had *Bavaria*, *Bohemia*, *Carinthia*, *Sclavonia*, *Austria*, and part of *Hungary*; *Franconia*, *Saxony*, *Frisia*, *Thuringia*, the lower *Lorraine*, together with *Cologne*, and the cities on the *Rhine*, fell to *Lewis*; and all the country between the *Maine* and the *Alps* was the lot of *Charles*. In modern history, *Carloman* is generally stiled king of *Bavaria*, *Lewis* of *Germany*, and *Charles the Gross*, or *the Fat*, of *Almain*⁹. The emperor had no sooner intelligence of this, than, supposing that these brethren would fall out amongst themselves, he marched with a great army, in order to seize that part of *Lorraine* which he had yielded to his brother, and which he pretended ought to revert to him upon his decease. The scheme was well imagined, but the emperor found himself mistaken; the brothers lived in perfect unity, and though *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, sent ambassadors to intreat his uncle not to attack his dominions, yet he passed the *Rhine* at

¹ Annales Fuldenf. Gall. tom. iii. Chron. in hist. Norm.

² Annal. Fuld.

³ Annales BERT.

⁴ AIMON, lib. v.

⁵ Annales Fuldenf.

⁶ Monach. SANGAL.

⁷ Annales BERT.

⁸ Annales BERT.

⁹ Concil.

¹⁰ Verus

a the same time with an army to offer battle. *Charles the Bald* had fifty thousand men, his nephew was far inferior in number; but having caused the village that was before his camp to be occupied by a great body of infantry, who made an obstinate defence, and, when they were at last forced, *Charles* thought the victory secure; but as his forces advanced in much disorder, *Lewis* attacked them in flank with his cavalry, and defeated them totally with great carnage. This loss, and the news that the *Normans* were come up the *Seine* with a numerous fleet, and a great body of troops on board, obliged *Charles* to turn his eyes on that side, and to leave his nephews quiet. These disappointments affected him so much, that he fell dangerously ill, and was, with great difficulty, recovered.

b THE pope being at this time beset with enemies, and depending solely on the emperor's protection, pressed him vehemently to enter *Italy* with an army, though he knew he was but just recovered from a pleurisy, which had brought him to the very brink of the grave. *Charles*, whose interests were closely connected with those of the pontif, yielded to his intreaties. But before he left *France*, he held, in the month of *July*, an assembly of the nobility and prelates, to concert the proper measures for the defence of his dominions, and for the maintenance of their tranquillity in his absence. He made choice of his only son *Lewis* for regent, and fixed a proper council about him. He gave the command of his numerous army to duke *Boson*, his empress's brother, abbot *Hugo*, *Bernard* count of *Auvergne*, and *Bernard* marquis of *Languedoc*; when he had done this, he set out with the empress, who had a most magnificent equipage, and, with a small corps of troops, which ought rather to be esteemed an escorte than an army, passed the *Alps*, and marched directly towards *Rome*. The pope, to shew his affection, came as far as *Pavia* to meet him; but they had scarce conferred together before they had news that *Carloman*, king of *Bavaria*, had entered *Italy* with a very numerous army, claiming the imperial dignity and the kingdom of *Italy*, in virtue of the late emperor's will. Upon this the emperor *Charles* repassed the *Po*, and returned to *Tortona*, where the pope crowned the empress. The design of *Charles* was to wait for his army; but the four lords, who commanded it, entered into a conspiracy, and refused to pass the *Alps*; and on this news the empress retired to *Morienne*, and the pope fled to *Rome*. In the present critical juncture of affairs, the emperor judged it most expedient to return into *France*; and, what is very extraordinary, his nephew *Carloman*, on a false rumour that all the *French* forces had passed the mountains, retired precipitately into his own dominions. *Charles*, having joined the empress at *Morienne*, felt a return of his distemper, notwithstanding which he prosecuted his retreat; but a Jew physician, whose name was *Zedeckias*, having given him poison, he felt himself so ill that he was obliged to stop at a village called *Brios*; where the empress found him in a miserable cottage, and where he breathed his last, on the sixth of *October*, in the second year of his empire, the thirty-eighth of his reign, and the fifty-fourth of his age. His body was embalmed, with an intent to carry it to the abbey of *St. Denis*; but the poison he had taken corrupted it in such a manner, that they were forced to inter it by the way: however his bones were afterwards carried thither, or at least it is certain, that a tomb erected to his memory is extant in that convent. He appointed, by an instrument, his only son his successor, and sent him by the empress his crown, his sword, and other ensigns, as well of the imperial as regal dignity, in token of his desire that he should possess both (C).

As

^a Annal Fuld. Annal. BERT. [†] FLEUR. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. lii. § 41. ^u Annal BERT. ^w SIGON. de reg. Ital. lib. v. ^x Capit. Caroli Calvi. ^y AIMON, l. v. ^z Annal. Metenses. Annal. BERTINIANI.

(C) In the reign of *Charles the Bald*, there were many excellent laws made for the government of the church and state; but he wanted attention, and perhaps he wanted authority, to carry them thoroughly into execution. In his reign they began in *France* to date according to that which is styled the Christian æra. He held frequent councils, and was present in them himself (1). Before he became emperor he was a zealous defender of the episcopal rights; he grew afterwards more complaisant to the pope, and suffered his legates to give law, even in his presence, to the prelates of *France* (2). He compelled them also to acknowledge *Ansegise*, archbishop of *Sens*, in quality of primate of the *Gauls*, and of *Germany*; which lost

him his old servant *Hincmar*, archbishop of *Rheims*, who opposed this stretch of papal power with great vigour and steadiness. *Charles*, however, had one great point in his favour, the practice of translations; that is, removing a bishop from one see to another was coming into use, and he knew perfectly well how to avail himself of such advantages (3). He became, in the latter part of his life a great politician, and by a variety of methods both raised and secured his authority, at the expence, however, of being generally hated by his subjects of all ranks. His first consort was *Hermentrude*, by whom he had four sons and one daughter; that princess herself being the daughter of *Eudes*, count of *Orleans*: of his eldest son *Lewis* we shall

(1) Annal. Bertin. Concil. Gall. tom. iii. Paul. Æmil. de rebus gestis Francorum.

(2) Opuscul. Hincmar Concil. Gall.

(3) Aimon, l. v.

Lewis the
Stammerer
succeeds his fa-
ther, and en-
deavours to se-
cure tranqui-
lity by forming
a party.

The pope ad-
heres to the
French inte-
rest, and at
length retires
into France
from the Itali-
an malecon-
tents.

As soon as *Lewis*, the son of the deceased emperor, who, from an impediment in his speech, had the surname of *Stammerer*, received the news of his death, he left the frontiers, in order to meet the empress, and the great lords who came out of *Italy*, at *St. Denis*. As he was sensible of the exorbitant power of the nobility and clergy, he thought to secure the tranquility of his reign, by attaching to his interest such as were about his person; and therefore he distributed lands, honours, governments, abbies, and other preferments, with a profusion that evidently discovered his fear, much more than his affection for those on whom he bestowed them^a. But for certain causes, with which he was acquainted on the road, he turned aside to *Compeigne*. The empress, on her return from *Italy*, joined with the malecontents, who affected to make it a crime in *Lewis* that he had given away so many posts before he was inaugurated; but the real offence was, that they were afraid of not having their share; however, after mature deliberation, they held it the best expedient to come in and take what was left^b. Accordingly the empress delivered up the instrument and the ensigns of royalty, which had been committed to her care; and, in the beginning of *December* the king was crowned, by *Hincmar*, archbishop of *Rheims*^c. The pope made as great a stand as he was able in favour of the new king, in hopes of having him elected in the place of his father; but being opposed by the duke of *Spoletto*, and the marquis of *Tuscany*, he abandoned *Rome*, and went by sea into *France*. He was received there with all possible respect, and, on the thirteenth of *August*, opened a council at *Troies*, where many canons were made in support of the episcopal power; the first of them is too remarkable to be passed over in silence: all secular powers are commanded, under pain of excommunication, to pay bishops proper respects, and all persons, of what dignity soever, are forbid to sit in their presence without their permission^d. At the request of the king, the pope crowned him with his own hands; but those historians, who say he was now crowned emperor, are certainly mistaken, since neither in the charter which he granted, or in the addresses that were made to him after this time, is he ever so stiled^e. But the pope absolutely refused to crown his consort *Adelaide*, for reasons that the reader will see at the bottom of the page (D).

^a AIMON, l. v.
^e ANNAL. BERT,

^b ANNAL. BERT.

^c REG. CHRON.

^d AIMON, l. v. Epist. Joan. Papæ.

The

speak hereafter. *Charles* he declared king of *Aquitaine*, and tho' he died very young, yet it was not before he shewed himself undutiful, and in a great measure unworthy of the honour conferred upon him. *Lothaire* became an abbot. *Carloman* was forced to receive deacon's orders; was of a vicious headstrong disposition, and, as we have shewn in the text, gave occasion, by his frequent rebellions, for his father to punish him with the loss of his sight and imprisonment; but, by the assistance of two monks, made his escape, blind as he was, and died in the dominions of his uncle (4). His daughter *Judith* had none of the fairest characters. She became first mother-in-law, and then sister-in-law, to our famous king *Alfred* (5). Afterwards, returning to her father's court, she ran away with *Baldwin*, the forrester; and being reconciled to the king, by the interposition of the pope, he was created count of *Flanders* (6). His second consort was *Richilde*, the sister of count *Boson*, a very artful woman, who had a great influence over him as long as he lived; and, after his decease, joined with her brother, and the rest of the malecontents, though they had procured a Jew physician to poison her husband. By this princess *Charles* had four sons; but none of them survived him (7). The empress, seven years after his decease, caused the remains of *Charles* to be removed, as some historians say, to the abbey of *St. Denis*; which we mention, because of the reason assigned, that he was once abbot there (8). The popes, in writing to him, stiled *Charles* the most Christian king; which form they had also used to his ancestor *Pepin* (9). We are not informed, that the Jew who poisoned him was punished; which renders it probable that he was protected by the faction by whom he was employed.

(D) *Lewis* had probably an education suitable to his birth; but we do not find him celebrated for his abilities.

The family of *Charlemagne* declined apace. *Lewis*, while a young man, was too much under the dominion of his passions, which led him not only to countenance his sister *Judith*, after she had been twice a queen, in running away with an adventurer, but also made a very idle match himself with *Ansgarde*, the daughter of one count and the widow of another, but we know not the names of either; with which his father was so much offended, that he would not be reconciled to him till he parted with her, and, in all probability, disavowed the marriage; which drew into controversy the legality of the births of *Lewis* and *Carloman*, who nevertheless succeeded him. He married a second time *Adelaide*, or *Alex*, an *English* lady, the sister of *Wilfrid*, abbot of *Flavigny*; but it is supposed that *Ansgarde* was still living, when the pope crowned king *Lewis*, and refused to crown her, as doubting of the validity of their marriage; but, concerning this, there is somewhat more to be said. Both the *Tillet*s, that is, *John du Tillet*, secretary to the parliament of *Paris*, who wrote the *Inventory of the kings of France*, and his brother *John du Tillet*, bishop of *Meaux*, who, from antient authors, composed a chronicle of the kings of *France*, affirm, that *Lewis* was crowned emperor by the pope, in which they are followed by *Dupleix*, *Mezeray*, and other historians, and by us, in the title of this section, that it may correspond with other histories of *France*. Yet, as we hinted in the text, this notion appears to be false, for the reasons there assigned. We will add, that, in a very antient chronicle, and of the greatest authority, we find something that confirms this; for we are told, that two bishops presented to the pope, in council, letters written by *Charles the Bald*, in which he nominated his son his successor, and, by way of investiture, sent him the sword of *St. Peter*; whence they inferred, that the kingdom mentioned was that of *Italy*, and the sword

(4) ANNAL. FULD. Aimon, lib. v.
(6) ANNAL. BERT. Aimon, lib. v.
P. Fauchet, Dupleix, Chalons.

(7) P. Anselm.

(5) Paulus Æmilius de rebus gestis Francorum. Affer. Meneven.
(8) Histires de France, par M. Chalons.

- a The truth is, the pope found the king's power very much weakened, and therefore he entered into a close friendship with duke *Boson*, who had married *Hermenigard*, daughter to the emperor *Lewis* the second, and who conducted him back to *Pavia*; in the progress of which journey the pope permitted him to use his utmost endeavours to prevent *Carloman's* getting possession of the kingdom of *Italy*. Before his departure he so far gratified the king, as to excommunicate some lords who were in rebellion; but without any great effect^f. After he was gone, the king wrote to his cousin *Lewis* of *Germany*, assuring him of his sincere desire to live in perfect friendship with him and his brethren; and, upon receiving assurances of the same kind from him, the two kings had an interview in the month of *November*, in which they concluded a treaty for their mutual benefit; and, which rarely happens amongst princes, parted as good friends as they met, and perfectly satisfied of the rectitude of each other's intentions^g.

- It was, among other things, stipulated at this interview, that a general assembly should be held in the month of *February* following; to which *Charles* and *Carloman*, as well as the king of *Germany*, were to send their ambassadors; but this was prevented by the rebellion of the marquis of *Languedoc*, who, notwithstanding the excommunication pronounced against him by the pope in the council of *Troies*, and the king's having disposed of all his places and governments to other persons, not only maintained himself in the possession of *Languedoc*, but made excursions also into the adjacent provinces^h. To suppress these disorders, the king marched with all the forces he could draw together, taking his route through *Burgundy*; but when he arrived at *Troies* he fell dangerously ill: he caused himself to be removed from thence to *Compeigne*, where finding all hopes of recovery vain, he committed his sword and crown to the care of two of his counsellors, with instructions to carry them, without delay, to his son *Lewis*ⁱ. He departed this life, *April* the 10th, which was *Good Friday*, after a reign of about eighteen months^k. He was, beyond doubt, a prince of weak parts and great infirmities. At his demise, he left his dominions in confusion, and for his heirs two sons by his first consort, and his second, queen *Adelaide*, pregnant, who, some time after his decease, was delivered of a son, baptized by the name of *Charles*.

- THERE followed upon the death of *Lewis the Stammerer* a kind of interregnum, occasioned by the weakness of the government, and the factions of the great. The deceased king had intrusted the care of his sons to four great lords, some of whom had not shewn themselves very well affected to his father: these were duke *Boson*, his father's brother-in-law, a man of great art and abilities, which were all employed to gratify the ambition he had of becoming a sovereign prince; the second was *Hugo*, sometimes stiled the abbot *Hugo*, and sometimes *Hugo l'Abbé*, or *Hugo the Abbot*. It seems very clear that he was first intended for the church; but, betaking himself to arms before he had received orders, he altered his views, and turned that into a surname, which was before a mark of dignity. He was an ambitious and designing man, but had more respect to his character than most persons of his rank, being the grandson of the famous *Robert le Fort*, count of *France*. The third lord was *Thierry*, the king's chamberlain, who was attached to the late king's family, but from views of interest; and the fourth, *Bernard* count of *Auvergne*, of whom we know nothing particularly^l. *Boson* and *Thierry* quarrelled about the county of *Autun*, which the former wanted to serve his purposes, and which the king had given to the latter. *Hugo l'Abbé*, with some difficulty, reconciled them: in the mean time abbot *Goslin*, who had been a favourite, and much intrusted by *Lewis*, had formed another project, and drew into it *Conrade*, count of *Paris*, and several other lords. His pretences were the prosperity of *France*, and the glory of *Charlemagne's* family; and the expedient he offered was to set aside the children of *Lewis*, and to offer the crown to the king of *Germany*^m. In order to carry this into execution, while the other lords were assembled at *Meaux*, they had a meeting at *Creil*, where they came to a resolution to invite *Lewis* of *Germany*, in the name of the nobility and prelates of *France*, to become their sovereign; which proposition he accepted, notwithstanding the treaty he had signed and sworn to the father of the princes he was to set aside. The news of this amazed the lords at *Meaux*, who very probably had acquiesced under it, if *Hugo l'Abbé* had not bethought himself of proposing to the king of *Germany*, who was now in full march for *France* with an army, to yield to him that part of *Lorraine* which had been possessed by the two last kings; which acquisition appeared

^f AIMON. l. v.^g Annal. Fuld. Annal. BERTINIANI.^h REGIN. Chron.ⁱ AIMON, l. v.^k Annal. BERTIN. Annal. Fuld.^l Annales BERTIN. PAUL ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum.^m Annales

Metenses. PAUL. ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum.

a mark of the imperial dignity. This was so much the more probable, as *Charles* himself, though so fond of coronations, was never crowned king of *France*. But the pope paid no regard to this, and we are told the reason: he likewise produced a paper written by *Charles*

the Bald, in which he promised him the abbey of *St. Denis*, which he desired *Lewis* to confirm; and, as the king declined this, the pope did not think fit to do the other. So early, it seems, it became a maxim at *Rome* not to do any thing for nothing.

to him so considerable, that he readily accepted it^a. But the abbe *Goslin*, and his faction, a finding themselves abandoned, applied to the queen *Lutgarde*, a woman of boundless ambition, who promised them her protection, and her interest with the king, to induce him to pay no greater regard to the new treaty than he had done to his old one. At this time died *Conrade*, king of *Bavaria*, one of the bravest, wisest, and most equitable princes of that age^o. He left only a natural son *Arnold*, to whom he gave *Carinthia* and *Tyrol*; the rest of his dominions he shared between his brothers, *Lewis* having *Bavaria*, and *Charles the Gross* the kingdom of *Italy*^p.

Lewis and
Carloman pro-
claimed kings
of France, and
Boson erects
the kingdom of
Arles.

The assembly of *Meaux*, in the mean time, resolved to crown both the sons of their deceased king, though he had explained his intention to be that *Lewis* only should succeed him; but duke *Boson* had married his daughter to *Carloman*, and, next to another great design b he had in his head, he was desirous of seeing her a queen^a. This scheme was managed by his emissaries, so that he appeared to have no hand in it, till it came to the execution. *Boson*, in his government of the southern parts of *France*, had rendered himself very acceptable to the clergy; he had also a great interest with the pope, and had behaved very obligingly to the nobility. Three archbishops, twenty bishops, and a great number of counts, assembled at the town of *Mante*; where, taking into consideration the confusions and calamities of *France*, they judged it expedient to erect a new kingdom, that might remain happy through the superior wisdom and equity of its monarch; which kingdom was that of *Provence*; and this incomparable prince *Boson*, to whom, by a solemn instrument subscribed by them all, they offered the crown, and he very graciously, and with many expressions of gratitude and c humility, accepted it^r. It appears from their subscriptions, that this new kingdom was composed of the countries now stiled *Lyonnois*, *Dauphiny*, *Savoy*, *Franche Comté*, and part of the kingdom of *Burgundy*, extending on one side into *Languedoc*, and on the other beyond the lake of *Geneva*, and was sometimes called, from its capital, the kingdom of *Arles*^s. Thus the two young kings found themselves despoiled of countries of a vast extent on each side of the dominions that were left them. *Hugo*, who had now the sole conduct of these princes, carried them, under an escorte of a small body of troops, as far as the lake of *Geneva*, to confer with *Charles*, king of *Almain* and *Italy*; who treated them very kindly, and promised them all the assistance in his power. Upon their return they found the king of d *Germany*, with a considerable army, almost in the heart of their own dominions; though, in some measure, forced into it by the solicitations of his queen, and partly by the importunity of the malecontents, who were not able to perform near so much as they promised; and therefore the king willingly listened to the proposal of an interview, where all things were amicably settled, and a congress appointed in the month of *June*, at *Gondreville* on the *Meuse*, at which all the descendants from *Charlemagne* were to assist^t. *Charles* came thither on purpose from *Italy*; *Lewis* and *Carloman* were likewise there; and the king of *Germany* sent deputies, being himself indisposed. There the two young kings made a solemn resignation of their rights to *Lorraine* and the kingdom of *Italy*, in consequence of which the other two monarchs promised them assistance against all their enemies; and the king of *Germany* actually furnished e them with an army to dispossess *Hugo*, the bastard of *Lothaire*, who had seized several strong places in *Lorraine*. This done, they marched through *Burgundy* to the territories of *Boson*, where the army was joined by a reinforcement, under the command of *Charles le Gros*, who directed the siege of *Macon* in person; and, after having reduced it, formed that of *Vienne*, in which was *Hermingard*, the consort of *Boson*, whose presence engaged the garrison to make an obstinate defence. *Charles* was obliged to leave the army to go to *Rome*, where *Christmas-day* had been fixed upon for crowning him emperor, and the two young kings were, not long after, obliged to separate; *Lewis*, who was stiled king of *France*, marching against the *Normans*, and *Carloman*, king of *Aquitaine*, remaining before the place to command the f siege^u.

A. D. 880.

The death of
Lewis, as some
suspect, by
poison, by
which the
crown of
France de-
volves on Car-
loman.

THE great merit of the two kings consisted in their cordial affection for each other, and f which manifestly appeared in the sorrow they expressed at parting. *Lewis* gave the *Normans* battle at a place called *Sacour*; was so fortunate as to defeat them, and to kill near nine thousand of their men^w. It is, however, certain, that he did not prosecute this victory; for which he is much blamed by some, though others say, that his forces were so much weakened by that engagement, that he durst not run the hazard of another^x. The *Normans*, finding themselves at liberty, and having great advantages from their manner of making war, with horse and foot, and a fleet attending them, ruined all the frontiers of his and the *German* kingdom, burning towns, villages, castles, and palaces, wherever they came; and, what did

^a AIMON. Chron.

^o Annales BERTIN.

^p Chron. var. antiq. SIGON. de reg. Ital.

^q Annal.

Metensf.

^r AIMON. Chron.

^s REGIN. Chron. SIGON. de reg. Ital.

^t Chron. de gestis

Norman.

^u Annales Metensf.

PAUL. ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum.

^w Annales Metensf. PAUL.

ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum. REGIN. Chron.

^x PAUL. ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum. Chron.

Centic. Chron. Norm.

- a not a little augment the confusion, was the death of *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, without issue : upon which the inhabitants of *Lorraine* offered their crown to *Lewis* of *France*, who declined it, either through political motives, or, as himself affirmed, out of respect to the late treaty ^y. A. D. 881. *Carloman* continued all this time before *Vienne*, having changed his siege into a blockade. *Lewis*, though he respected the right of *Charles le Gros* to the kingdom of *Lorraine*, yet he generously contributed to its defence against the *Normans*, by sending a good body of troops to their assistance. Immediately after he had made this detachment, he received a strenuous invitation from the duke of *Bretagne* to join him with his army, in order to act against another body of *Normans*, with which he immediately complied ; but he had not advanced further than *Tours* before he felt himself so much indisposed, that he directed those who were
- b about him to convey him to the abbey of *St. Denis* ; where he died, in the month of *August*, in the twenty-second year of his age ^z. His actions shew him to have been a brave and equitable prince : some writers, indeed, say, that he was very debauched, and that his excesses proved fatal to him ; but it may be they received this account from some of the great lords, who were very strongly suspected of poisoning him, as they did his father ; so that, probably, if he had been less active, he might have lived longer ^a. 882.

- THE nobility of *France* went immediately to salute *Carloman* as their sovereign, and to assure him of their fidelity. He was still before *Vienne* ; but, at their request, he left the command of the blockade to some of his chief officers, and went to put himself at the head of the forces which his brother had levied to act against the *Normans*, whom he defeated twice ; but,
- c at length, he was obliged to compound with them for money, finding their strength to be greater than any that he could oppose to them ^b. The price at which he purchased tranquility, or rather a respite of their depredations, was twelve thousand pounds of fine silver. To balance this he had the satisfaction of seeing *Vienne* surrendered, by capitulation, after a siege of near thirty months, *Hermingard* being permitted to retire to *Autun* ^c. *Charles le Gros*, who came out of *Italy* into *Germany*, with an intent to expell or to exterminate the *Normans*, who had in the same manner wasted his territories, had the like misfortunes as *Carloman* ; for diseases prevailing in his army, which was very numerous, he thought it best to treat with them ; which he did, and granted one of their chiefs a settlement in his country of *Frise*, upon his becoming a Christian ^d. *Charles* and *Carloman* lived in perfect harmony, and acted jointly
- d against those who were enemies to either of them ; but the young king of *France* found himself not a little embarrassed by the disobedient and refractory behaviour of some of his nobility ; who, knowing too well that he was unable to reward them to their wish, or to punish them as they deserved, respected his commands no farther than they appeared consistent with their own interests ^e. In time, perhaps, he might have brought his affairs into a better situation ; but, being one day hunting, one of his domestics, throwing a javelin at a boar, wounded him in the thigh, of which he died in seven days ^f. Some say he was wounded by the boar ; but we are told by an antient writer, that this story was only given out by the king himself, to prevent his domestic's suffering for an involuntary fault ; which adds very much to this young prince's character. He deceased on the sixth of *September*, when he had just entered the sixth
- e year of his reign ^g. He was contracted at least, if not married, to the daughter of duke *Boson* : it is not very clear whether that marriage was consummated ; but it is very certain that he died without issue ; so that the crown ought to have descended to his brother *Charles*, then about five years of age ; and there wanted not some who pretended, that his right was prior to that of his two brothers ; whereas some again make it a doubt whether he had any right at all ^h.

- THE family of *Charlemagne* had been long declining ; the nobility of *France* were anxious about their own safety, which was very natural and very allowable ; and this made them very wary in the disposal of the government ⁱ. *Hugo l'Abbé*, who had been hitherto the firm protector of the children of *Lewis the Stammerer*, exerted himself strenuously in favour of the
- f infant *Charles* ; but it was to no purpose, the major part of them being devoted to the emperor ^k. At this distance of time their conduct appeared strange, since under a minority it should seem they might have aggrandized themselves more easily than under a prince advanced in years, and who was already very potent ; but very probably they dreaded the advancement of *Hugo* to the regency, who in that case would have exerted regal power in support of his pupil ^l. The pretences by which they covered their choice were, that the emperor *Charles*, when declared king of *France*, would have dominions nearly equal in extent to those of *Charlemagne* ^m ; without considering, that a great empire is a great weight, and that a prince, who may be

Carloman is killed accidentally while hunting, which brings great mischiefs upon France.

An interregnum, which ends in calling the emperor Charles the Gros to the throne.

^y Annal. Fuld. REGIN. Chron. ^z Annal. BERTIN. Annal. Fuld. REGIN. Chron. ^a Chron. var. antiq. ^b Annal. Fuld. Chron. Norm. ^c REGIN. Chron. SIGON. de reg. Ital. ^d Annal. Fuld. REGIN. Chron. PAUL. ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum. ^e Annales BERTIN. AÏMON. l. v. ^f Annal. Fuld. Chron. Norm. PAUL. ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum. ^g Annal. Fuld. ^h Annales Metenf. REGIN. Chron. PAUL. ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum. ⁱ REGIN. Chron. ^k AÏMON. l. v. ^l Annal. Metenfes. ^m REGIN. Chron.

able to conduct his affairs while restrained within a certain compass, may notwithstanding a prove very unfit for directing a government of much greater extent; and of this they were convinced by experience; for *Charles* had governed the countries left him by his father without any visible defect of judgment, had raised himself to the imperial dignity, and had shewed, on several occasions, that he wanted not courage or conduct, and on others, that he was a prince of a mild disposition, and had a great regard to justice and equityⁿ. It was no wonder, therefore, that the *French* promised themselves much happiness under this reign, or that they should be disappointed^o, since the genius of *Charles* was of such a kind, as, instead of enlarging itself to the size of that empire to which he gradually attained, it was indeed oppressed, and contracted itself in such a manner, that at length his incapacity became too visible to be disputed^p.

At his first entrance on the government, he brings on a war with the Normans.

THE emperor was not long in discovering the fault he had committed in granting an establishment to the *Normans* in *Frizeland*; for their king *Godfrey*, who had married the natural daughter of *Lothaire*, persisted still in his intrigues in favour of her brother *Hugo*, who had made many attempts on the kingdom of *Lorrain*. The *Normans* still continued to harass *France*; and therefore, when the emperor saw that this king of *Frizeland* was bent upon a war, he listened to the advice of *Henry*, duke or governor of *Saxony*, esteemed the ablest man in his service, and gave him full power to act in this matter, in the manner most advantageous to his government^q. *Henry*, upon this, entered into a negotiation with the monarch of *Frizeland*; and, in one of their conferences, encouraged a nobleman, whom he had injured, to cleave his skull with a battle-axe. Soon after this, the bastard *Hugo*, having been drawn by fair promises into the hands of the emperor's ministers, they caused his eyes to be put out, and shut him up afterwards as a monk in the abbey of *Prum*, in the forest of *Arden*^r. These bold strokes ought to have been sustained by a like conduct throughout; but that was beyond the abilities of this prince. The *Normans* understood this perfectly, and, under pretence of revenging the death of their king *Godfrey*, came up the river *Seine* with a fleet of seven hundred sail; and, having taken several places in the neighbourhood, attempted to surprise *Paris*; but through the prudence of the bishop *Goslin*, and *Eudes*, who commanded in the place, they were disappointed; which so enraged them, that, after having blocked up the place for some time, they determined to undertake a regular siege; though, in these kind of military operations, they were far from being able, and had seldom been successful^s.

A. D. 885.

he came with a fleet and army before Paris, and besiege that place both by land and water.

THE city of *Paris*, thus besieged, consisted only of that part of the place now so called, which is expressly and particularly stiled the city, built entirely on an island in the *Seine*, over which were bridges on both sides, the heads of which were well fortified, at least for those times^t. The army of the *Normans* consisted of about thirty thousand men; they were commanded by *Sigefroy*, who was fierce and cruel, but not at all deficient in the talents then thought requisite in a general. He sometimes soothed, and sometimes threatened, but was never idle. He ravaged all the adjacent country, not only to amass booty, but to hinder the besieged from receiving any provisions. He employed all the machines that in this age were in use to batter the walls, and open a passage to his troops: he caused several assaults to be given with great fury, but in vain^u. *Hugo l'Abbé*, then count of *Paris*, gave his advice in all things, and directed the manner of the defence. *Eudes* commanded the troops, and by his example encouraged them to behave gallantly on all occasions. The bishop went from place to place, exhorting and consoling the inhabitants: his nephew *Ebbon* behaved very bravely on all occasions: but, notwithstanding all this, things sunk at last so low, that *Eudes* was sent to the emperor to solicit relief^v. Upon this, *Henry*, duke of *Saxony*, was sent with an army, which, though not strong enough to drive the *Normans* from before it, enabled him to enter the place, and carry with him considerable succours^w. He afterwards augmented his army, and made an attempt to attack the *Normans* in their line; but behaving in this with a little too much spirit, or rather too little prudence, his horse and himself fell into a ditch, covered with straw upon hurdles, where he was presently murdered. Upon which his army disbanded, and *Paris* was left more exposed, and in a worse condition than ever^x.

886.

The emperor goes in person to its relief, and makes a treaty with the Normans.

IN the course of this siege the bishop *Goslin* departed this life; as did also *Hugo l'Abbé*, who was succeeded in the title of count of *Paris*, or rather count of the isle of *France*, by his nephew *Eudes*, who continued to make an admirable defence, though the *Normans* exerted all the arts of fraud and force to carry their point, and were sometimes very near it^y. At length the emperor *Charles* was exceedingly pressed on all sides to deliver a city of such consequence out of the hands of these barbarians, who were otherwise bent upon fortifying it, and converting it into the capital of that principality which they were so eager to raise in *France*. With this view he assembled, through the whole extent of his dominions, a prodigious army, with the

ⁿ Chron. var. ant. ^o AIMON. l. v. ^p REGINON. Chron. ^q Annales Metenses. AIMON. l. v. PAUL. ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum. ^r REGIN. Chron. AIMON, l. v. ^s ABBON. Monach. de bello Parisiacæ urbis, libri duo. Chron. de gestis Norm. ^t P. DANIEL. MEZERAY. M. CHALONS. ^u AIMON. lib. v. ^v PAUL. ÆMIL. ^w Chronicon. Norman. ^x REGINON. Chron. ^y AIMON. lib. v. ^z PAUL. ÆMIL.

- a best part of which he advanced out of *Germany*, to the relief of *Paris*; appeared with his whole army under arms on the mountain of *Montmart*, fully persuaded that, at the sight of his standards, the *Normans* would retire with precipitation^a. He quickly found his mistake; they continued in their works, and shewed not the smallest disposition of raising the siege. The emperor upon this changed his measures, began a negotiation with them, and, by a pecuniary sacrifice, induced them to promise they would withdraw their troops and their vessels^b. This was in the month of *November*; and as he was not able to collect the money before the spring, he consented they should take winter quarters in *Burgundy*, in which country the people had not, as yet, acknowledged his authority. They had some difficulty to open a passage thither; for the *Parisians* absolutely refused to permit their vessels to sail under their bridges^c. In this situation the *Normans* found themselves obliged to carry their vessels over land, and launch them again upon the *Seine*, at a certain distance above *Paris*; which, when they had done, they proceeded into *Burgundy*, laid waste and destroyed the country on every side, and amassed, exclusive of the ransom they were to receive, an immense booty in cattle and valuable effects, as well as in money, to the amazement of the whole *French* nation^d.

887.

- THIS ignominious treaty ruined the reputation of the emperor, which was much declined before. He returned into *Germany*, indisposed as to his health, and distracted as to his mind. He had no ministers in whom he could confide; for they did not either love or fear him. He had suspicions in his mind about the chastity of his empress *Rachael*, and this as to *Ludard*, bishop of *Vercell*, the only person of weight or authority still remaining in his service, and in this fit of ill humour he forbid him his court, and confined the empress^e. The latter kept no measures; she insisted upon being admitted to her purgation, affirming, that she was not only innocent with respect to that prelate, and every other man, but also that she was untouched by the emperor himself, and a pure virgin; in support of which she was ready to undergo any trial that should be assigned her. The emperor had appointed a diet, as the last resource for settling his affairs; but, falling sick at *Tribur*, a place between *Mentz* and *Oppenheim*, it very quickly appeared that his faculties were quite gone^f. In such a situation, it might naturally be expected that *Charles* would arise, and that the great lords of the court would be more attentive to their own particular interests than to the miserable state of their languishing prince; but one would scarce imagine that they should be so far lost to compassion and decency, as well as duty, as to forget that he was living and in distress; and yet it so fell out, being so absolutely abandoned, that he would not have had bread to eat, or a servant to attend him in his sickness, if it had not been for the archbishop of *Mentz*, who, on a principle of charity, generosity, and duty, supplied all^g.

The unfortunate emperor Charles declines at once in mind, body, and estate.

- ARNOLD, the natural son of *Carloman*, king of *Bavaria*, upon the deposition of *Charles*, succeeded him in the imperial dignity, and to his discretion he was left for a subsistence, during the remaining part of his miserable life; and the allowance, at length given him, was in proportion to the necessity he was in, and not at all to the dignity he had possessed, consisting only in the revenues of three or four villages. It is true he made some efforts to recover such of the nobility as owed their grandeur to his favour, in hopes that, by their assistance, he might have risen again into some degree of splendor, more especially as no public step had been taken to his prejudice in *France*: but finding it to no purpose, and seeing himself scarce the object of jealousy to those who were struggling for and seizing his dominions on every side, he seems to have reconciled himself to his fate, dying in the condition of a private man, on the 14th of *January*, in the year of our Lord 888^h (E). He was certainly a prince as free

Deserted and decrepid, is found to accept a subsistence from his enemies, and dies in this distress.

^a ABBON. Monach.^b AÏMON. lib. v.^c REGINON. Chronicon. PAUL. ÆMIL.^d Chron.

var. antiq.

^e AÏMON. lib. v.^f Annales Metens.^g Annal. Fuldens.^h AÏMON.

lib. v. REGINON. Chron.

from

(E) In speaking of *Lewis the German* in the text, we have shewn that this prince, the youngest of his sons, was not exempt from the foolish ambition of that age; but was, at some times, in arms against his father. But whether it arose from penitence, from a melancholy constitution, or from some grievous malady, so it was, that in his youth he fancied he saw the devil, and that he was possessed by him, having, indeed, very grievous convulsions, so that six strong men had much ado to hold him. It is from hence conjectured, that he was never thoroughly cured of this disease; but that the indisposition, with which he was from time to time afflicted, were the relicks of this disorder. He was learned for those times, and very religious, being much given to fasting and prayer, which left him too much in the hands of his minister. By his first consort, with whose name we are not acquainted, he had a son, who died young. He had also a natural son, whose name was *Bernard*, and for

whom he had a great affection. The notion which some have, that he was not king in his own right, but only regent to his cousin *Charles the Simple*, the posthumous son of *Lewis the Stammerer*, does not seem to be very well founded, since in the public instruments of this monarch, that are still remaining, he styles himself *Rex Francorum et Romanorum*: but that he was very ill obeyed, and but very little esteemed, by the *French*, seems to be true. Yet it does not appear, that the *French* lords had any hand in deserting or dethroning him, which was chiefly owing to his being attacked, in his return to *Germany*, by a violent pain in his head, for which he suffered such incisions as are supposed to have affected his understanding. The intrigues of the women also had some share in this business. The widow of *Boson*, who had assumed the title of king of *Arles*, pressed him exceedingly to adopt her son *Lewis*, as being on the mother's side directly descended from *Charlemagne*, with which

from vices, and as sincerely religious, as any of that age; but wanting genius and application, ^a and being rather inclined to the pleasures of privacy than to the splendid enjoyments of a court, he suffered himself to be guided by such of his ministers as were near him, and to be imposed on by the representations of governors, and other officers, at a distance; so that he had never any right apprehension of the state of his dominions¹. His death threw the kingdom of *France* into a general consternation, as they were still harrassed by the *Normans*, oppressed by a kind of independent nobility, who racked their tenants to gratify their avarice and ambition, and without any form of government, or so much as the appearance of it, to which they might resort for protection against foreign invaders or domestic tyrants. It is true they had still the posthumous child of *Lewis the Stammerer* amongst them; and many affirm that they considered him as the lawful heir of the crown, and *Charles the Gross* only as his tutor or protector; but ^b of this there is no distinct or uncontroverted proof. On the contrary, it is very plain that the titles of *Lewis* and *Carloman* had been called in question, as they had been no better than bastards, because their mother was repudiated; and, notwithstanding this, the title of their younger brother was also questioned, upon a supposition that, if the marriage of their mother was valid, then the mother of *Charles* was but a concubine, and himself a bastard². Had he been of age, however, and in any degree capable of either conducting a party or an army, these objections had been quickly silenced: as it was, the nation could not be without a king, and therefore the nobility thought it both their interest and their duty to choose one, as we shall see in the next volume.

¹ REGINON. Chron. PAUL ÆMIL:² AIMON, lib. v.

which he complied: and it may be this gave offence to his sister *Hildegard*, abbess of *Zurich*, who was very forward in advising the lords about him to leave him, and to join *Arnold*, who had taken the title of king of *Germany*, and to whom the emperor sent his natural son, to procure the best terms for him he could. He continued all this time in a weak and languishing condition; but whether he died of his malady, or of despair, is very uncertain; since some writers intimate, that, both causes acting too slowly, in the opinions of those who wished to see him removed, his death was hastened by a dose of poison; a practice but too frequent in that age, as his competitor experienced in his turn. ~~It does not appear,~~

in this whole affair, that pope *Stephen*, whom some reckon the fifth, and others the sixth, of that name, interposed in this behalf, though few of the *Roman* pontiffs have been abler statesmen, or had greater credit: but the intrigues that were then carrying on in *Italy*, and his connection with some of the principal authors, occupied all his attention, and prevented his expostulating with those who quitted the part of the emperor, because his friends were to be enriched with that monarch's spoils. In the end, however, *Rome* paid very dear for this kind of trimming policy, and had cause sufficient to regret the protection that had been ever afforded them by the family of *Charlemagne*.

END of the EIGHTH VOLUME.